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# THE ORIGIN AND DEVELOPMENT OF THE BENGALI LANGUAGE

Part 2
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BY

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# MORPHOLOGY

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# MORPHOLOGY

## CHAPTER I: FORMATIVE AFFIXES

**394.** Hoernle's discussion of the NIA. suffixes in his 'Gaudian Grammar' remains the most thorough study of the scope and origin of these, although some of his derivations are more or less speculative. The Bengali formative affixes have been discussed in some detail by Rai Bahadur Yōgesh Chandra Vidyānidhi in his Bengali grammar (published by the VSPd., pp. 147-191), but the arrangement is capable of improvement, and some of the etymologies can be questioned. There is no doubt as to the source of most NIA. affixes, but there are a few which have not been satisfactorily explained.

The OIA. affixes, primary or secondary, became disguised, or simply dropped off in NIA., through either assimilation or phonetic decay. But a number of OIA. affixes have been preserved, and occur in NIA. as living forms, although in their present shape they are widely removed from their OIA. originals (*e.g.*, « -pan » < « -tvana- »; « -ab, -ib, -iv » < « -tavya- »; « -ī » < « -ika, -ikā »; etc.). The NIA. speeches preserve only the relics of some OIA. affixes, which as a result of phonetic decay now form integral and indivisible parts of the words, and have, so far as the speech-feeling of the NIA. speaker is concerned, no separate existence, and are not recognisable or analysable any more as an affix. Thus, for example, the OIA. primary affixes « -ă, -ā, -as », in noun and adjective formations, are no longer living ones in Bengali, as they are lost in all inherited words; but the affix « -ana », to form verbal nouns, continues to be in full force as অন, ওন « -ănṭ, -ōnṭ »; and in words like চাম, কাম « cāmṭ, kāmṭ », the -ম « -mṭ » is only partially representative of the original OIA. affix « -man »; but it is no longer possible to analyse the Bengali words as being made up of a root *plus* an affix, and neither can -ম

« -mṛ » be distinguished from the -ম « mṛ » in words like জাম « jāmṛ » (jambu) and আম « āmṛ » (āmra). The words in Bengali have become to all intents and purposes root-words, or primitive words, the sense of their being composed forms being long lost, from the beginning of MIA. So in words like রাতি « rāti » (rātri), পাঁতি « pāti » (paṅkti), সোঁতা « sōtā » (MIA. sŏnta-, OIA. srōtas), কাজ « kājṛ » (kārya), the OIA. affixes « -tri, -ti, -tas, -ya » are present, but they are no longer alive. These relics or fragments of dead forms are not necessary to consider, unless the subject of study were the history of the OIA. suffixes down to NIA. through MIA.

Below are given in a rough alphabetical order all the living affixes, primary as well as secondary, which are found in Bengali, Old, Middle and New, with indications of their origin.

## [A] Suffixes

### [I] Tadbhava Suffixes

(1) অ « -ă, ṛ » : masculine, feminine and neuter noun affix.

**395.** Representing the primary affixes of OIA., masculine « -ăḥ », feminine « -ā », neuter « -am », also « -as », with or without « guṇa » of the root-vowel, this affix may be said to have existed in Old Bengali and Early Middle Bengali, but was lost from Late Middle Bengali times with the loss or assimilation of the final vowel : *e.g.*, চার « cāra » (cāra), সান « sāna » (saṁjñā), মণ « maṇa » (manas), সাঙ্কম « sāṅkama » (saṅkrama) *bridge* ; but cf. Late MB. দে « dē » (dēha), মন « mānṛ » (manas), বাত « bātṛ » (vārtā), বোল « bōlṛ » *speech* (MIA. *bŏlla), চাল « cālṛ » *way*, *style* (cāla), etc.

(2) অ « -ă », also written ও « -ō ».

**396.** This is the pleonastic suffix, found in a number of nouns and adjectives—*e.g.*, ভাল, ভালো « bhālă, bhālō » *good* ; কাল, কালো « kālă, kālō » *black* ; ধল « dhălă » *white* ; etc. It comes from the pleonastic or pejorative « -kă » of OIA., added to nouns in « -ă » = « -ă-kă » > MIA. « -ăă- » > « ăwă » : see *ante*, pp. 302, 346, 347, 348. The affix is thus of secondary origin. The employment of the pleonastic « -ka », giving, with the

preceding « -a » of the word, the MIA. forms « -aga, *-aga, -aẘ/ẏa », is quite a note-worthy thing from the Second MIA. stage; and in Skt. as written in that period, as well as in later times, this vernacular habit is fully reflected: in the Skt. of inscriptions, this is very much in evidence. (Cf. Damodarpur Copper Plates of the Gupta Period, Ep. Ind., XV, pp. 130, 138.) The combination of « -ăă » > « ăẘă » seems to have begun to be altered to an « å » (long [ɔ:]) sound in the OB. period; and it was accomplished by the 14th century. (See pp. 260, 302, 346.) In MB., it is frequently found in personal names, where it is commonly written as ও « -ō »: *e.g.*, শিবো « Śibō » (OB. * Śibaẘa = *ts.* Śiva + ka), রুদো « Rudō » (*Rūdaẘa < Rudra + ka), বিভো « Bibhō » (*Bibhaẘa < *Vibha = Vibhu + ka), সিধো « Sidhō » (*Sīdhaẘa < Siddha [= Siddhêśvara] + ka), etc. These common contractions of personal names in MB. are thus on the basis of a form in « ă- », shortened from the full names (*e.g.*, জনো « Jânō » < « Janārdana », পিথো « Pithō » < « Pṛthvīdhara », etc.), with the pleonastic « -kă » added. Forms like the above are very common in MB. genealogical works (kula-grantha, kulajī = kulâpañjikā): which shows that they were much in use.

There is another affix, also (occasionally) written -অ « -å », indicating the sense of *about to do something*: *e.g.*, কাঁদ-কাঁদ « kāḍå-kāḍå », beside কাঁদো-কাঁদো « kāḍō-kāḍō » *ready to burst into tears.* This is a primary affix forming verbal adjectives and is derived from ও « -ō » < উ « -u », which see, *infra.*

(3) Affixes derived from the OIA. Active Present Participle « -ănt- »: অন্ত « -ântå »; অৎ > অতা, অন্তী (অন্তি) « -âtṛ̀ > -âtā, -âtī (-âti) », অত « -âtå ». (Cf. also আইত, ইত « -āit, -it- », and আন্ত « -āntå ».)

**397.** অন্ত « -ântå »: this is a stereotyped form, which occurs only in a few adjectives used attributively: *e.g.*, জীয়ন্ত « jīântå » > জ্যান্ত « jyāntå » [ʤjæntɔ] *living* (jīvant-); চলন্ত « câlântå » *moving* (calant-); বাড়ন্ত « bāṛhântå » *prospering* < বাড়ন্ত « bāṛhântå » (√vṛdh > *vardhant-); ঘুমন্ত « ghumântå » *sleeping* (ঘুম √ghum); ভাসন্ত *floating* (ভাস √bhās *float*); etc. It occurs in a feminine form অন্তী « -ântī » = « -ant- + -ikā » used with sentient feminine nouns: নাচুন্তী < নাচন্তী « nācuntī < nācântī » (nṛtyant- + -ikā); দেখুন্তি < দেখন্তি « dēkhunti < dēkhântī » *seeing, seer* (MIA. dĕkkhantī), etc. অন্ত « -ântå »

is not the regular development in Bengali of the OIA. affix « -ant- », but it became established in some forms, which were set apart in MB., because of their adjectival force, from the regular MB. and NB. change which made ইত « -it » out of MIA. « -anta, -enta » < OIA. « -ant- » (see p. 335).

অৎ « -âtṛ̆ », found commonly in its extended form অতা « -ât-ā », feminine অতী, অতি « -ât-I, -ât-i ». This affix seems to be borrowed from the Bihārī dialects, and Hindōstānī: « -anta > -at ». The feminine force is lost to Bengali. Examples: ফেরত ডাক « phērâtṛ̆ ḍākṛ̆ » *return post*, also ফিরতী ডাক « phiṛtī ḍākṛ̆ » (ফির √phir); চলতী ভাষা « calṭī bhāṣā » *current speech, colloquial* (√cal), cf. Hindī « caltī cakkī » *the moving wheel* (*quern-stone = the world*); বহতা জল « bahṭtā jalṛ̆ » *running water* (বহ √bah < √vah *flow*); উঠতি বয়স « uṭhṭti bayasṛ̆ » *growing age, youth* (উঠ √uṭh < ut+sthā); সব-জান্তা « sabṛ̆-jāntā » *all-knowing*; বিলাত-ফেরত, or ফেরতা « bilāṭṛ̆-phērâtṛ̆, -phērṭtā » *returned from Europe*; দেখতা « dēkhṭtā » *seeing*, as in the idiom আমার দেখতা « āmārṛ̆ dēkhṭtā » (for আমি দেখতা « āmi dēkhṭtā »?) *with me looking on*; ঝড়তি পড়তি « jhāṛṭti pāṛṭti » *things that are scattered and fallen, remainder*; etc.

Another form of this affix is অত « -âtâ », which seems to be a blend of অৎ « -ât » + অন্ত « -ântâ »: *e.g.*, জানত « jānâtâ », পারত « pārâtâ », করত « kârâtâ », etc. Forms with this affix, however, are rather rare, and they have a special employ. জানত « jānâtâ » is used as an absolutive with the subject in the genitive, *e.g.*, আমার জানত « āmārṛ̆ jānâtā » *me knowing, with my knowledge* (cf. আমার দেখতা « āmārṛ̆ dēkhṭtā » above); and it is frequently confused with the *ts.* passive part. adjective in ত « -tâ », and used as an adjective: *e.g.*, আমার জানত লোক « āmārṛ̆ jānâtâ lōkṛ̆ » *a man known to me* beside আমার জানিত লোক « āmārṛ̆ jānitâ lōkṛ̆ » (where « jānitâ » = জান « √jān » + *ts.* affix « -ita »). পারত « pārâtâ », also « pārâtṛ̆ » is commonly used in the phrase পারত-পক্ষে « pārât(â)-pākṣē » *on condition of being able*, which is frequently altered to a Skt. পারগ-পক্ষে « pārâgṛ̆-pākṣē ». করত « kârâtâ » *doing*, is used as a conjunctive participle = *having done*, and sometimes a Sanskrit colour is given to this form by adding a « visarga », which helps to preserve the final « -â » in the word: করত: [kərɔtɔ] *having done, after doing.*

In onomatopoetic formations in আৎ « -āt » like পটাৎ « pāṭāt » *with a cracking noise*, ঝপাৎ « jhāpāt » *with a dashing or splashing sound*, কপাৎ, গপাৎ « kāpāt, gāpāt » *with a gulp*, ছলাৎ « chālāt » *with a splash*, which are used with the conjunctive করিয়া, ক'রে « kāriyā, kōrē », we have also possibly this « -anta » affix of MIA. and OIA.

(4) অতী, তী ( অতি, তি ) « -ātī, -ṭtī (-āti, -ṭti) ».

**398.** This forms abstract nouns of action or manner: *e.g.*, পড়তি « pāṛṭi » *fall*; উঠতি « uṭhṭi » *rise*; চুকতি « cukṭi » *settlement, fixing up*; বাড়তি « bāṛṭi < bāṛhāṭī » *rise, increase*; ঘাটতি « ghāṭṭi » *decrease*; by analogy, the hybrid কমতি « kām-ti » *decrease*, from Persian, « kam »; খাঁকতি « khāṁkṭi » *greed* (cf. onomatopoetic খাঁখাঁ « khāṁkhā » *the sense of emptiness and hunger*); গুনতি « gunṭi » *counting*; ভরতি « bhārṭi » *filling-up*, etc.

Hoernle explains this affix ('Gaudian Grammar,' § 325) as being a Sanskrit (or OIA.) « *-āptikā », from the causative affix « -āp- » + « -ti » + pleonastic « -kā »: *e.g.*, বিনতি « binati » (vijñāptikā = vijñāptikā > viṇṇattia), বাড়তি « bāṛṭi » (*vardhāptikā > *vaḍḍhattia); etc. But this derivation is rather problematical. Cases like ডাকাইত « ḍākā(i)tṭ » *robber* (ডাক « √ḍāk » *shout*: cf. under আইত « -āit » below), ডাকা(ই)তী « ḍākā(i)tī » *robbery*, ঢাঙ্গা(ই)ত > ঢাঙ্গা(ই)তী « ḍhāṇ(g)ā(i)tṭ > ḍhāṇgā(i)tī » *rowdy* > *rowdiness* (ḍhaṇga), etc., with the ঈ (ই) « -ī (-i) » affix of abstraction (for which see *infra*), show that in examples like উঠতি « uṭhṭi », ভরতি « bhārṭi » etc. above, we have an extension of the অৎ « -āt » affix (< present participle « -anta ») by addition of the abstract ঈ, ই « -ī, -i »: উঠতি « uṭhṭī » = « uṭhā(n)t(ā) + -ī » *the state of rising = a rise*.

The change of « -anta » to « -āt- », and not to « -it- », would show that this affix is not native to Bengali, but borrowed, with cognate loan-words, from its western neighbours.

It seems also that in the formation of this affix, there was the influence of the Skt. nominal affix « -ti » as well, through the presence of a large number *ts.* as well as *sts.* forms in « -ti », like « yukti (jugati), bhakti (bhakati), mati, gati, praṇati » etc. In post MB. times,

the Perso-Arabic loan-words in « -at », with the Indian or Persian « -ī » added, re-inforced this affix: *e.g.*, « wakālat » > ওকালতী « ōkālât-ī » *a pleader's profession*; and by analogy, it was extended to other foreign words, *e.g.*, জজ « jâj » = English *judge* > জজিয়ৎ, জজিয়তী « jâjiyât, jâjiyât-ī » *the work of a judge*.

(5) অন ( ওন, এন ) « -ânạ́ (-ōnạ́, -ēnạ́).

**399.** This is a living suffix in Bengali, forming abstract verbal nouns, some of which have acquired a concrete sense. It is the OIA. « -ana ». Examples: কাঁদন « kā̃dânạ́ » (krandana); কুঁদন « kūdânạ́ » (kūrdana); খাঅন, খাওন « khāânạ́, khāōnạ́ » (khādana); গায়ন, গায়েন « gāyânạ́, -yēnạ́ » *singer* (gāyana: *gāthayana? cf. Khaskurā « gāhinē » *singer* < « gāhiniyā »); ঘুরন « ghurânạ́ » *turning round and round* (ঘুর √ghur < ghūrn-); চাহন, চাওন « cāhânạ́, cāōnạ́ » *gaze, look* (চাহ √cāh); ছাড়ন « chāṛânạ́ » *leaving* (ছাড় √chāṛ); ছাঁদন « chā̃dânạ́ » *binding* (chandana); জ্বলন « jwâlânạ́ » [ʒʒɔlɔn] (jvalana); ঝাড়ন « jhāṛânạ́ » *dusting, a duster*, ঝোঁটন « jhō̃ṭânạ́ » *crest, top-knot* (see p. 479); ঝুলন « jhulânạ́ » *swing* (see p. 479); ঢাকন « ḍhākânạ́ » *covering* > *a cover* (ঢাক √ḍhāk); থাকন « thākânạ́ » *staying* (থাক √thāk); দেখন « dēkhânạ́ » *sight*; ধরণ « dhârâṇạ́ » *manner* (« ṇ » through Skt. influence) (dharaṇa); নাচন « nācânạ́ » *dance* (নাচ √nāc); পড়ন « pâṛânạ́ » *fall* (paḍana < *paṭana < patana); পাঅন, পাওন « pāânạ́, pāōnạ́ » (prāpaṇa); পাড়ন « pāṛânạ́ » (pātana); পোড়ন « pōṛânạ́ » *burning* (পুড় √puṛ < √puṭ); ফোড়ন « phōṛânạ́ » *spices, chatter* (√sphuṭ); বাঁধন « bā̃dhânạ́ » (bandhana); বাজন « bājânạ́ » *music* (বাজ √bāj < vādya); বাড়ন « bāṛânạ́ » *broom* (vardhana); বেঁধন, বিঁধন « bē̃dhânạ́, bīdhânạ́ » *piercing* (viddha < √vyadh); মরণ « mârâṇạ́ » (maraṇa); শুনন « śunânạ́ » *hearing* (শুন√śun < śṛ-ṇō-ti); হঅন, হওন « hâ(ẃ)ânạ́, hâōnạ́ » *being* (*ahana = as-ana + bhav-ana); etc., etc.

This affix is now becoming a little archaic in the Standard Colloquial, which prefers the other verbal noun in আ « -ā »: but it is a very living form in the East Bengali dialects.

The affix « -ânạ́ » has two extensions:

(5a) অনা > -না « -ânā > -ṇā »: this is simply অন « -ân্ » extended with the আ « -ā » affix. The « -â- » in this affix drops when inter-consonantal; when after a vowel, it becomes « e » or « o » and forms a diphthong. The original force of this « -ā » was to denote simply a coarser or biggish aspect of the action, or to indicate a connected object, but this has been to a considerable amount modified, so that অনা, না « -ânā, -ṇā » in many cases is not different from অন « ân্ ». Examples: কান্না < কাঁদনা, কান্দনা « kānnā < kāḍṇā, kāndânā » (see p. 360), beside কাঁদন « kāḍân্ » (krandana-); কুটনা « kuṭṇā » *slicing* > *sliced vegetables* (কুট √kuṭ); কাটনা « kāṭṇā » *spindle* (কাট√kāṭ *spin*); খেলনা « khēlṇā » *playing* > *toy* beside খেলন « khēlân্ » *playing* (খেল√khēl); গহনা, গয়না « gâhânā, gâynā » *jewels* (grahaṇa-); গাহনা > গাওনা « *gâhânā > gāonā » *singing* (গাহ √gāh < √gāthaya-); ছাঁকনা « chāk্ṇā » *strainer* (ছাঁক √chāk); ঝরনা « jhar্ṇā » *water-fall* (ঝর √jhar: see p. 478); ঢাকনা « ḍhāk্ṇā » *largish lid* (ঢাক √ḍhāk); দোলনা « dōl্ṇā » *swing* (দুল √dul); দেনা « dēnā » *giving* > *debt*, beside দেন « dēn্ » *giving* (দে√dē *give* = √dā); so লেনা « lēnā » beside লেন « lēn্ » *taking* (লে√lē *take* < √lah = labh + √nī); পাওনা « pāonā » *receiving, dues* (prāpaṇa-); পিটনা « piṭṇā » *mallet to beat with* (পিট √piṭ); বাজনা « bāj্ṇā » *musical instrument*, see বাজন « bājân্ » above; বাটনা « bāṭṇā » *paste of pounded spices* (বাট √bāṭ *pound, mash*); মাগনা, মাঙ্গনা « māg্ṇā, māṅ(g)্ṇā » *asking* > *gratis* (mārgaṇa-); রান্না < রাঁধনা « rānnā < rāḍhânā » *cooking* (randhana-); শুখনা « śukh্ṇā » *dry, dry-land* (শুখ√sukh < śuṣka); etc. There are some formations from nouns as well: ছানা « chānā » *youngling* (*of animals*) (beside ছা « chā », = « śâba- »); পাখনা « pākh্ṇā » *wings* (beside পাখ pākh্ < pakṣa).

(5b) অনী > নী, উনী (নি, উনি) « -ânī > -্ṇī, -unī (-্ṇi, -uni) ». Originally feminine in form (-ânā + ī), indicating a dimunitive or petty aspect of the action or object. All grammatical connexion with the feminine form is now lost, except where the word indicates a woman. The change to « -uni » is by Vowel Harmony (see p. 398). কাঁদুনি < কাঁদনী « kāḍuni < kāḍânī » *weeping, petty fit of weeping, supplication*; ŚKK. নাচুনী < নাচনী « nācunī < nācânī » *danseuse*; ছেনী « chēnī » < « *chēanī » *a cutting instrument* (chēdana, chēdanikā); ছাউনী < ছাঅনী « chāunī < chāânī » *awning, camp* (chādanikā);

ছাঁকনী « chā̃kạnī » *small strainer* (ছাঁক √chā̃k); MB. পোড়নী « pōṛānī » *burning* (পুড় √puṛ); কুরনী > কুরুনী « kurānī > kurunī » *scraper* (কুর √kur *scrape*); মউনী « māunī » < « *mā(h)ānī » *churning stick* (*mathanikā); etc., etc. The word রাঁধুনী < রাধনী « rā̃dhunī < rā̃dhānī » *cook* is now both masculine and feminine, but originally it seems to have been only feminine (« randhanikā »: or a masc. = « *randhanikă » ?); when it means a kind of flavouring spice, it is the feminine form undoubtedly. So MB. বেচনী « bēcānī » *a seller* (বেচ √bēc).

Causative forms of this affix, in আন্ « -ānạ », আন, আনা « ānā, -ānā » আনী, উনী « -ānī, -unī » also occur: see *infra*.

In the word দাঁতন « dā̃tānạ » *twig used as tooth-brush* we do not have the « -ānạ » affix (unlike in formations from nouns like পাখনা « pākhạnā », বাজনা « bājạnā », etc.): the Maithilī « datamani », Bhōjpuriyā « datuan », and Hindōstānī « datwan, dataun, datūn » show that the word is a compound of « danta » + « vana » (?).

(6) আ « -ā » (i): Definitive, Pejorative, Connective, Agentive, Pleonastic.

**400.** This affix is a very characteristic one of Bengali. It indicates definiteness (this definitive force is now considerably weakened); it implies coarseness or biggishness in the object; it means reference or connection; it forms agentive adjectives; and frequently it is also pleonastic. In all its various forces, the « -ā » affix of Bengali can be compared with the pleonastic affixes giving rise to the strong, long and redundant forms of the Bihārī dialects (see p. 96). The source of Bengali « -ā », as an OIA. « *-āka », has been indicated at pp. 302, 348-349. Cf. Sanskritised forms like « Nāgāka, Dhamāka, Visiāka, Bhaluāka, Pappāka (beside Pappā), Rudāka, Chitarāka », all representing vernacular names in « -ā », in the Siyadoni Inscription (10th century: Lalitpur District, U.P.; Kielhorn, Ep. Ind., I, pp. 162 ff.) Where no special force of the « -ā » is present, as in a noun like ঘোড়া « ghōṛā » (beside ঘোড়- « ghōṛạ » in compounds), that is, where it is merely a pleonastic extension, it is not unlikely that the « -ā » represents only the termination of an oblique case (see p. 349). Examples: OB. (Caryā 41) হথা (hasta-); (Caryā 49)

পউআ « pāüā = pa৺uā » (*paduma-, padma-); (Caryā 8) মাগা « māgā » (mārga-); (Carya 2) পিটা « piṭā » *pail*; (Caryā 3, 20) পসারা « pasārā », নিসারা « nisārā » (prasāra-, niḥsāra-); (Caryā 4) বীরা « bīrā » (vīra-); (Caryā 6) হরিণা « hariṇā » (hariṇa-); MB. নেহা « nēhā » (snēha-): MB., NB. নেতা « nētā » *rag* (nētra > nēṭa = *fine stuff*); কাঁসা « kā̃sā » (kāṁsya-); ŚKK. কনয়া « kanâyā » (kanaka-); পাতা « pātā » (patra-); কূয়া, কূআ « kūā » (kūpa-); গোরা « gōrā » (gāura-); উঁচা « ũcā » (ucca-); চোরা « cōrā » (cāura-); বাঘা « bāghā » (vyāghrā) *big tiger* > *tiger-like, ferocious, strong* (*e.g.*, বাঘা *a common name for a dog*, বাঘা তেঁতুল « bāghā tẽtuḷa » *kind of tamarind with strong acid taste*); খাঁড়া « khā̃ṛā » *sacrificial sword* (khaṇḍa-); বকরা « bâkaṛā » *goat* (barkara-); কুঁকুড়া > কুঁকড়া, কুঁকড়ো « kũkuṛā > kũkaṛā, kũkaṛō » (kukkuṭa-); রামা « Rāmā » contemptuous for « Rāma » ; চাঁদা « cā̃dā » *big round moon*, beside চাঁদ « cā̃da » *moon* (candra-): cf. চাঁদা মাছ « cā̃d-ā māchā » *a kind of roundish fish, pomfret*; থালা « thālā » *plate* beside থাল « thāla » (sthāla); ধূঁয়া, ধুঁয়া « dhū̃ā » (dhūma-); রাঙ্গা, রাঙা « rāṅg(g)-ā » *red in colour* (raṅga-); তেলা « tēl-ā » *oily* (tāila-); লোনা « lōnā » *salty* (lavaṇa-); হাতা « hātā » *handle* (hasta-); তাওয়া « tāwā » *pot for heating or dry cooking* (tāpa-); বামনা « bāmaṇā » *a low Brāhman* (brāhmaṇa-); *sts.* পশ্চিমা « paścimā » *western* (paścima-); দক্ষিণা, by Vowel Harmony দ'খ্নে (see pp. 400-401) « dâkkhiṇā » > [dokhne] *southern* (dakṣiṇa- > dâkkhiṇa-); একা « ēkā » [ækɑ], একলা « ēkaḷā » *alone* (ēka-, *ēkāka; ēka-la-); মুহা « muh-ā » *with a face* (mukha-); ভয়সা « bhâyasā » *belonging to a buffalo* (bhaiṣa < mahiṣa + -ā); খেয়া « khēyā » *ferry* (kṣēpa-); etc.

In compounds with active meaning: ছেলে-ধরা « chēlē-dhar-ā » *child-stealing* = *kidnapper*; চা'ল-ধোয়া « cāḷa-dhōā » *rice-washing*; কাপড়-কাচা « kāpâṛa-kāc-ā » *cloth-washing*; কলম-কাটা ছুরী « kâlâma-kāṭ-ā churī » *pen-(cutting)-knife*; ভাত-রাঁধা হাঁড়ী « bhāta-rā̃dh-ā hā̃ṛī » *pot that boils rice*, etc.

This affix is added to both *tatsama* and foreign words: রোগা « rōg-ā » *sick, sickly, lean and thin* (rōga-); সফেদা « sâphēd-ā » *rice-powder* (Pers. safēd *white*);

Other affixes of Bengali, like « -āṭa, -uṭa, -i(-i) -ū(-u), -āla, -āra » etc., are extended by addition of this « -ā » : for which see below.

(7) আ « -ā » (ii): Passive Participle and Verbal Noun Affix.

**401.** This suffix is derived from the OIA. affix « -ta, -ita » > MIA. « -a, -ia » *plus* the preceding pleonastic affix আ « ā ». The following examples illustrate the line of development: « yāta > jāa+-ā > OB. *jāā, NB. যাওয়া *jāẅā » *gone* > *a going*; « kṛta > *karita (a non-Māgadhī formation: cf. p. 375) >karia+ā > OB. kariā>করা kārā » *done*>*doing*, as in New Bengali. So রাখা « rākhā » *kept* > *keeping* (rakṣita+ā); খাআ, খাওয়া « khāẅā » (khādita+ā), etc. We have the loss of the « -i- » already in OB.: *e.g.*, Caryā 20 « saṇghārā » *struck*; but it is the « -i- » forms, with or without the pleonastic « -ā », that are common in the Caryās (when without « -ā », the final « -a » is found to have assimilated with the preceding « i », as follows: « -ita > -ia>-ī, -i »): *e.g.*, in Caryā 19 « uchaliā » (ucchalita+ā), « caliā » (calita+ā); Caryā 13 « muniā » (=jñāta-); Caryā 17 « suṇiā » (=śruta-), « miliā » (milita+ā), guniā (=gaṇita+ā); beside « pahāri » (prahārita), « ahāri » (āhārita-), etc.; and cases are found with the Western Apabhraṅśa modification of the « -itaḥ » to « -iu » (« -itaḥ > -idō > -iō > -iu »: cf. p. 115 *supra*). The affix seems to have come into prominence only after the Early MB. period: in the ŚKK. it is non-existent. The « -i- » as in « -iā » of OB. probably first became « -ĕ- » and then was dropped, following the forms in simple « -ā » like « yāta+-ā> যাওয়া jāẅā », « *dita+ā > দেওয়া dēẅā » etc.; and possibly also through an attempt to distinguish this passive participle affix from the conjunctive participle in « -ī(-ĭ), -iā » (*e.g.* রাখী, রাখি, রাখিআ « rākhī, rākhi, rākhiā » *having kept*, with or without « -ā » < MIA. « rakkhia » < OIA. « -rakṣ-ya »). The OB. forms of the passive participle in « -iā » show that « -ita+-ā » is the source of this passive participle affix of MB. and NB. In Panjābī, in the Old Western Hindī dialects and in Modern Hindōstānī we find a parallel development with loss of « -i- »: *e.g.*, « calita-, calitaka » > MIA. (Śaurasenī) « cali(d)a-, cali(d)aa- », nominative « cali(d)ō, cali(d)aō » > Śaur. Apabhraṅśa « caliu, caliaü », whence Brajbhākhā « calyu, calyau », Early Hindī or Hindōstānī « calyā » (beside Panjābī « caliā, cālēā »), but Modern Hindōstānī « calā », Bundēlī and Kanaujī « calō ». Ōṛiyā has this affix also: *e.g.*, « jāṇ-ā » *known*, « kăr-ā » *done*, « dēkh-ā » *seen*, etc.

It has been attempted to connect this « -ā » affix in its nominal employ with the verbal noun affix ইব, ইবা « -ibā, -ibā » < « itavya+ā »; but that is hardly tenable.

In OB. and MB., there was a feminine form of this affix, with the ঈ « -ī » (< -ikā); *e.g.*, ŚKK. (p. 381) জড়ী « jaṛī » *jewelled* qualifying চুড়ী « cuṛī » *bracelet* (jaḍita+-ikā).

(8) আই « -āi » (i): Verbal and Abstract Nouns.

**402.** This is a Late MIA. formation, being a feminine verbal noun from the causative stem of the root: an OIA. « -āp-ikā » (as in Skt. « jñāp-ikā » *information*, which would be the basis of a possible NIA. « *jāṇāī ») would give « -āviā, āviā, -āwī, āī > আই āi ». The causative in « -āpa > -āva » became established in MIA., and on the model of the nouns in « -āpana- > -āvaṇa- » (see *infra*, § xxx, under আন « -ānā »), formation of abstract and verbal nouns in « -ikā » from the « -āpa-> -āva- » base would be a matter of course. Examples: যাচাই « jācāi » *enquiry* (যাচ √yāc: OIA. *yācāpikā); বাছাই « bāchāī » *selection* (বাছ √bāch); লড়াই « lāṛāi » *fight* (লড় √lāṛ); খোদাই « khōdāi », also খোঁদাই « khōdāi » *engraving* (খোদ, খোঁদ √khōd, khōd); দোলাই « dōlāi » *a hood or shawl fastened round the neck and covering the ears and head, and hanging on the back* (দুল, দোল « √dul, dōl »: possibly influenced by « dukūlikā »>দুলী « dūlī » [see p. 352], also meaning the same thing); ঝালাই « jhālāi » *soldering* (ঝাল √jhāl); বাঁধাই « bādhāi » *binding* (*of a book*) (বাঁধ √bādh); ঢালাই « ḍhālāi » *founding* (*in metal*) (ঢাল √dhāl *pour*); etc.

This affix is not found with all roots, and is but restricted in use. Abstract nouns from noun and adjective bases are also formed, the nouns and adjectives being treated like denominative verbs: *e.g.*, চোরাই « cōrāi » *theft* > *stolen property* (<cōra); বামনাই « bāmaṇāi » *the way of a Brāhman, the pride of a Brāhman* (<bāmaṇa < brāhmaṇa); MB. রাজাই « rājāi » *kingship, reign* (rājā); মিঠাই « miṭhāi » *sweetness* > *sweetmeat* (< mithā < miṣṭa-); পালটাই « pālaṭāi » *exchange, returning* (pālaṭa = paryasta); ভালাই « bhālāi » *well-being* (< bhālā=bhadra-); সাঁচাই « sāṁcāi » *honesty* (sāṁcā = satya-); বড়াই « bāṛāi » *pride, boasting* (বড় bāṛa *great*);

খোলতাই « khōlạtāi » *dazzle, beauty* (< khōlā *open, clear*, *khōlāt- *opening*); পোষ্টাই « pōṣṭāi » *nourishing* (*sts.* < puṣṭi); and even with foreign words, *e.g.*, সাফাই « sāphāi » *clear* (Pers. « sāf » *pure*), MB. সাজাই « sājāi » *punishment* (Pers. sazā).

There are a few borrowings from Hindōstānī also, showing this affix: *e.g.*, চড়াই « cạṛāi » *ascent*; উতরাই « utrāi » *descent*; সেলাই « sēlāi » *sewing*; ধোলাই « dhōlāi » *washing, washing charges*; and চোলাই « cōlāi » *distilling, preparing liquor* (<« √cū »=« cyav »: may be native Bengali).

In one or two words, through dialectal influence (see *supra*, p. 407), « -āi » occurs as ই « -i » in the Standard Colloquial: *e.g.*, বানী « bānī » for বানাই « bānāi » *making, charges for making jewellery* (probably from Hindōstānī « banāī »). It would be seen that there is semantic alteration in this affix, making its force that of *cost or wages* for the *work* indicated by it.

Hoernle's derivation of this suffix from the OIA. affix « -tā » *plus* pleonastic « -ka » (« -tikā » in the feminine) is not convincing (see 'Gaudian Grammar,' § 223).

(9) আই « -āi » (ii): Diminutive.

**403.** Affectionate diminutives like কানাই « Kānāi » (< Kāna, Kaṇha, Kṛṣṇa), বলাই « Bàlāi » (< Bala-rāma), সোমাই « Sōmāi » (Sōma-), দনাই « Dànāi » (Janārdana; Danuja- ?), রামাই « Rāmāi » (Rāma), জগাই « Jàgāi » (Jagat-), মাধাই « Mādhāi » (Mādhava), ছিরাই « Chirāi » (Śrīpati), etc., which are very common in MB. and fairly frequent in NB., are formed with this affix. It is of pleonastic origin, coming from an OB. « -*āī » from Late MIA. « -āia, -āiā »=OIK. « -ākika, -akika (i.e. -āka, -āka+-ika) »: « Kānāi <*Kān(h)āī <*Kanhāia, *Kanhāia <*Kṛṣṇākika, *Kṛṣṇāk-ika ». This affix is found in various forms in Hindōstānī and in Eastern Hindī and Bihārī. (Cf. Hoernle, *op. cit.*, pp. 100-101.) The suffixes ইয়া « -iā », উয়া « -uā » (as well as ঈ, ই « -ī, -i » and ঊ, উ « -ū, -u ») are connected: see *infra*.

It is likely that in Bengali the আই « -āi » affix as an affectionate diminutive was influenced by the MB. word আই « āi » *long life* <« āyuṣ ».

(10) আইত, আত « -āiṭa, -āṭa », with extensions.

**404.** Causative and denominative present participle base: OIA. « -āp-ant-, -āy-ant » > MIA. « -āvant-, -āant- » > OB. « -āẏ/ẁanta » > MB. আইত « -āïtā »: ডাকাইত, ডাকাত « ḍākāiṭa, ḍākāṭa » *robber* < *shouter* (ডাক √ḍāk *yell*); MB. বাইতি « bāiti » *player on a musical instrument* (vādayant- + -ika). This is a rare affix in Bengali. There are a few instances of this affix with nouns: সাঙ্গাৎ, সাঙাৎ « sāṇg(g)āṭa » ([ʃaŋgat, ʃæŋgat]; for [æ], see p. 322) *companion, bosom friend* (saṇga); সেবাইত « sēbāiṭa » *temple-priest* (sēvā); পোআতী, পোয়াতী, পোহাতী « pō(h)ātī » *pregnant woman, a recent mother* (« pōta »: for intrusive « h », see p. 341: this form has the feminine affix ঈ « -ī » < -ikā). Cf. Oṛiyā খণ্ডাইত « khāṇḍāitā » *a military caste* (*in Orissa and S. W. Bengal*) (khaṇḍa *sword*); Hindōstānī « ḍhalait » *shield-bearer* (ḍhāl), etc.

Abstract nouns are formed from this affix by adding ঈ, ই « -ī, -i » (see p. 655, *supra*): ডাকা(ই)তী « ḍākā(i)tī » *robbery*; MB. ঢাঙ্গাতী « ḍhāṇg-(g)ātī » *rowdiness* (ḍhaṇga).

(11) *আউ > আও « *-āū > āo »: Verbal Noun Affix.

**405.** This affix is now confined to a limited number of words; and in those cases where it is found, it seems there is reinforcement from similar Hindōstānī forms. It is connected with আই « -āi » (i) above. The source is apparently a verbal noun from the causative base: « -āpa », with an extension « *-āp-uk-ā (-āpa + -u-ka + -ā) », corresponding to « *-āpikā » the source of আই « -āi ». The affix, as « -āw, -āō, -āū » is a common one in Hindōstānī. Hoernle traces it (*op. cit.*, §227) to OIA. « -tva »: « -tva > -tta > -a », a derivation which is inadmissible. Examples: চড়াও « cāṛāo » *aggression, attacking* (চড় « √cāṛ »: also used as an adjective, through influence of a form like উধাও « udhāo » *running out of one's sight* = « uddhāvuka »: cf. also ওয়া « -ōā » in next paragraph); ঢালাও « ḍhālāo » *abundance, 'galore'* (ঢাল √ḍhāl *pour*); পাকড়াও « pākaṛāo » *arrest, seizure* (পাকড়া « √pākaṛā » *to seize*); ঘাবড়াও « ghābaṛāo » *fright* (ঘাবড়া « √ghābaṛā » *to be checked, to fear*); ছাড়াও « chāṛāo » *separation, release*;

ফালাও « phālāo » *spreading, abundance,* from Hind. « phailāw »; বনাও in বনি-বনাও, beside বনি-বনা « bāni-bānāo, -bānā » *amity, harmony,* cf. Hind. « banāw » *preparation, concord.*

(11a) আউআ, (আওআ)>ওয়া « -āuā>-ōā »: Adjectival as well as Abstract.

**406.** This affix is an extension of the preceding one with the adjectival or pleonastic আ « -ā » (see *ante,* § 400) = *e.g.,* ঘরোয়া « ghārōā » *homely, domestic* [gfiɔroɑ] = « ghārāo, *ghārāū + -ā » (this word shows extension of the affix to a noun); জড়োয়া « jāṛōā » *jewelled, adorned with precious stones* = « jāṛāo, *jāṛāū + -ā »; বাঁচোয়া « bāṁcōā » *safely, safe state* = « bāṁcāo, *bāṁcāū + -ā »; চড়োয়া « cāṛōā » *aggressive* = « cāṛāo, *cāṛāū + -ā ».

(12) আট, আটা (আটি), « -āṭa, -āṭā, (-aṭi ».

**407.** This is not so much an affix as an independent word, phonetically decayed, and forming part of a disguised compound. It is from কাঠ, কাঠি « kāṭha, kāṭhi » = « kāṣṭha, *kāṣṭhikā », *wood, beam, stick.* গাবরাট « gābḍrāṭ » *lintel* (garbhāgārakāṣṭha); পাঁকাটা « pākāṭā », see p. 492; MB. ধরাট « dhārāṭa » *a nautical term = special deck in a boat*; OB. চামাঠি « cāmāṭhi » *whip* as in Sarvânanda, is explained by that scholar as meaning « carma-yaṣṭi », but it may be equally from « carma + kāṣṭhikā », which is also found in Sanskrit.

(13) আন, আন (আনো) « -āna, -āṇa (-āṇō) » (i).

**408.** The affix, forming verbal nouns from causative and denominative bases, is from OB. « -āṇa, -āṇaẁa, -āẁaṇa, āẁaṇaẁa » (OIA. « -āp-ana, -āp--ana-ka »). The forms without the final « -a » in New Bengali have in most cases obtained a concrete or definite sense. Examples: আঁচান « ācānā » *washing mouth after meals* (*ācamāpana = ācamana); জানান, জানান « jānāna, jānānā » *making to know, information, intimation* (*jāṇāpana- = jñāpana-); চালান « cālāna » *invoice, send-up,* চালান « cālānā » *sending forward* (*calāpana- = cālana); মানান « mānāna » *harmony, agreement, beauty* (*mānāpana < mānaya-); উজান « ujāna » *flow-tide, up-stream* (*udyāpana-); উড়(ড়)ন « uṛāna, uṛāṇa » উড়ান, উড়ন « uṛāna, uṛānā » *causing to fly away, extravagance,*

*wasteful expenditure* (*uḍḍāpana-); ‡ ছোড়ান্ « chōṛāṇâ » *separating, freeing, disclosing* > *a key* ( ছোড় √chōṛ=ছাড় √chāṛ); শোনান « śōnānâ » *causing to hear* (MIA. *suṇāvaṇa=śrāvaṇa); গড়ান্ « gâṛāṇâ » *slope*, গড়ান « gâṛānâ » *a rolling, to roll* (MIA. *gaḍḍ); etc. There are old and recent formations from nouns also: জুতান, জুতানো « jutānâ, jutānō », also in Calcutta জুতোনো, জুতুনো « jutōnō, jutunō » *shoe-beating* (জুতা « jutā » *shoe*); *sts.* যোগান্ « jōgāṇâ » *aiding with materials,* যোগান « jōgānâ » *act of supplying* (yōga); লাথানো « lāthānō » *kicking* (<লাথ lāthâ, লাথি lāthi *kick*); হাতানো « hātānō » *obtaining, filching* (হাত « hātâ » *hand*); পেঁচানো « pẽcānō » *twisting, moving to and fro* (পেঁচ « pẽc » *twist* from the Persian); কমান « kâmānâ » *lessening* (Pers. « kam » *less*); জমান « jâmānâ » *gathering* (Pers. jam°); etc.

The affix has a feminine form, from OIA. « -āpana+-ikā » = OB., eMB. « -āẁaṇī, -āni », which gives in NB.

(13*a*) আনী (আনি) « -ānī (-āni) », উনী (উনি) « -unī (uni) ».

This affix possesses only a vague diminutive force. OB. « *-āẁaṇī » would normally be contracted to MB. and NB. « -āni » (see p. 349), and this « -āni » by Vowel Harmony becomes « -âni » and « -uni » (p. 398). But in the transformation of the affix from « *-āẁani » to « -âni, -uni », it seems that there was some influence of the glide « -ẁ- » in bringing about the « -â-, -u- »; dialectally at least, the « ẁ » was pronounced in MB.: the word ভয়াউনী « bhaẏāunī » *frightful* (*bhaẏāẁaṇia =*bhayāpanikā), beside the other regular forms in « -āni », would indicate that. Examples: শুনানী « śunānī » *hearing* (*of a case*); পারানী « pārānī » *ferrying* > *fare paid in crossing* (*pārāpanikā); ঝাঁকানী « jhâkānī », beside ঝাঁকনী, ঝাঁকুনি « jhâkānī, jhâkuni » *a shaking*; দেখানি « dēkhānī » *sight* > *money paid for a sight* (=darśanī); তোলানি as in শেজ-তোলানি « śējâ-tōlānī » *money paid for making or clearing the bed* (তুল √tul *raise*); নিকানি « nikānī » beside নিকুনি « nikunī » *wiping, mopping the floor* (নিক √nik<√nij, nikta); নিড়ানী « niṛānī » *hoeing* (*in agriculture*) (? ni+dru, drāv); উড়ানী, উড়ুনী « uṛānī, uṛunī » *sheet, light shawl* may be a blend of « *uḍḍāpanikā » *that which flies or flaps* + ওঢ়নী « ōṛhānī » = « ava-vēṣṭanikā » (see p. 398); জ্বলুনি < জ্বলনি « j(w)âluni, j(w)âlâni » from *জ্বলানি « *j(w)âlānī » *burning*, beside জ্বালানি « j(ẁ)ālānī »

*causing a burning* = *firewood* (see p. 408); ŚKK. মাথানী « māthānī » *churn-stick* (*manthāpanikā); etc., etc.

(14) আন (আনো) « -ānâ (-ānō) » (ii).

**409.** The passive participle affix for causative and denominative roots = OIA. « -māna-ka, -y-āna-ka ». (See *infra*, under Verb: 'Causatives.') Examples: করান « kărānâ » *done, caused to be done* (« *kărāwăṇăă » for « *kārāpana-ka, *kāra-yāna-ka »); দেখান « dēkhānâ » *shown*; ঠেঙ্গান « ṭhēṇgānâ » (*caused to be*) *beaten with a stick* (ঠেঙ্গা ṭheṇgā); etc., etc. It is sometimes difficult to determine whether the form with « -ānâ » is the verbal noun (p. 664), or the passive participle: *e.g.*, শোনান হইয়াছে « śōnānâ hăĭyāchē » *it has been reported*, which may be either (a) *a-causing-to-be-heard has-taken-place*, or (b) *caused-to-be-heard it-has-been*.

(15) আনী (আনি) « -ānī (-āni) ».

**410.** This is a Bengali formation, from an earlier পাণী « pāṇī » *water* (= pānīya) in compounds: « -pāṇī » becomes « -wānī » and then there is dropping of « w ». Examples: এঁবানি (see p. 349); চোঁআনি « cōānī » *water that leaks out* (চোঁ, চো √cō, cō = cyav); চোবানি « cōbānī » *sousing water, a sousing* (চোব √cōb *to cause to dash into water, to plunge, duck into water*); চোখানি « cōkhānī » *water from the eye, tear* (চোখ cōkh < চউখ căukhă < cakṣuḥ); ধোয়ানি « dhōānī » *washings* (ধো √dhō = dhāv); নোকানি < নখানি « nōkānī < nākhānī » *water stirred by the finger-nails* (*and so not fit for drinking*) (nakha + pānīya-); নাকানি « nākānī » *rheum or water from the nose, water reaching to the nose* (নাক « nākă » *nose*); ছিটকানি « chiṭăkānī » *water scattered about* (ছিটকা « chiṭăkā » *scatter*; there is another ছিটকানি meaning *bolt to a door*, which shows the « -āni » affix under [13a] *supra*).

(16) আম্, আম, ম্, ম, আমী (আমি), অমি, ওমি, উমি, মি « -āmă, -āmâ, -mă, -mâ, -āmī (-āmi), -âmi, -ōmi, -umi -mi ».

**411.** A common affix to form abstract nouns, or nouns indicative of a characteristic or profession. It has been confused or connected wrongly

with the *ts.* affix « -iman » > ইম, ইমা « -imā, -imā », which is found in Bengali, as in other NIA. The source of this affix is an OB. কাম « kāma- » *work* (karma), with extensions : « karma>-kamma > -kāmā > -āmā >আম -āmā; karma-ka>-kamma-a > *-kāmaa > -āmā > আম -āmā; karmika, karmikā > -kammia > *-kāmī > -āmī > আমি -āmi ». The strong initial stress, as well as MB. mutation, has brought about the loss of the « -ā- » in lMB. and NB., and reduced the form to ম্, ম, মি « -mā, -mā, -mi » etc. In MB., the word কামিনা, কামিন্যা=কামিনিয়া « kāminā, -inyā<-iniyā » occurs, meaning *a labourer*, and a form আমিনী, আমিনি « āminī, āmini » also is found (as in the 'Śūnya-Purāṇa') : the latter word, explained as meaning a *female devotee of Dharma*, may be connected with কাম « kāmā » *work, service.* Examples : ঠকাম « ṭhākāmā » *cheating, roguery* (ঠক « ṭhākā » *cheat, 'thug'*); পাকাম, পাকামি « pākāmā, -mi » *behaving like a ripe* (*i.e. aged*) *person, precocity* (পাকা « pākā » *ripe*); so জেঠাম « jēṭhāmā » *behaving like a respected elder uncle = impertinence on the part of a boy or youth* (জেঠা « jēṭhā » *father's elder brother*); নেকাম, -মি « nēkāmā, -mi » *playing a fool* (নেকা « nēkā » *idiot, fool*); ছেলেম, -মি « chēlēmā, -mi » *childishness* (ছেলে=ছালিয়া « chēlē, chāliā » *child*); বড়াং < বড়াম্ « bāṛāṃ < bāṛāmā » *playing a big man, boasting* (বড় « bāṛā » *big*); বুড়াম, বুড়ম, বুড়ামি « buṛāmā, buṛāmā, buṛāmi » *behaving like an old man*; গিন্নাম, গিন্নম « ginnāmā, ginnāmā » *matronly talk and ways* (গিন্নি « ginni » = গৃহিণী « gṛhiṇī » *mistress of the house*); ঢেঁটাম, -মি « ḍhēṭāmā, -mi » *perversity* (ঢেঁটা « dhēṭā »<« dhṛṣṭa- »); বাঁদরাম, -মি « bādarāmā, -mi » *trickishness* (*used of children*) (বাঁদর = বানর « bādarā = bānarā » = « vānara »); ফচকেমি, ফচ্‌কাম « phaccakēmi, phaccakāmā » (ফচ্‌কিয়া « phaccakiyā » *chatterbox, over-smart fellow*); ফিচ্‌লাম ফিচ্‌লম, ফিচ্‌লামি, ফিচ্‌লিমি « phiccalāmā, -lāmā, -lāmi, -limi » *aculeness, trickery* (ফিচাল « phicālā » *an acute one*); পেজোম, পেজোমি « pējōmā, pējōmi » *viciousness* (পাজী « pājī » *mischievous character* > পাজুয়া+আমি « pājuā+ -āmi »); গোঁয়ার্তামি, -র্তমি « gōārtāmi, -tāmi » *churlishness, rashness, brusqueness* (*গোঁয়ারত « gōārātā » *one behaving like a churl* [see p. 668], with « -ātā » affix, see §397, +« -āmi »); ছোটলোক্‌মি « chōṭa-lōkā-mi » *meanness*; etc., etc.

The word ঘরামী « ghārāmī » *house-builder, maker of a hut* (=ঘর+কাম > আম+ঈ « ghārā+(k)āmā+I ») comes under this.

(17) আর, আরী (আরি) « -ārṛ, -ārī (-āri) », অরি, ইরি, উরি « -āri, -iri, -uri », রা « -rā » (i).

**412.** From « -kāra, -kārin (-kārika) », forming agent nouns : দোহার, দোয়ার « dō(h)ārṛ » < « *dhuāra » *member of a chorus* (dhruva-kāra) ; পূজারী « pūjārī » *worshipper* (pūjā-kāri-) ; কাঁসারী « kāsārī » *brass or bell-metal worker* (kāṁsya-kārika) ; কুমার « kumārṛ » *potter*, by Vowel Harmony কুমোর « kumōrṛ » (kumbha-kāra) ; চামার « cāmārṛ » (carma-kāra) ; শাঁখারী « śākhārī » (śaṅkha-kāri-) ; ভিখারী, ভিখিরি « bhikhārī > bhik(h)iri » *beggar* (bhikṣā-kāri-) ; জুয়ারী « juārī » (dyūta-kāri-), beside জুয়াড়ী « jūāṛī » (dyūta- +√vṛt) ; MB. বাণিজার « bāṇijārā » (vāṇijya-kāra) ; কুশারী « kuśārī » *a class of Brāhmaṇs* (kuśa-kāri-) ; MB. চুণারী « cūṇārī » *lime-worker* (cūrṇa-kāri-) ; MB. খেয়ারী « khēyārī » *ferryman* (kṣēpa-kāri-) : ডুবারী « ḍubārī », by Vowel Harmony ডুবুরী « ḍuburī » *diver* (ডুব √ḍub=MIA. buḍḍa) ; ধুনারী « dhunārī », beside ধুনুরি « dhunurī » *cotton-carder* (ধুন √dhun *shake*) ; পিয়ার « piyārṛ », fem. পিয়ারী « piyārī » *beloved* (priya-kāra, -kārikā) ; ছুতার « chutārṛ » *carpenter* seems to be a blend of « sūtra-dhāra » and « *sūtra-kāra » ; সেকরা « sēkṛā » *goldsmith*, see pp. 194-195 ; উআরী « uārī », বার-উয়ারী « bār-uārī », see p. 325 ; গোয়ার < *গাওঁআর « gōārṛ < gāṁāra » *boor* (grāma + kāra) ; etc.

The word কামার « kāmārṛ » *black-smith*, in Pali « kammāra », represents the Vedic « karmāra » (which is probably connected with the Dravidian [Tamil] « karumā » *smith, smelter* : cf. P. T. Srinivas Iyengar, 'Life in Ancient India, etc.' Madras, 1912, p. 15) ; and the Skt. কর্মকার « karma-kāra » is an artificial formation, which is now used by members of the black-smith caste as a surname.

(18) আর, আরী ( আরি ) « -ārṛ, -ārī (-āri) » (ii).

**413.** From « -ākāra- », slightly modifying or altering the sense of the word. It occurs only in a very few words. পয়ার « pāyārṛ » *a metre* (« padākāra », see pp. 285, 288) ; ঝিয়ারী « jhiyārī » *daughter* (ঝী « jhī » < « dhītā, duhitā » : the affix has only a pleonastic force here : probably through analogy of বহুয়ারী bāhuārī » = বৌহারী « bauhārī » [for which see p. 345], which is wrongly connected with বহু « bāhu » = « vadhū », after the

metathesis of the « h » took place); মাঝার « mājhāṛ » *middle*, মাঝারী « mājhārī » *middling-sized* (« madhyâkāra », pleonastic; « *madhyâkārika »).

(19) আর, আরী ( আরি ) « -āṛ, -ārī (-āri) » (iii).

**414.** From « -āgāra, -āgārin (-āgārika, -ikā) »: ভাঁড়ার « bhāṛār » *store* (bhāṇḍâgāra); MB. কাঁড়ার, beside কাণ্ডার « kāṛār, kāṇḍār » *keel of boat* (kāṇḍâgāra); সাভার « sābhār » *place-name* (? sabhâgāra); মেহার « mēhār » *place-name* (? mahâgāra); ভাঁড়ারী « bhāṛārī » *store-keeper* (bhāṇḍâgārika); কাণ্ডারী « kāṇḍārī » *helmsman* (kāṇḍâgārika); মেহারী « mēhārī » *palace* (? mahâgārikā); etc.

(20) আরু « -āru ».

**415.** Found in a few MB. words, seems to be from « -āra » (i), with addition of « -u » (i.e. « -ū < -uka »): দিশারু « diśāru » *pilot* beside দিশারী « diśārī » (diśa = dik- + kāra-); ডুবারু « ḍubāru » *diver* beside ডুবারী « ḍubārī »; *sts.* বন্দারু « bândāru » *bard, paneggyrist* (< √vand); *sts.* বাগারু « bāgāru » *talkative person* (vāg = vāc).

(21) আল্, আল « -āl̤, -āl̤a » (i), modified to অল, ওল « -al̤, -ōl̤a ».

**416.** The OIA. source of this is « -ā-l-a », also probably « -ā-l-u », both of which are found in Sanskrit, the sense being 'possessing,' 'pertaining to.' It has the « -l-a » affix (for which see *infra*) as its base. Examples: বাঙ্গাল, বাঙাল « bāṇg(g)āl̤ » *man of East Bengal* (vaṇga + -āl̤); পাঁকাল « pākāl̤ » *belonging to mud* > *a fish* (paṇkāla); ধারাল « dhārāl(ā) » *sharp-edged* (dhāra *edge*); দুধাল « dudhāl(ā) » *yielding milk* (dugdha + -āla); মাথাল « māthāl̤ » *with a head, prominent, chief* (mastaka + -āla); আড়াল « āṛāl̤ » *obstruction* (আড় « āṛ » *slanting*); তেজাল « tējāl̤ » *spirited* (tējas); পেঁচাল « pēcāl̤ » *with twists* (পেঁচ « pēc̤ » < Pers. « pēc »); ভাটীয়াল « bhāṭiyāl̤ » *belonging to the down-country* > *a folk-melody* (< ভাটী « bhāṭī » *flow of water* = *South Bengal*); বাচাল « bācāl̤ » (vācāla); দাঁতাল « dāṁtāl(ā) » *with (big) teeth* (danta + -āla-); ছিনাল « chināl̤ » *characterless woman* (MIA. chinnāla-); MB. পাকাল « pāikāl̤ » *heroism* (« pāik̤ » *soldier*, see p. 383).

This affix has the usual extensions: আলা > লা « -āl-ā > -lā »: *e.g.*, বাঙ্গালা, বাঙলা, বাংলা « bāṇg(gā)lā » *Bengali* (*speech, land*) (vaṇgāla + -ā); আলী

« -āl-ī », feminine and masculine (-ī < -ikā, -ikă), as well as abstract: *e.g.*, বাঙ্গালী, বাঙালী « bāṅ(g)ālī » (Old Bengali = feminine = *a woman of East Bengal*; NB. = masculine = *a man of Bengal, belonging to Bengal*); নগরালী « nāgār-āl-ī » *city manners*; নাগরালী « nāgār-āl-ī » *gallantry, refined ways* (nāgara *gallant*); ঠাকুরালী « ṭhākurālī » *ways of a god, divinity*; চতুরালী « caturālī » *smartness*; মেয়েলী « mēyēlī < *māïālī » *belonging to women*; ছিনালী « chināli » *coquetry*; রূপালী, রূপোলী, রূপুলি « rupālī > rūpōlī > rupuli » *silvery*; সোনালী « sōnālī » *golden*; নিদালী, নিন্দালী « ni(n)dālī » *sleepiness*; সুতালী « sutālī » *thin as a thread*; etc.

(22) আল « āl্ » (ii).

**417.** This affix, like the preceding one, denotes connexion. It is also used to form words indicative of trade or profession. It comes from OIA. « pāla » *keeper, guardian* by the dropping of « -p-> -w- »: « -pāla>-wāla> -āl্ ». Examples: রাখাল « rākhāl্ », MB. রাখোআল « rākhōālā » *herdsman*, (rakṣā-pāla); কেশেল < কাশীয়াল « Kēśēl্ < Kāśīyāl্ » *low class Brāhmaṇ from Benares* (Kāśī-pāla); কোটাল « kōṭāl্ », Hind « kōṭwāl » *head of the police, holder of a fort* (koṭṭa-pāla); ঘাটীয়াল « ghāṭīyāl্ » *holder of a pass or passage* (< ghāṭī); ‡ঘাটাল, ঘাটোআল « ghāṭāl্, ghāṭōālā » *man in charge of a 'ghāṭ'* (ghaṭṭa-pāla); কুঠিয়াল « kuṭhīyāl্ » *belonging to an office > a clerk* (kuṭhi kōṭhī < kōṣṭhikā); ঘড়ীয়াল « ghāṛiyāl্ » *man in charge of a clock* > ঘ'ড়েল « ghōṛēl্ » *acute one* (ghaṭikā); etc.

There is an extension to আলা « -āl-ā »: গোয়ালা, ‡গয়লা « gōālā > gāylā » (gōpāla-); বাড়ীআলা « bāṛīālā » *landlord, owner of a house*; কাপড়আলা « kāpāṛ-āl-ā » *cloth seller*; চুড়ীআলা « cuṛīālā » *bangle seller*; পাহারালা « pāhār-ālā » *watchman* (prahara). Also to আলী « -āl-ī », masculine and feminine (= -ikă, -ikā): গয়ালী « gāyālī » *Brāhmaṇ from Gayā* (Gayā-pāl-ikā); পেটেলী « pēṭēlī » < পাটিয়ালী « pāṭiyālī » *maid-servant* (pāṭa, pāṭī *order, arrangement, domestic work*); বাড়ীআলী « bāṛīālī » *land-lady*; etc. Abstracts are formed from « -āl্ » by adding the « -ī » of abstraction, *e.g.*, রাখালী « rākhālī » *the work of a herdsman*; কেঁড়েলী « kēṛēlī » *impertinence, roughness* < *কাঁড়িয়াল « kāṛiyāl্ » *rough* < *soldier, archer* (? kāṇḍa *arrow*); etc.

The « -āḷ, -āl-ā » of Bengali has within recent times been influenced by the cognate form in Hindōstānī, which is « -wālā » : the latter is substituted in many Bengali words in « -ālā », and ordinarily « -wālā » is reduced to ওলা « -ōlā » : *e.g.*, কাপড়ওয়ালা, কাপড়ওলা « kāpaṛ-ōālā (-wālā), -ōlā » ; so গাড়ীওলা « gāṛī-ōlā » *cabby*, পাহারওলা « pāhār-ōlā » *constable*, etc. The feminine of « -wālā » is « -wālī », which, by Vowel Harmony, is reduced to উলী « -ulī » in Bengali : *e.g.*, বাড়ীউলী « bāṛī-ulī » = native Bengali বাড়ীআলী « bāṛī-ālī ».

Through Bihārī or Hindī influence, we have also ওয়ারা « -ōārā = -wālā » in মাতোয়ারা « mātōārā (mātwārā) » *wild, mad, elated, pleased* (*e.g.*, *with perfume*) = « mātwārā » : the Bengali froms are মাতাল, মাতল, মাতলা « mātāḷ, mātāḷa, mātaḷā » *drunk* = Hind. « mātwāl ». The name বনওয়ারী « bānwārī » (see p. 521), from the Hindōstānī, can be equally from « vana-mālī » *garlanded with wild flowers* or « *vana-pālika » *dweller in woods*.

(23) ই < ঈ « -i < -Ī » (i).

**418.** A secondary affix, forming nouns and adjectives. Three separate affixes of OIA. seem to converge into this single NIA. form : (i) « -ī < -in » : « mālin > NIA. mālī » *gardener* : but the force of the nominative form seems to have been only of secondary importance in the evolution of the NIA. affix ; (ii) « -īya » : « dēśīya > NIA. dēśī » *native* ; and (iii) « -ika » : « grāmika » > গাঁই gāi » *village name, clan name* : the feminine form of this « -ikā » is also ঈ, ই « -ī, -i », which is the most popular feminine affix of NIA., for which see below. Later in NIA. this affix was strengthened by the « -ī » of Persian.

Examples : « -ī > -i » with the sense of 'possessing, having' : ভারী « bhār-ī » *heavy* ; *sts.* রাগী « rāg-ī » *full of passion* > *choleric* ; দামী « dām-ī » *costly* (dramma < Gk. drakhmē) ; দাগী « dāg-ī » *stained* (Pers. dāg) ; গুণী « guṇ-ī » *man of parts, artist* (cf. Skt. guṇin) ; ঢাকী « ḍhāk-ī » *drummer* (ḍhakkā) ; বেগুনি « bēgun-i » *purple* (= bāïgaṇ-ī < vātiṅgaṇa-) ; OB. নোবাহী « nau-bāh-ī » *boat-man* ; গাঁঠী জাল « gāṭh-ī jāḷ » *net with knots* (granthi-) ; গোলাপী « gōlāp-ī » *rose-coloured* (Pers. gul-āb = gul) ; হিসাবী « hisāb-ī » *careful, attentive to details* (Perso-Arabic « hisāb ») ; *sts.* মরমী « mārām-ī »

*with a heart* (*sts.* mārāmṛ̀ < marman); *ts.* আলাপী « ālāp-I » *courteous talker, acquaintance* (cf. Skt. ālāpin); দরদী « dārād-I » *sympathetic* (Pers. dard);

With the sense of 'pertaining to, coming from': দেশী> দিশি « dēśī > diśi » *belonging to the country, country-born or made, native* (cf. Skt. dēśīya); রাঢ়ী « Rāṛhī » *belonging to Rāḍha*; MB. কানড়ী, কানাড়ী « kānāṛī, -nāṛī » (Karṇāṭīya); মারহাট্টী « Mārṛhāṭṭī », মারাঠী, -টী « Mārāṭ(h)ī » (Mahārāṣṭrīya); গুজরাতী « Gujṛārātī » as if from « *Gūrja-rāṣṭrīya » (গুজরাট « Gujṛārāṭṛ̀ », for গুজরাত « Gujṛārātṛ̀ » < « Gūrjara-trā », through influence of « rāṣṭra »); কট্‌কী « Kāṭṛ̀kī » *of Cuttack* (Kaṭakīya); বনারসী, বেনারসী « Bānārāsī, Bēnārāsī » (Vārāṇasīya); বৃন্দাবনী « Bṛndābānī » *of Brindāban*; ঢাকাই « Ḍhākāi » *of Dacca*; ক'লকাতাই « Kāṛkātāi » *of Calcutta*; etc.;

With the sense of 'connected with,' generally forming names of professions: হাড়ী « hāṛī » *a low caste* (haḍḍika); কেরানী < *করাণী « kērānī < *kārāṇī » *clerk* (karaṇika+kīraka); MB. গাড়ুরী « gāṛurī » *snake-charmer* (gāruḍika); বেহাই « bēhāi » *son's or daughter's father-in-law* (vāivāhika), an inherited word, affix and all; শুঁড়ী « śūṛī » *wine-dealer* (śauṇḍika, śāuṇḍika); রাঁধুনি, রাঁধুনি « rādhānī, -dhunī » *cook* (see *ante*, p. 658); *sts.* নখকুণি « nākhṛ̀-kuṇi » *cut or sore in the nails* (nakha-kōṇa+I); etc.

It occurs also as অই « -ai » > উই « -ui »: বাড়ই, বাড়ুই « bāṛāi >bāṛui » *carpenter* (cf. Skt. vardhakin); বারই > বারুই « bārāi > bārui », OB. বারয়ী « bārayī », (see p. 188) *grower of the betel vine* (cf. Skt. « vāru-jivin »: *বার « bārā- », *বারু « bāru » *betel*, an Austric word: cf. J. Przyluski in the BSLP., XXIV, p. 257). It is pleonastic in ভারুই « bhārui < *bhārāi » *a bird* (bharata: *bhāratika); চড়ুই « cāṛui < cārāi » *sparrow* (caṭaka, *caṭakika), beside চড়া, চড়াই « cārā, cāṛāi » (*caṭāka, *caṭākika); etc.

(24) ই < ঈ « -i- < -I- » (ii): Feminine, Diminutive, Abstract.

**419.** Presents an « -ikā » of OIA., and is the most common feminine affix of NIA. Examples: রাই « Rāi », MB. রাহী « Rāhī » *a name* (Rādhikā); ঘুড়ি <*ঘোড়ী « ghuṛi < *ghōṛī » *mare* (*ghōṭikā); মামী « māmī » *maternal uncle's wife* (māmā+-I); কাকী « kākī » *father's younger brother's wife* (kākā+-I); খুদী « khudī » *a tiny girl* > *name for girls* (kṣudrikā); বুড়ী « buṛī » *old woman* (*vṛddhikā = vṛddhā); পাগলী « pāgṛ̀lī »

*mad woman* (pāgalā + -ī); বামনী « bāmaṇī » (*brāhmaṇikā = brāhmaṇī); *sts.* বষ্টমী, বষ্টুমী « bāṣṭāmī, -umī » (*vāiṣṇavikā = vāiṣṇavī).

A number of *sts.* forms show this « -ī » of Bengali, *e.g.*, সুবচনী « subāchānī » *a form of Durgā*; অপ্সরী « āpsārī » (apsaras); দিগম্বরী « digāmbārī » *a name of Kālī*; সুনয়নী « sunāyānī » *with beautiful eyes*, etc., with are solecisms from point of view of Skt.

The Skt. feminine affixes « -inī, -ānī » had an influence in restricting the Bengali ঈ, ই « -ī, -i » < « -ikā »: see *infra*, under « -nī ».

With names of inanimate objects, the original feminine force is lost in Bengali. In Western Hindī, Panjābī, Rājasthānī etc., the grammatical gender, however, is preserved in the « -ī < -ikā » forms. The feminine « -ikā » also expressed a diminutive or petty aspect of an action or an object. The diminutive has become obscure in many words in Bengali, so that « -ī < -ikā » has been reduced to a mere pleonastic affix. Examples: বুলী « bulī » *talk* (bōlla + -ī); রুটী « ruṭī » *bread* (cf. rōṭikā); চুষী « cuṣī » *baby-soother* (cuṣa + -ī); মাটী « māṭī » (mṛttikā); গলুই < *গলহী « gālui < *gālāhī » *prow of a boat* (gala-vahikā); ছুরী, ছুরি « churī, -ri » *knife*, beside ছোরা « chōrā » *dagger* (churikā); রাই « rāi » *mustard* (rājikā); পাই « pāi » *a fourth, pice* (pādikā); পুথী « puthī », পুঁথি « pūthi » *Indian MS., book* (pustikā), beside MB. পোথা « pōthā » (pustaka-); বাতী « bātī » *candle, light* (vartikā); লাঠি « lāṭhi » (*yaṣṭikā = yaṣṭi); কাঠী « kāṭhī » *a thin stick* (kāṣṭhikā); ছাতী « chātī » *umbrella* (*chattrikā), beside ছাত « chātā » *roof*, ছাতা « chātā » *umbrella* (chattra-); ধুতী « dhutī » *'dhoti'* (*dhōtrikā = dhōtra); যাঁতী « jāṁtī » *small double knife to cut betel-nuts* (yantrikā), beside যাঁতা « jāṁtā » *mill, quern* (yantra-); বড়মানুষী, বড়মানষী « bāṛā-māu(u)ṣ-ī » *living like a rich man, high style* (-mānuṣa + -ī); রাখালী « rākhāl-ī » *work of a herdsman* (rakṣāpāla + -ikā); ডাকা(ই)তী « ḍākā(i)t-ī » *robbery* (see *supra*, p. 655); কেঁড়েলী < কাঁড়িয়ালী « kēṛēlī < kāṛiyālī » *impertinancy, rowdiness* (« kāṛiyālā » *archer* ? [< kāṇḍa-] > *soldier, rough* + -ī); পণ্ডিতী « pāṇḍit-ī » *belonging to a Pundit* > *a Pundit's character or ways, scholasticism*; etc. Cf. Hindī « lāl-ī » *redness*, « hariyāl-ī » *green colour, greenness*, « rakhwāl-ī » *work of a herdsman*, etc. In Late NIA., the Persian « -ī » affix of abstraction or connexion greatly reinforced this suffix.

In some stereotyped words, « -ī » represents the OIA. « -ī » : *e.g.*, রানী, রাণী « rānī » (« rājñī » : or < « raṇṇia < *rājñikā » ?).

(25) ই « -i » : Verbal Noun.

**420.** This affix, occurring in OIA., is practically lost to NB. It is found only in some epenthetic forms in dialectal Bengali, and it has practically become a dead suffix; only some Skt. words in « -i » help to perpetuate it. Examples : গাঁট, গাঁইট « gā(i)ṭ » (granthi) ; মার, মাইর « mā(i)r » *a beating* < মারি « māri » (*mār-i); সারি > সা(ই)র « sāri > sā(i)r » *row* (sār-i); MB. হাস « hāsa » (« hās-i », which occurs as a *ts.* in NB.); গাল, গাইল « gā(i)l » *abuse* (*garh-i ? cf. Skt. garh-ā) ; শা(ই)ল « śā(i)l » *a kind of paddy* (śāli), also occurs in the *ts.* form in « -i » ; etc. Cf. also the OIA. suffix « -ti » in বা(ই)তি « ṣā(i)ṭ », MB. ষাঠি « ṣāṭhi » (ṣaṣ-ṭi), সত্তর « sāttār » (sapta-ti), পাঁত, পাঁইত beside the full form পাঁতি « pā(i)t, pāti » *row* (paṅk-ti), etc.

(26) ইআ, ইয়া, এ « -iā (-iyā) > -ē ».

**421.** This is a compound affix, being from the OIA. « -ikă » > MIA. « -ia » + the affix « -ā », as in § 400. It is used in forming adjectives with the sense of 'pertaining to' or 'possessing'; and frequently it is used with a slightly disparaging sense ; as well as pleonastically. In NB., it is contracted to এ « -ē », with accompanying modification through the « -i », of connected vowels. Examples : কালিয়া, কেলে « kāliā > kēlē » *the black one* (*contemptuous*) (kāla *black*) ; হলদিয়া, হলুদিয়া > হ'লুদে হ'লদে « hâlâdiā, hâludiā > hōlude, hōldē » *yellow* (হলুদ « hâluḍ » *turmeric*) ; বাইগণিয়া > বেগুনে « bāigāṇiyā > bēgunē » *purple, of egg-fruit* (vātiṅgaṇa) *colour* ; জালিয়া > জেলে « jāliā > jēlē » *fisherman* (jāla *net*) ; হালিয়া, হেলে « hāliyā > hēlē » *farmer* (hāla = hala *plough*) ; নগরিয়া > নগুরে « nâgâriyā > nâgurē » *man of the city* ; বানিয়া > বেনে « bāniā > bēnē » *merchant* (*vāṇika- = vaṇik) ; মাটিয়া > মেটে « māṭiā > mēṭē » *earthen* (māṭi < mṛttikā + -ika + -āka) ; (in the word মেটে as in মেটে ফিরিঙ্গী « mēṭē phiriṅgi » *a Eurasian, a half-caste*, we have, however, the French word « métis », approximated to the Bengali word by folk-etymology) ; উত্তরিয়া > উত্তরে

« uttâriyā >utturē » *northern*; দখিনিয়া>দখিনে, দ'খ্‌নে « dâkhiniyā>dōkhinē, dōkhnē » *southern*; পূবিয়া<পূবে « pūbiyā > pūbē » *eastern*; পশ্চিমিয়া > পশ্চিমে « pâścimiyā>pōścimē » *western*; MB. আভাগিয়া « ābhāgiyā » > NB. আবাগে « ābāgē » *luckless*; পাড়াগাঁইয়া > পাড়াগেঁয়ে « pāṛāgâiyā < -gēyē » *rural* (pāṭaka + grāma + -ika + -āka); কাঁদনিয়া> কাঁদুনে « kâdâniyā>kâdunē » *ready to weep*; MB. *নেয়ায়-আঁকড়িয়া « *nēāy-âkâṛiyā » > NB. নেই-আঁকুড়ে « nēi-âkuṛē » *one who clings to argument* (nyāya) > *obstinate*; নাগপুরিয়া > নাগপুরে « Nāg-puriyā > Nāg-purē » *of Nāgpur*; ওড়িয়া > উড়িয়া, উড়ে « Ōṛiyā > Uṛiyā > Uṛē » *Oṛiyā, of the Oḍra country*; MB. (ŚKK.) নাতিয়া « nātiyā » = নাতী « nātī » *grandson* (naptṛ-); কহনিয়া > কহুনে, কউনে « kâhâniyā > kō(h)unē » *talker*; জাগানিয়া>জাগানে « jāgâniyā > jāgânē » *one who wakens*; দেঅনিয়া, দিয়নিয়া > দিউনে « dēâniyā, diyâniyā > diunē » *a giver*; etc.

Although one of the most common affixes in Bengali, it is frequently disguised in the Standard Colloquial by contraction and by mutation of vowels.

### (27) ইএ, ইয়ে « -ie, -iyē ».

**422.** This NB. affix denotes 'one who is accustomed to do a thing, a *habitué*.' Typical words are খাইয়ে « khāiē » *a (good) eater*, গাইয়ে « gāiē » *a good singer, a professional singer*, বাজিয়ে « bājiē » *a clever musician*, নাচিয়ে « nāciē » *a good dancer*, খেলিয়ে « khēliē » *a clever player*, করিয়ে « kāriē » *an adept*, বলিয়ে « bâliē » *a conversationalist*, কহিয়ে > কইয়ে « kâ(h)iē » *a good talker*. Forms like the above are used as adjectives or predicatives, and in some cases they have become nouns. They recall Western Hindī forms like « khawaiyā, gawaiyā, kahaiyā » etc. Earlier Bengali forms, not attested, would be « *khâ̆âïyā, *gā(h)â̆ïyā, *bājâ̆ïyā, *nācâ̆ïyā, *khēlâ̆ïyā, *kārâ̆ïyā, *bōlâ̆ïyā, *kâhâ̆ïyā » etc. The Hindī affix « -aiyā, -awaiyā », and the source of the NB. « -iē » are apparently identical; and it is not unlikely that the affix in NB., which is found mainly in the colloquial, is a recent borrowing from Hindī, with the usual West Bengali contraction. There is no corresponding affix in Oṛiyā and in Assamese. Maithilī has the pleonastic « -aiyā », which, however, is different in meaning.

Hoernle takes this suffix to be « -awaiyā » and thinks that « -aiyā » is a contracted form of it; and « -awaiyā » he derives from an « -āw » from MIA. « -avva » (< OIA. « -tavya ») + a pleonastic « -aiyā » (< -aka + -ika + -ka) (Gaudian Grammar, §314). But it would be more reasonable to regard the suffix to be « -aiyā », and the « -w- » only as a euphonic insertion (cf. J. T. Platts, 'Grammar of the Hindūstānī or Urdū Language,' London, 1873, p. 208). The OIA. basis of it apparently is an agentive in « -aka » (khādaka > khāaa, khāẇaa, gāyaka > gāaa, gāẇaa [*gāthayaka > *gāhaaa, *gāheaa], *vādya-ka [= vādaka] > *vajjaa > *bājaa, etc.), to which the « -ika > -ia » and then the « -āka > -āa, -ā » affixes were added, pleonastically, in the Early NIA. stage: « *kathaka + -ika + -āka » > « *kahaaïāa » > « *kȧhȧïẏā » (Hindōstānī « kahaiyā ») > কহিয়ে « kȧhiē » > কইয়ে « kȧïyē » [koie].

(28) ইত « -it- ».

**423.** The affix ইত « -it- » is derived from the OIA. present participle base « -ant- » (see *supra*, pp. 653-4). In Bengali, it forms the present participle in an adverbial or conditional sense, with the locative affix « -ē »: *e.g.*, মেঘ চাইতে জল « mēghạ cāïtē (< *cāhantahi) jȧlạ » (*on one*) *asking for the cloud*, (*there is*) *rain*; or করিতে করিতে « kȧritē kȧritē » (< *karantahi) *while doing*; and it gives the base for the past habitual or past conditional (and in some East Bengal dialects, for the future) tense.

See also *supra* p. 663, under আইত, আত « -āitạ, -ātạ ».

(29) ইব « -ibȧ ».

**424.** Base for the future, and for a verbal noun, with an extended form ইবা « -ib-ā ». From OIA. « -itavya- » > MIA. « -iabba- » > « *-ĕbba, -ibba ». See *infra*, under 'Verb.'

(30) ইল « -ilạ » (i).

**425.** In MIA. « -illa », from OIA. pleonastic and adjectival affix « -i-la » (cf. Pāṇini, V, iii, 79), forming nouns and adjectives in Bengali, from nouns. It is not a living affix in NB., but is fairly common in MB. Cf. Hindī « chail » *handsome, accomplished* (chaïlla, chavila).

Examples: পাতিল « pātilą » *an earthen-pot for cooking* (patta, pātra); কুঁচিল « kũcilą » *crooked* (কুঁচ √kũc < √kuñc); *sts.* ‡আণ্ডিল « āṇḍilą » *strong one, chief* (aṇḍa + -illa); MB. *sts.* আরতিল « ārâti-lâ » *filled with a great desire* (ārati + -ila); পাকিল « pākilâ » *ripe* (pakva + -ila); etc. Cf. *ts.* কুটিল « kuṭilą » *crooked*. The *ts.* word « śarīra » is vulgarly pronounced as শরীল, শরিল [ʃoril], as if it had the « -ilą » affix.

(31) ইল « -ilâ » (ii).

**426.** Past base, also (specially in OB. and MB.) passive participle adjective. From OIA. « -(i)ta » + pleonastic affix « -i-la- » whence Late MIA. « *-iailla- > *-illa- », in Eastern Magadhan. (OIA. « -(i)ta + -alla » probably gave « *-alla- > -alą », in Central and Western Magadhan). See below, under 'Verb.' This « -ilâ » occurs also in a few nouns and adjectives in Bengali, although the adjectival and nominal use of « -ilâ » forms from verb roots is almost obsolete in the language. Examples: MB. ভুখিল « bhukhilâ » *hungry* (bubhukṣita + -ila); সুতিল « sutilâ » *sleeping* (supta + -ila); ভাঙ্গিল « bhāṅgilâ » *broken* (*bhaṅgita + -ila); OB. (Caryā 33) দুহিল দুধু « duhila dudhu » *milk that has been milked off* (*duhita + ila); NB. গেল « gēlâ » *last* < *gone* (gata + ila); etc.

The affix ইলে « -il-ē » forming the conjunctive, is the old locative form of it: চলিলে « calilē » *on having walked* (*calillahi).

(32) উ < ঊ « -u < -ū » (i).

**427.** From an OIA. « -u » (adjectival and nominal) + « -ka ». It implies a pettiness and lovableness of the object indicated, and is found in familiar and affectionate forms, specially of names: *e.g.*, *sts.* দুষ্টু « duṣṭu » *the little naughty one* (duṣṭa-); *sts.* ধুত্তু « dhuttu » *the little sly one* (dhūrta); বলু « Bâlu » affectionate for « Balarāma »; খুকু « khuku » *tiny little baby, darling of a child* (< খোকা « khōkā » *baby*); পাঁচু « Pācu » (Pañcânana *a name*); so নরু « Nâru » (Narêndra), হরু « Hâru » (Harêndra, Hara-nātha, etc.), রাধু « Rādhu » (Rādhā-kānta, etc.), কানু « Kānu » (Kṛṣṇa-); বটু « Bâṭu » *title for a Brāhman* (vaṭuka = ?vṛta + -u + -ka); etc., etc. It occurs also (peonastically in some cases) in the formation of noun-

and adjectives, like গাড়ু « gāṛu » *water-jar with spout* (*gaḍḍuka) ; লাড়ু, নাড়ু « lāṛu, nāṛu » *sweetmeat* (laḍḍuka) ; নীচু « nīcu » *down, in a low position* (nīca) ; উঁচু « ūcu » *high* (ucca-), etc. The « -u » affix of Śaurasēnī Apabhraṅśa, from OIA. « -aḥ », seems to have influenced this affix in the formative period of Bengali (see *supra*, p. 311).

(33) *ঊ, উ > ও > অ « *-ū > -u > -ō > -å » (ii).

**428.** This is a primary affix, and the forms with it are generally repeated in NB. the meaning is 'about to do someting,' 'on the point of doing.' *E.g.*, ডুবু-ডুবু « ḍubu-ḍubu » *about to sink* ; উড়ু-উড়ু « uṛu-uṛu » *about to fly away, filled with a longing* ; নিবু-নিবু > নিবো-নিবো « nibu-nibu > nibō-nibō » *on the point being extinguished* (also নিভ-নিভ « nibhå-nibhå ») ; কাঁদো-কাঁদো, কাঁদ-কাঁদ « kādō-kādō, kādå-kādå » *about to burst into tears* ; পাকো-পাকো « pākō-pākō » *nearly ripe* ; দাউ-দাউ ক'রে জলা « dāu-dāu kōrē jwålā » *to burn fiercely*, etc. The form হবু « hâbu » [fiobu] *about-to-be, future* (*e.g.*, হবু-জামাই « hâbu jāmāi » *the son-in-law to be*, হবু-রাজা « hâbu-rājā » *the future king*) seems to be for *হো-উ « *hō-u », with euphonic insertion of « b » : similarly খাউ-খাউ> খাবো-খাবো করা « khāu-khāu> khābō-khābō kårā » *to be eager to eat*, etc. (Cf. আদোবে « ādōbē », p. 511).

In Hindōstānī, there is an affix « -ū » which appears to be the same as the Bengali one : « bēc-ū » *seller*, « kīn-ū » *buyer*, « ḍāk-ū » *robber*, « jāg-ū » *watcher*, « uṛā-ū » *causer to fly* > *spendthrift*, « bigāṛ-ū » *spoiler*, « jhagaṛ-ū » *quarrelsome person*, etc. Hoernle connects it with the Skt. « -tṛ » + pleonastic « -ka » (*op. cit.*, § 333). But a likelier derivation would be from an OIA. « -u-ka » (cf. J. T. Platts, Hindustani Grammar, p. 209). This affix is found in Skt., in words like « ghāt-uka, kām-uka, bhāv-uka » etc., 'having the meaning and construction of a present participle' (see Whitney, Skt. Grammar, § 1180). There was also an « -ūka » rather rare, in OIA. : cf. Skt. « jāgar-ūka ».

Oṛiyā has the present participle affix « -u » (« kår-u, khā-u, jā-u » etc.), which seems to be the same affix as the Bengali and Hindōstānī ones (Hoernle derives the Oṛiya « -u », however, from the present participle « -anta », *op. cit.*, §301 : this is precluded phonologically).

(34) উআ > উও, ও « -uā > -uō, -ō ».

**429.** This is an extension of the preceding with the « -ā », used, like « -iyā » (p. 674), to indicate relation or connexion. It is also added to proper names, to indicate contempt. When affixed to an ordinary noun, it turns the latter to an adjective. There is the usual mutation of the vowels, and this fact often disguises this affix in the NB. Standard Colloquial. Examples: জলুয়া > জ'লো « jâl-uā > jōlō » *watery*; ঘরুয়া > ঘোরো « ghâr-uā > ghōrō » *domestic*; হাটুয়া > হেটো « hāṭ-uā > hēṭō » *of the market*; জ্বরুয়া > জ'রো « j(w)âr-uā > jōrō » *suffering from fever*; MB. শরুয়া « śâr-uā » *like a reed* > *slender* (NB. সরু, শরু « sâru, śâru » *lean and thin* < « śârṣ + -ū »); ধানুয়া > ধেনো « dhān-uā > dhēnō » (i) (*land*) *growing rice*, (ii) *rice-beer*; কাঠুয়া > কেঠো « kāṭh-uā > kēṭhō » *made of wood*; দানুয়া > দেনো « dān-uā > dēnō » *given as a gift*; *দীঅরাখুআ > দেয়খো « *dīâ-rākh-uā > dērkhō » *a wooden or earthen lamp-stand*; *কাঠকুআ > কেট্‌কো « *kāṭhâk-uā > kēṭkō » *a wooden vessel*; টাকুয়া > টেকো « ṭāk-uā > ṭēkō » *bald-pate*; so মেছো « mēchō » *fishmonger*; বাট্‌য়া > বেটো « bāṭ-uā > bēṭō » *belonging to the road* (bāṭa < vartman) > *a hack*; পানুয়া > পেনো « Pānuā > Pēnō » *contemptuous or familiar form of a name* (= Prāṇa-nātha, Pānnā-lāl, etc.), কালুয়া > কেলো « Kāluā > Kēlō » (Kāla-), রেমো, শেমো « Rēmō, Śēmō » (Rāma, Śyāma); যদুয়া > য'দো « Jâduā > Jōdō » (Yadu), etc., etc.; *মাউসুয়া > মেসো « *māus-uā > mēsō » *mother's sister's husband* (« māusī = mātṛṣvasṛ- »: cf. *পিউসিয়া > পিসে « *piusiā > pisē » *father's sister's husband*); etc., etc.

(35) ক, অক « -kā, (-kṛ), -âkṛ », ইক « -ikṛ », উক « -ukṛ » (i).

**430.** This affix is quite a common one in Bengali, and is employed primarily to form nouns (abstract, concrete, or onomatopoetic), generally from verb roots: *e.g.*, মোড়ক « mōṛ-âkṛ » *packet* (মুড়√muṛ *fold*); টনক্ « ṭân-âkṛ » *jerk, blow, striking* > *remembrance* (টন ṭanṛ *sense of tightness*, টান √ṭān *pull*); চড়ক « cāṛ-âkṛ » *a raising aloft* > *swinging by hooks from a high post, the hook-swinging festival* ( চড় √cāṛ *ride*); ছলক « chāl-âkṛ » *splash, spill of water* (ছল chāl *onomatopoetic for splashing of water*); so চলক « cāl-âkṛ » *spilling of water*; মড়ক « māṛ-âkṛ » *pestilence* (< maḍa = mṛta); সড়ক « sāṛ-âkṛ » *road, highway* (*saḍa = sṛta); ক(ফ)টক « phāṭ-âkṛ, phāṭ-âkṛ »

*gate* (cf. ফাট √phāṭ *split*); আটক « āṭ-aka » *confinement* (cf. আড় āṛa *obstruction*); ঝলক « jhal-aka *flame* ( ঝল √jhal, p. 479); চটক « cāṭ-aka » *brilliance*; জমক « jām-aka » *pomp*; বৈঠক « bāiṭh-aka » *a stand* (baiṭṭha < upavi-ṣṭa); ফুক, ফুঁক « phuka, phūka » *puffing, blowing* (cf. phutkāra); ঝিলিক « jhil-ika » *sparkle*; ছিলিক « chil-ika » *spilling or scattering of water*; চুক « cuka » *mistake*; সুড়ুক « suṛ-uka » *sound of quick motion*; etc.

The MIA. forms of the affix would be « -akka »: « *mōḍakka, *ṭaṇakka, *maḍakka, *jhalakka, *uvaïṭṭhakka », etc. In Śaurasēnī Apabhraṅśa, as a matter of fact, we find such forms as « sāsāṇala-jhalakkiaü » (= śvāsanala-jhalat-kṛta), « khuḍukkaï » (= śalyāyatē), « ghuḍukkaï » (=garjati), « cavēḍa-caḍakka » (=capēṭa-caṭat-kṛta »), « phukkij-janta » (=phut-kriyamāṇa) (in the Apabhraṅśa verses in Hēma-candra: cf. Pischel, 'Materialen zur Kenntnis des Apabhraṁśa,' Berlin, 1902). Following the indication of the Prakrit grammarians, the NIA. « -aka » and the MIA. « -akka » can be well affiliated to an OIA. compounding of a root or its participle base in « -a(n)t- » with « kṛta, √kṛ »: চমক « cāmāka » (also চৌক « cāūka », চঙক « cāṁāka » in MB., the proper *tbh.* forms) < MIA. « camakka, *camakkaa, camakkia » < OIA. « camat-kṛta »; so চুক « cuka » (cyut-kṛta); থক, থাক « thāka, thāka » *remain, be arrested* (stabh-kṛta), beside থমক « thāmāka » *sudden stop* (« *thambhakk[i]a < stambha + kṛta »: here apparently we have a generalised « -akka » added to a noun form in MIA.). A connexion with OIA. « -a-ka », apparently introduced as a *ts.* in Second and Late MIA. (the phonetics of which changed it to « -akka ») can also well be inferred: *e.g.*, MIA. (Māgadhī) « haḍakka = *hṛd-a-ka; haggē = *ahakkē = ahakaṁ < aham; lēḍ(h)ukka = lēṣṭuka; ṇāakka = nāyaka », etc. (See « -ka » [ii] below. Cf. Pischel, § 194; Hoernle, Gaudian Grammar, § 338; JASB., 1880, I, p. 37, 'Hindī Roots'; also cf. Jules Bloch, 'Langue Marathe,' § 94). It has also been suggested, by Bloch, that the affix in part goes back to the OIA. adjectival and pleonastic « -kya », as in « pārakya < para » (cf. also « māṇikya < maṇi »). Further, Bloch draws our attention to the « -kk- » (also « -k-, -g- ») affix which is such a common one in the Dravidian languages, in which, apart from other functions, it is used in forming verbal nouns from

roots: *e.g.*, « √naḍ » *to walk* > « naḍ-akk-ai, naḍ-akk-al, naḍ-akk-udal » *walking*; « √iru » *to be* > « iru-kk-ai » *being*; « √śĕy » *to do* > « śĕy-gai » *doing*, etc., as in Tamil, and « √uṇṇu » *to eat* > « uṇṇike » *eating*, as in Kannada (Bloch, 'Langue Marathe,' p. 105; Caldwell, 'Comparative Grammar of the Dravidian Languages[3],' 1916, pp. 542-543).

In its origin, it would thus seem that this affix is derived from « kṛta » and other forms of « √kṛ ». There seems also to have been present the influence of the Skt. affix « -a-ka », which was Prakritised into « -akka ». And it is not improbable that in MIA. times a « -kk-, -g-, -k- » affix existed in North Indian Dravidian dialects (now superseded by IA.), and this affix of Dravidian was not without its influence in the establishment of « -akka » in MIA. of the Second and Third stages.

The ইক, উক « -ikṛ, -ukṛ » forms seem to be due to Vowel Harmony, the « -ă- » changing to « -i-, -u- » when the root or base form had these vowels, by attraction.

Extensions of ক, অক « -kṛ, -ăkṛ » in Bengali:

(অ)কা « -ṛkā », i.e. « -ăkṛ + -ā »: adjectival and pleonastic, with an implication of biggishness or coarseness: পটকা « pāṭṛkā » *cracker, squib*, beside পটক « pāṭăkṛ » *a throwing down with cracking noise*; চল্‌কা « călṛkā » *a dash and a fall of liquid through overflowing*; ফটকা « phāṭṛkā » *dry, making a crackling noise when broken*; হোঁৎকা « hŏtṛkā » *grunting, ugly, rude person*; হুড়কা « huṛṛkā » *a bar, a bolt*; etc.

অকী, (অ)কি « -ăkī, -ṛki »: with adjectival « -ī »: বৈঠকী « bāiṭhăkī » *polite, of good society* < *belonging to the drawing room.*

(অ)কী, (অ)কি « -ṛkī, -ki < -ăkī »: feminine > diminutive > pleonastic in NB., generally names of concrete objects: সড়কী « sāṛṛkī » *javelin (that which moves quickly and strikes*: < sṛta < √sṛ); হেঁচকি « hĕṁcṛki » *jerk* > *yawn, hiccup* (cf. হেঁচড়ান « hĕṁc-ṛ-ṛā-nā » *pull*); কুঁচকি « kũcṛki » *groin* (cf. কুঁচকান « kũcṛkānā » *to be curled up*); ছিটকি « chiṭṛki », beside ছিটকিনী « chiṭṛkinī » *bolt, latch*; etc.

The affix আক্‌ « -ā-kṛ », in forms like তড়াক « tāṛākṛ » *with a sudden bound* (< tṛta), পড়াক « pāṛākṛ » *with a crack*, সড়াক « sāṛākṛ » *with a quick glide*, কড়াক « kāṛākṛ » *with a crackling sound*, etc., which are mostly

used with the indeclinable conjunctive করিয়া, ক'রে « kâriyā, kōrē » *having done* (see *supra*, p. 655, for a similar formation in আং « -āṭ̇ »), to indicate quick and abrupt movement or sound, is undoubtedly connected with the « -âkṭ̇ » affix, the base apparently being a strong form in « -ā ».

Bases in « -âkṭ̇, -ṭ̇kā » (the latter preferably in NB.) are used for the denominative in Bengali: *e.g.*, MB. চমকে, চওকে « câmâkē, cāwâkē », NB. চমকায় « câmṭ̇kāy » *is startled*; ছিটকায় « chiṭ̇kāy » *sprinkles*; etc.

(36) ক « -ṭ̇kṭ̇ » (ii) > কা « -ṭ̇kā », কী « -ṭ̇kī », কিয়া « -kiyā », কুয়া « -kuā ».

**431.** This is an adjectival affix, also used pleonastically: it is also found in the strong form in কা « -kā », with its feminine কী, কি « -kī, -ki », and also in its extensions formed by superposing other affixes, ইয়া « -iyā », উয়া « uā » etc. Examples: ধনুক « dhânukṭ̇ » *bow* (dhaṇukka, dhanuṣka); ঢোলক « ḍhōlâkṭ̇ » (*small*) *drum* (MIA. dholla-); শামুক « śāmukṭ̇ » (*sambukka = śambu-ka); দোফরকা « dō-phârṭ̇-kā » *with two blades* (phala-); dialectal Bengali আমকা, তোমকা « āmṭ̇kā, tōmṭ̇kā » *of us, of you = our, your*; গদকা « gâdṭ̇kā » *Indian club, cudgel* (< *Is.* gadā); দমকা « dâmṭ̇kā » *a rush of wind, a strong puff of wind*, beside দমক « dâmâkṭ̇ » *puff, jerk* (Pers. « dam » *breath*); বড়কী « bârṭ̇kī » *eldest daughter-in-law* (= *wife of the eldest one*); so মেজকী « mējṭ̇kī » < « mājhuā + kī », ছোটকী « chōṭṭ̇kī », etc.; কেট্‌কো < *কাঠকুয়া « kēṭṭ̇kō < *kāṭh-âk-uā » *a wooden vessel*; পুঁটকে « pūṭṭ̇kē < *pūṭ-âk-iyā » *a tiny one* (cf. পুঁটি « pūṭī » *a tiny girl, a small fish*); মুনকে « munṭ̇kē » < মণকিয়া « mâṇ-âk-iyā » *a maund in weight, one who can eat food-stuffs weighing a maund*; so সেরকে « sērṭ̇kē < *sēr-âk-iyā » *weighing a seer*; শটকে « śâṭṭ̇kē » < *সটকিয়া « śâṭâk-iyā » *plain numeration table upto 100* (from *সটক, সড়ক « *sâṭâkṭ̇, sâḍâkṭ̇ » *plain movement*? seems wrongly to be connected with শত « śâtâ » *hundred*, and turned into শতকিয়া « śâtâ-k-iyā » as a « sādhu-bhāsā » equivalent); কড়াকিয়া « kâṛâ-k-iyā » *numeration table by fours and quarters* (কড়া kâṛā) *upto 100*; গণ্ডাকিয়া « gâṇḍâ-k-iyā » *numeration table by fours* ( গণ্ডা gâṇḍā ) *and eighties, upto 400*; so বুড়কে < বুড়িকিয়া « buṛkē < buṛi-k-iyā » *numeration table by twenties* ( buṛi বুড়ি ) *upto 2000*; পণকে < পণকিয়া « pâṇṭ̇kē < pâṇâ-k-iyā » *numeration table by eighties* ( পণ pâṇṭ̇ ) *upto 8,000*; etc.

This affix would seem to be the Skt. pleonastic and adjectival « -ka » (see Whitney, Sanskrit Grammar, § 1222), introduced into Second and Late MIA. as a *ts.* form, and normally becoming « -kka ». In Magadhan, it seems to have been used for the genitive, as, *e.g.*, in Maithilī « ghōrā-k » *horse's*, in Oṛiyā « puruṣāṅ-kā » *men's*, and in early and dialectal Bengali as well. In the other NIA. languages, like Western Hindī, however, the genitive affix « -kā, kau » etc. seems to have come from « kaa < kṛta » ; but it is not unlikely that there was some influence of this very common and resusciated OIA. affix. An adjective-genitive use of « -kka » is found also in Śaurasēnī Apabhraṁśa as in Hēma-candra: *e.g.*, « bappi-kī bhūmbaḍī » (= pāitṛkī bhūmiḥ). In the Avahaṭṭha of the 'Prākṛta-Paiṅgala,' the « -ka » for the adjective genitive figures largely.

There is a pleonastic use of this « -kā », mainly after verbs, in Bengali and in other Magadhan languages (see *infra*, Verb: 'Pleonastic Affixes'): *e.g.*, হইবেক « hāibē-kā » *it will be*; করুক « kār-u-kā » *let him do*; ‡খালেক « khālē-kā » *he ate*; নাহিক « nāhi-kā », MB. নাহিকয় « nāhi-k-āy » *is not*, beside Early Assamese নাহিকন্ত « nāhi-k-āntā » *they are not*; and Magahī « √hī-k », Maithilī « chi-k » *to be*. These last instances would show that « -kā », like the « -ṛ- » affix (iii) below, was added to the root: probably here was some confusion with « -kā » (i) (< √kṛ), as in ‡থা « thā » (< √sthā) beside থক, থাক « √thāk, thāk », Maithil « √thik » (< √stabh + √kṛ). But « -ka » was used after other words also: *e.g.*, ‡কিন্তুক « kintu-kā » *but* (kintu); etc.

See *infra*, under 'Tatsama Suffixes: « -ka »'.

(37) কর « -kārā ».

**432.** Found in দোকর, তেকর « dō-kārā, tē-kārā » *two-fold, three-fold*, is the Skt. noun « kara », which is also partly the source of the genitive, and of one of the dative affixes of Bengali, as well as of the common plural affix « -rā ».

(38) গোছ, গোচ « -gōc(h)ā » < গোছের « gōch-ērā ».

**433.** This is compounded with adjectives and nouns, and is used, like the English *-ish*, to mean 'like, resembling, of the group of.' The

word is the Skt. « guccha » *bundle*; and গোছ(ি) « gōchḍ (gōchā) » occurs as a numerative in Bengali. The use of the genitive form is apparently the older one: লম্বাগোছের মানুষ « lâmbā-gōchērḍ mānuṣḍ » lit. *a man of the 'tall-group'=a tallish man*, which was shortened to লম্বাগোছ মানুষ « lâmbā-gōchḍ mānuṣḍ »; so মাঝারী-গোছের > -গোছ « mājhārī-gōchērḍ, -gōchḍ » *about middling-sized*; ছোঁড়া-গোছের > -গোছ « chōṛā-gōchērḍ > -gōchḍ » *rather like a lad, youngish.*

(39) চ, আচ « -cḍ, -ācḍ ».

**434.** In a few words like কানাচ « kānācḍ » *belonging to the edge, edge*, কোণাচ « kōṇācḍ » *belonging to a corner, aslant*, ঘামাচী « ghāmācī » *prickly heat*,—the « -c- », or « -āc- » affix seems to be from the OIA. « -tya » forming adjectives (=karṇa-, kōṇa-, gharma- + -tya).

(40) জা « -jā ».

**435.** From « jāta », found in some familiar forms of surnames: = 'son of.' *E.g.*, ঘোষজা « Ghōṣḍ-jā » *of the Ghosh family*; বোস্‌জা < *বসুজাত « Bōsḍ-jā < Bâsu-jāta » *of the Bose or Basu* (*Vasu*) *family*; মিত্তিরজা « Mittirḍ-jā » *of the Mitter* (*Mitra*) *family.*

(41) ট « -(â)ṭḍ- » (i), and its extensions.

**436.** This affix, found in other NIA. speeches, forms quite an important group with its extensions, and indicates either some resemblance, connexion or modification in a general way, or trade or habit. In some cases it has become merely pleonastic, like the « -ḍ- > -ṛ- » suffixes (see below, §§449, 450), which seem to have influenced it in its pleonastic use. It represents a MIA. « *vaṭṭ- », from the OIA. formations « varta, vartika, vartikā; vṛtta, vṛttika, vṛttikā » from « √vṛt ». This affix occurs in Hindōstānī as « -āwaṭ, -āhaṭ », and in other forms of NIA. also.

ট « -ṭḍ » < « vartta »: abstract or concrete nouns: দাপট « dāpâṭḍ » *power, puissance, rule, high-handedness* (darpa-varta); সাপট « sāpâṭḍ » *being in a fury, indulging in heroic gestures, seizing boldly* (sarpa-varta); ঝাপট, ঝাপট « j(h)āpâṭḍ » *gripping, splashing, struggling, dashing as with wings*

(*jhampa-varta); আস্ত, আস্ত « āṇ(g)âṭṣ » *entire, not torn* (*as of a plantain leaf*) (« aṇga-varta » : আস্তা « aṇ(g)ṣṭā » *ring of a vessel*, আঙটা « āṇṭī » *finger ring* represent « aṇguṣṭha »); মাথট « māthâṭṣ » *capital levy* (*masta[ka]-varta), etc.; and other words like উচট, হোঁচট « ucâṭṣ, hōcâṭṣ » *stumble* (? ava-tya + varta) also seem to have this affix. Cf. কেওট, ক্যাওট « kēōṭṣ » [kæoṭ] (kēvaṭṭa < kāivarta).

ট « -ṭṣ » from « vṛtta », forming adjectives and nouns: ধোঁয়াট « dhõāṭṣ » *smoky, mass of smoke* (dhūma- > dhũā, dhõā + ṭṣ < vṛtta); ঘোলাট « ghōlāṭṣ » *muddy, muddiness* (« ghōlā » *muddy, turbid* < ghūrṇa + vṛtta); ভরাট « bharāṭṣ » *filled-up, well-filled, a filling-up* (bhara- + vṛtta); জমাট « jāmāṭṣ » *congealed, frozen, compact* (« jāmā » < Perso-Arab. « jam' » + « vṛtta »); etc.

টা « -ṭā » (= « -âṭṣ » above + « ā »): forms adjectives and nouns, and denominative bases from forms with < « -ṭ- »: চেপটা <*চিপটা « cēpṭā <*cipâtā » *flat* (« √cip » *press, flatten* + « vṛtta »: cf. MIA. « civiḍaa », Skt. « ciṛiṭaka » = চিড়া, চিঁড়া « ciṛā, cīṛā » *flattened rice*, with the affix « -ḍ- > -ṛ- », see p. 689); ঝাপ্টা « jhāpṣṭā » *spray of water, an ornament for the head with tassel of pearls* (cf. « jhāpâṭṣ » above); নেওটা by Vowel Harmony নেওটো « nēōṭā » > [næoṭo] *affectionate, attached* (*nēhâṭ-ā < ṇēha-vaṭṭa-, snēha-vṛtta-); ঘষ্টা « ghâṣṭā » *getting rubbed, or rubbing continuously*, as opposed to ঘষ « √ghâṣ » *to rub* (gharṣa-varta-); শুঁটকা < *শূখটা « sũṭṣkā < *śũkhâṭā » *lean and thin, dried up, shrivelled* (śuṣka + vṛtta); উকটা « ukṣṭā » *rummage, eagerly search* (*utka-varta-); কস্টা, কচটা « kâśṣṭā, kâcṣṭā » *rinse* (karṣa-varta-); খেমটা « khēmṣṭā » *a kind of style in dancing and singing* (? + varta); নেঙটা « nēṇṭā », ‡নেংটো [næṇṭo], লেঙ্গটা « lēṇgṣṭā » *naked* (*naṇgavaṭṭa-, naggavaṭṭa-, nagna-vṛtta-); পাঁশুটা « pāśuṭā » *ashen or grey in colour* (pāṅśu-vṛtta-); চিম্টা « cimṣṭā » *tongs, pincers* (MIA. ? *cimma + vṛtta); etc.

টা, টি « -ṭī, -ṭi », generally = the feminine form of the « -ṭ- » affix (< -vaṭṭia = vartikā, vṛttikā). In MB. and NB., the feminine force is absent, and « -ṭī, -ṭi » has become either merely pleonastic, or vaguely diminutive: *e.g.*, ঝাপটা, ঘুপটি « ghāpṣṭī, ghupṣṭi » *lying in wait to waylay* (? MIA. *ghappa, *ghuppa = ghŏppa- + vṛttikā; cf. dialectal Bengali

‡ঘোপ(ী) « ghōp(ā) » *corner, nook*); চিম্‌টী « cimaṭī » (MIA. *cimma + vṛttikā); গুমটী « gumaṭī » *bastion, sentry-box, tower* (gulma + vartikā); *শুখটী > শুঁট্‌কী « *śūkhaṭī > śūṭkī » *dried fish* (? śuṣka-vṛttikā); ছিপটী « chipaṭī » *whip* (kṣipra-); similarly we have this affix in words like খুনসুটী « khunaṭ-suṭī » *bickering, picking up a quarrel*; etc.

টা « -ṭā » and টী, টি « -ṭī, -ṭi » have given the so-called post-fixed 'Definite Articles,' or 'Enclitic Definitives' of Bengali,—« -ṭā », the original strong masculine base, implying biggishness or crudeness of the object, and « -ṭī, -ṭi », originally feminine, implying smallness or daintiness. Thus, we have একটা « ēkaṭā » *one piece, a big or ungainly article*, একটী « ēkaṭī » *one piece, a small and nice one* (=*ĕkka-vaṭṭa-, *ĕkka-vaṭṭia < ēka-vṛtta, -vṛttikā): so দু(ই)টা > দুটো, দু(ই)টী > « du(i)-ṭā > duṭō, -ṭī »; তিনটা > তিন্‌টে, তিনটী « tinṭā > tinṭē, -ṭī », etc. The affix has gradually become a distinct definitive in Bengali, being added to names of persons and things and to adjectives: *e.g.*, গাছটা « gāchaṭā » *that tree, that big tree*, but গাছটী « gāchaṭī » *that tree, that nice little tree*; রামটা « Rāmaṭā » *that ungainly, awkward, or bad fellow of a Rāma*, but রামটী « Rāmaṭī » *our good fellow Rāma*; so ভালটা, ভালটী « bhālā-ṭā, bhālā-ṭī »; etc. টা, টী also occur dialectally as ডা, ডী « -ḍā, -ḍī ». The source of this টা, টী « -ṭā, -ṭī » has been suggested as being গোটা, গুটী « gōṭā, guṭī » *piece*: but the latter is a different word. See *infra*: under 'Numeratives or Enclitic Definitives.'

টিয়া > টে « -ṭiyā > -ṭē » (-ṭ- + -i- + -ā < -vṛtta + -ika- + -āka), indicating 'habit' or 'nature,' or 'resemblance': *e.g.*, আঁষটে < আঁইষটিয়া « ām̐iṣaṭē < *ā(m̐)iśāṭiyā » *smelling of rank fish and flesh* (āmiṣa-vṛttika + āka); ঘোলাটে « ghōlāṭē » *muddy-like* (see ঘোলাট « ghōlāṭaṭ », p. 685); ভাড়াটে < ভাড়াটিয়া « bhāṛāṭē < bhāṛāṭiyā » *tenant, (cab) plying for hire* (bhāṭaka-vṛtta + -ika + -āka); ধোঁয়াটে « dhōāṭē » *smoking-like* (see ধোঁয়াট « dhōāṭaṭ », p. 685); তামাটে « tāmāṭē » *copper-red in colour* (tāmā < tāmra-); রাঙ্গাটে « rāṅ(g)āṭē » *reddish* (রাঙ্গা rāṅgā *red*); পাঁশুটে « pām̐śuṭē » *greyish* (see পাঁশুটা « pām̐śuṭā », p. 685); রোগাটে « rōgāṭē » *sickly, lean and thin like* (< রোগা « rōg-ā » *sick*, see p. 659); ঝগড়াটে « jhāgaṛāṭē » *quarrelsome* (<jhāgaṛā); হিংসুটে < *হিংসুকটিয়া « hīsaṭē < *ts.* * hiṅsuka + -ṭiyā », beside হিংসুটে « hiṅsuṭē » *envious and spiteful*; etc., etc.

Connected with this « -ṭ- » affix is ড় « -ḍ- > -ṛ- » (i) below.

(42) ট « -ṭṛā » (ii).

**437.** In a few words, which may be called disguised compounds: from Skt. or OIA. « paṭṭa ». Examples : লেঙ্গট, গাঙ্গট « lēṅgāṭṛ, lāṅgāṭṛ » (*laṅga-paṭṭa, liṅga-paṭṭa), see p. 347 ; মলাট « mālāṭṛ » *cover of a book*, literally *dust-board* (মলা « mālā » + পাট « pāṭā » < « paṭṭa ») ; a feminine > diminutive-pleonastic extension as in কষটী « kāṣṭī, kāṣāṭī < kāṣāṭī » *assaying stone* (karṣa-paṭṭikā, Hind. kasauṭī) ; etc.

(43) ট « -ṭ- » (iii) > আট « -āṭṛ », also আটি « -āṭi », উটি « -uṭi », ইটি « -iṭi », টি « -ṭi ».

**438.** Like some of the other suffixes noted above, this is really a decayed word figuring in a number of disguised compounds. The source of it is « *mṛtta, mṛttikā » *earth*, Beng. মাট, মাটী « māṭṛ, māṭī ». Examples : ধোলাট « dhōlāṭṛ » *soil washed down by rains* ; ধরাটী « dhārāṭī » *earth heaped up for an embankment* (dhārā + māṭī < mṛttikā) ; ‡পেটোটি, পেটুটি « pēṭōṭi, pēṭuṭi » *earth and bits of jute mixed, for plastering mud huts* (pāṭṛ + māṭī > *pāṭāwāṭī, *pāṭuāṭī) ; তুষাটি, তুষুটি « tuṣāṭī, tuṣuṭi » *chaff and earth mixed* (tuṣa- + mṛttikā) ; খড়িটি « khāṛiṭi » *chalk and earth* (khaṭikā *chalk*).

(44) ড় « -ṛ- » (i) > -ড়া « -ṛā », ড়ী « -ṛī », ড়িয়া > ড়ে « -ṛiyā > -ṛē ».

**439.** The « -ṛ- » affix in a number of words indicates habit or profession, or some sort of connexion : *e.g.*, বাসাড়ে < বাসাড়িয়া « bāsāṛē > bāsāṛiyā » *dweller in a lodging house or hired apartments* (< bāsā *lodging house*, < vāsa-) ; যোগাড় « jōgāṛṛ » *arrangement, supply* (< *ts.* yōga) ; যোগাড়ে < যোগাড়িয়া « jōgāṛē < -ṛiyā » *an organiser, a man clever at arranging things* ; তুখড় < *তিখড় « tukhāṛṛ < * tikhāṛā » *sharp one, clever one* (< tikkha = tīkṣṇa) ; বাঁকুড়া Bākuṛā « *name of a person* in MB. « bāṅka, vaṅka, vakra » : when the place name, = *Bankurah*, the affix would seem to be of different origin : see under « -ṛ- » [ii] below ; আগড় « āgāṛṛ » *basket-work door of hut* (agra-) ; *ফাঁসড়িয়া > ফাঁসুড়ে « *phāsāṛiyā > phāsuṛē » *one who strangles and robs*

*travellers* (phāsṛ *halter-rope with loop*); ঘাসিয়াড়া > ঘেসেড়া « ghāsiāṛā > ghēsēṛā » *grass-cutter* (ghāsṛ, *ghāsī *grass*); ‡নাউড়ে « nāuṛē < *nāẘāṛiā » *a boat-man*; MB. ধাউড়, ধাউড়িয়া « dhāuṛā, dhāuṛiyā » *a runner*; খেলোয়াড় « khēlōāṛā » *a player, an expert* > *a smart and sharp person* (slang); জুয়াড়ী « juāṛī » *gamester*, see p. 668; *সাপড়িয়া < সাপুড়ে « *sāpāriyā > sāpuṛē » *snake-charmer*; লুঠেরা < *লুঠিয়াড়া « luṭhērā<*luṭhiāṛā » <«√luṭh » *plunder*, cf. Hindi « luṭērā » *robber*; ভাঙ্গড় « bhāṅ(g)āṛā » *one who indulges in 'bhāng'*; কেওড়া « kēŏṛā » *a low caste* (*kēvaṭa-), beside কেওট « kēoṭā » (< kēvaṭṭa, kāivarta); etc.

The source of this « -ṛ- » would seem to be the OIA. « √vṛt », in a form like « vṛtā » = *work, labour, movement*, found in the Rig-Vēda, which would give a MIA. « *vaṭā> *vaḍā> *vaḍă » By extension with « -ā, -iyā, -ī < -ika » etc., we get the ড়া, ড়িয়া, ড়ী etc.

(45) ড় « -ṛ- », ড়া « -ṛā », ড়ী « -ṛī » (ii).

**440.** This occurs in some place-names, and it comes from a Late OIA. and Early MIA. « vāṭa » *enclosure* which is found in Sanskrit as a « guṇa » formation from « vaṭa < vṛ-ta », < « √vṛ » *to cover, to enclose*. ড়ী, ড়ি « -ṛī, -ṛi » as an affix in Bengali would therefore represent « vāṭikā » compounded with words. Examples: আখড়া « ākhāṛā », Hind. « akhāṛā » *enclosed ground for physical exercise, club* (akṣa-vāṭa-); ভাগাড় « bhāgāṛā » *place outside village where dead cattle are cast away* (? « bhagna + vāṭa »: connexion with হাড় « hāṛā » *bones* is popularly suggested); গোয়াড়ী « gōāṛī » *place-name* = *Gowari near Krishnagar in Nadiya* (gōpa-vāṭikā); খোঁয়াড় « khōāṛā » *pig-sty* (? Persian « xug » *swine*> Bengali « *khōgā, *khō, khō » + « vāṭa »). The Sanskritised « nāu-vāṭa » *a fleet of boats or ships, a dock*, met with in old Bengal inscriptions, represents an Old Bengali « *nāẘa-vāḍa », which was Persianised into « nawwārah » by the Mohammedans: « *nāẘa-wāḍa » may be connected with the dialectal word নাউড়ে above (§449).

The word « vāṭa » may equally be the source of ড়া « -ṛā » in place names, although a non-Aryan origin, Kōl or Dravidian, for that affix is not unlikely (see *supra*, p. 66).

The word বাটোয়াড় « bāṭōāṛ » *high-way robber* (bāṭa < vartman) has nothing to do with « ṛ », (i) or (ii), although « -ṛ- » (i) might have been confused with it: it comes from MB. বাটপাড় « bāṭa-pāṛa », in which form it still occurs in NB. (< causative root « pāṭaya- »).

(46) ড় « -ṛ- », ঢ় « -ṛā », ঢ়ী « -ṛī » (iii).

**441.** Pleonastic affix, derived from « -ḍa- », which was widely used in Late MIA.: *e.g.*, « vaccha-ḍa (vatsa), diaha-ḍa (divasa), gōra-ḍ-ī (gāurī), nēha-ḍ-ā (snēha), hiya-ḍ-ā (hṛdaya), dōsa-ḍ-ā (dōṣa), pārakka-ḍ-ā (parakīyā), bhumha-ḍ-ī (bhūmi), tēva-ḍ-u (tadvat), bh(r)anta-ḍ-ī (bhrānti), nidda-ḍ-ī (nidrā), dēsa-ḍa (dēśa), sandēsa-ḍā (sandēśa) », as in the Apabhraṁśa fragments in Hēma-candra; « dukkha-ḍ-ā (duḥkha) », as in the 'Saṁjama-mañjarī'; etc. The « -ḍa- » affix seems to have come into special prominence in the *spoken dialects* of Northern India in the closing centuries of the 1st millennium A. C. It is also very likely that it was largely used in the spoken language in the earlier stages of MIA., but the remains of First, Transitional and Second MIA. do not use it lavishly; and in Third MIA. literary remains, where the style is exclusively artificial and is modelled on the Prakrit *kāvyas* (as in the Jaina works like the 'Bhavisatta-Kaha'), it is not so common either. The Ap. verses in Hēma-candra's grammar form specimens of genuine popular poetry, and hence the « -ḍ- » words are so much in evidence there. All NIA. speeches show numerous forms with « -ḍa- > -ṛ- »; and some kinds of NIA., *e.g.*, the Rājasthānī dialects, employ it more lavishly than the rest, affixing it to passive participles quite freely.

The Second and Third MIA. « -ḍa » rests on a First MIA. « -ṭa- », which would normally represent an OIA. « -ṭa- » (or a dental « -ta- », with or without a « r » or « ṛ » to cerebralise it). (Cf. Pischel, §599.) In Skt., we have a number of words with a « -ṭa » affix, words which are mostly late, but a few like « marka-ṭa » undoubtedly go back to pre-Buddhic times: *e.g.*, « marka-ṭa (regarded as being Dravidian in origin: cf. Tamil « maram » *tree*); kaṇka-ṭa, karka-ṭa (see p. 368); karpa-ṭa *rag* (< *√[s]karp); parka-ṭī; karva-ṭa; kukku-ṭa; lak-u-ṭa > lag-u-ḍa;

muk-u-ṭa (?); cip-i-ṭa *flattened rice*; vadhū-ṭī; kula-ṭā (explained as being from « kula + √aṭ ») ; barba-ṭa »; etc. This « -ṭa » is not found in Vedic. There is nothing in the non-Aryan languages, Dravidian and Kōl, to warrant any influence from that side. And such a characteristic IA. suffix, so persistent in all the forms of NIA., can reasonably be expected to have an OIA. source. It seems quite possible that this « -ṛa < -ḍa < -ṭa » is only a form of a « -ta », undoubtedly the same as the passive participle affix, which was used as a secondary affix in some noun and adjective formations in Vedic (cf. Whitney, Sanskrit Grammar, § 1176, § 1245; Macdonell, Vedic Grammar, § 209) : *e.g.*, « eka-tá, dvi-tá, tri-tá; muhūr-tá; ava-tá *well*; raja-tá; párva-ta ». Some sense of connexion with or modification of the original idea is implied by this « -ta », which also is not absent in the NIA. « -ṛa ». By spontaneous cerebralisation (see *supra*, pp. 487-488), « -ta- » can very well give « -ṭa » in dialectal OIA. and in Early MIA. Thus we have OIA. « vibhī-ta-ka (beside « vibhīdaka » : < « √bhid » ?) > *vibhī-ṭa-ka »> MIA. « bahēḍaa- »> NIA. « bahēṛā »; OIA. « āmr-ā-ta-ka > *āmrā-ṭa-ka »> MIA. « ambāḍaa- » > NIA. আমড়া « āmṛā »; and OIA. « śṛṅg-ā-ta-ka-, śṛṅg-ā-ṭa-ka- » > NIA. « siṅgāṛā ». Throughout the whole history of IA., « -ta> -ṭa > -ḍa> -ṛa » would seem to have been fairly common in the *spoken* language; and after phonetic decay had put an end to most of the characteristic OIA. affixes in the Second NIA. stage, the « -ḍa » affix, with its strong cerebral sound, seems to have become quite a prominent and a popular one. The large number of names in « -ḍa », Sanskritised to « -ṭa » during the Second and Third MIA. periods (see *ante*, p. 89), would also indicate its popularity in the Indo-Aryan speech from the early centuries of the first millennium A.C.

Hoernle's derivation of this affix from a Skt. « -dṛśa » (Gaudian Grammar, § 218) is phonologically inadmissible; there is also the fact that the earlier form of « -ṛa < -ḍa » was « -ṭa ».

Examples of « -ṛa- » from Bengali : OB. (Caryā 38) « ṇāva-ṛ-i » (nāva, nāu); (Caryās 10, 20) « bāp-u-ṛ-ā » *a Kāpālika* (cf. Śaurasēnī Ap. vappuḍā); (Caryā 10) « pākh-u-ṛ-i » *petal* (pakṣa = parva); MB. (ŚKK.) মুদড়ী « mudāṛī » beside ‡মুদি « mudi » *ring* (mudrā); MB. দিয়ড়ী

« diyaṛī » *lamp* (< dīpa); মাকড় « mākaṛā » (markaṭa); কাপড় « kāpaṛā » (karpaṭa); রাজড়া « rājaṛā » *king, rich men* as in রাজা-রাজড়া « rājā-rājaṛā » *kings and wells*; so গাছ-গাছড়া « gāchā-gāchaṛā » *plants and herbs* (gaccha), কাঠ-কাঠড়া « kāṭhā-kāṭhaṛā » *wood and timber* (kāṣṭha); পাতড়া « pātaṛā » *leaves and sticks* (< patra); আঁকড়ী « ākaṛī » *loopin writing* (aṅka); শাশুড়ী < *শাশড়ী « śāśuṛī < *śāśaṛī » *mother-in-law*, beside শাশ « śāśa » in compounds (śvaśrū); চামড়া « cāmaṛā » *hide, skin* (carma); পাখড়া « pākhaṛā » *scapular-bone* (pakṣa); খাগড়া « khāgaṛā » *reed, marsh plant with sharp edge* (khaḍga); বাগড়া « bāgaṛā » *obstruction* (*sts.* < vyāghāta + -rā); ঝগড়া « jhāgaṛā » *quarrel* (see p. 478); আঁতুড়ী, আঁতড়ী « ā̃t(u)ṛī » *entrails* (antra); বহুড়ী « bā(h)uṛī » (vadhūṭī, vadhuṭī, vadhūṭikā); ঝিউড়ী <*ঝিঅড়ী « jhiuṛī < *jhiaṛī » (<duhitṛ); মোহড়া<মুহড়া « mōhāṛā<muhāṛā » *vanguard* (mukha); কেওড়া « kēōṛā » (kētaka-); চিঁড়া, চিড়া « cīṛā, ciṛā » *flattened rice* (cipiṭa-); চুমকুড়ী « cumkuṛī » *making the sound of kissing* > *assuring* (*as a horse*) (cumba-); ফুসকুড়ি « phuskuṛī » *a small boil* beside ফোস্কা « phōskā » *a large boil or sore*; মামড়া « māmaṛī » *crust on the surface, as on a healing sore* (marman *sensitive or exposed part*); চুপড়ী, চুবড়ী « cupaṛī, cubaṛī » *basket* (from a *dēśī* root meaning *to cover*? cf. চুপ « cupa » *quiet, hidden*; চাপ « √cāp » *press*); চাঙ্গড়া « cāṅg(g)aṛā » *large basket*; হিজড়া « hijaṛā » *hermaphrodite* (< Pers. « hīz »); etc.

The « -ṛ » affix also figures in verb-roots: দৌড় « √dau̯-ṛ- » *run* (davaḍa, drava- < dru); see *infra*, under 'Verb: Roots.'

In some cases, « -ṛ- » figures as র « -r- » apparently through originally dialectal pronunciation: *e.g.*, কাঠরা « kāṭhaṛā », see *supra*; গাঁঠরী beside গাঁঠড়ী « gāṭhaṛī, -ṛī » *baggage* (granthi); টুকরা « ṭukaṛā » *a piece*, beside Hindōstānī « ṭukṛā » (see p. 489); ছোকরা « chōkaṛā » *a boy* (conn. with « śāba » > ছা « chā »?); চাঙ্গারী « cāṅg(g)ārī » *little basket*, beside চাঙ্গড়া « cāṅg(g)aṛā » above; পেটরা « pēṭaṛā » *box* (*pĕṇṭa = pĕṭṭa = pēṭa-); বাঁশরী « bā̃śārī » *bamboo flute* (vaṁśa); ‡ছায়রা « chāyrā » *shade* (see p. 342); ভায়রা « bhāyrā < bhāi » *wife's sister's husband*; etc.

(47) ত « -ta », তী « -tī » (i).

**442.** Found in a few words, in the abstract sense. From MIA.

« -tta » < OIA. « -tva »: *e.g.*, MB. আইহত > আয়াত > NB. এওং « āihāta > āyyāta > ēōta » (avidhavatva), also with তী « -tī » with « -ī < -ikā »; *sts.* ‡« raizot » (=rājya+tva) in the 'Crepar Xaxtrer Orthbhed.' This affix was later reinforced by the Perso-Arabic affix noted at p. 656.

(48) ত « -tā », তা « -tā », তী « -tī » (ii).

**443.** From « patra- » as well as « pātra- », a decayed word figuring in some disguised compounds in which it has acquired the force of an affix: *e.g.*, নামতা « nāmatā » *multiplication table* (nāma-patra-); রাঙ্গতা « rāṅ(g)atā » *tinsel, copper-foil* (raṅga-patra-); চাকতি « cākati » *some flat or mashed object cut into a ring* (cakra-patra + -ikā); চুনাতি « cūnāti » *lime-box (for betel)* (cūrṇa-pātra + -ikā); MB. চামাতি « cāmāti » *thong* (carma-patra + -ikā): cf. also করাত « kārāta » *saw* (kara-patra).

(49) ত « -ta », ত « -ta », তী « -tī », উতি « -uti » (iii).

**444.** From « -putra, -putrika, -putrikā »: a decayed word in disguised compounds: *e.g.*, জেঠুত, খুড়ুত, মাসুত, পিসুত « jēṭhut(ā), khuṛut(ā), māsut(ā), pisut(ā) » respectively, = *son of father's elder brother, father's younger brother, mother's sister, father's sister*, also with তা « -tā » (see p. 503); MB. (ŚKK) একুইতি « ēkāuiti » (ēka-putrikā); বালতি « bālati » as in « rāṛī bālatī » *widow, and having small children only* (bāla-putrikā); চাটুতি « cāṭuti » *a surname=Chatterji* (« caṭṭa-putra- »: see p. 409).

(50) নী, নি « -nī, -ni », ন « -na »; ইনি « -i-ni »; আনী, অনি, উনি « -ānī, -āni, -uni ».

**445.** In OIA. « -nī » and « -ānī » are two feminine suffixes which occur with a number of forms, *e.g.*, « pat-nī » (< pat-i); « paruṣ-ṇī » (paruṣa); « rōhi-ṇī (fem. of « rōhi-ta »: may be from « *rōh-in ») ; asi-k-nī, har-i-k-nī »; and « indr-āṇī, varuṇ-ānī, rudr-ā-ṇī, bhav-ānī, upādhyāy-ānī, mātul-ānī », etc. (Cf. Whitney, § 1176 d, § 1223 b, c.) Here « -ī » is the proper feminine-indicating affix, and the « -n-, -ān- » apparently belonged to the base of the noun. Practically no form in NIA. has come down with

this « -nī, -ānī » of OIA. (cf. the word সৎ, সতা « sāt̤, sātā », Hind. « saut » < MIA. « savattī » < OIA. « sa-patnī »).

The OIA. feminine affix « -ā » was lost (see *supra*, pp. 305 ff.), and « -ī » also has generally not come down to NIA.,—it was weakened to « -ĭ » in Late MIA., and when not after a vowel, it has dropped off in Bengali (see *supra*, pp. 307 ff.). OIA. « -ikā » gave, through Late MIA. « -iă », the most common, it may be said the most characteristic feminine affix of NIA., namely « -ī, -i » (cf. pp. 307, 672).

But there was the large class of nouns in OIA. with the attributive suffix « -in », giving in the masculine nominative singular « -ī » (« mālī, yōgī » etc.), and feminine nominative singular « -in-ī » (mālinī, yoginī). This supplied to MIA. numerous feminine forms differentiated from the masculine only by « -inī, -iṇī », especially when the nominative came to be used for all the cases in the masculine, the « -in- » of the base being totally lost. Some common isolated words like « raṇṇī », NIA. « rānī » (rājñ-ī), fem. of « rāa, rāja » (rājan, rājā) also helped to establish this « -nī » as a feminine affix. So that in Late MIA., « -iṇī (-nī, -anī, -nī) » also was a well-marked feminine affix, side by side with « -ia < -ikā ». Moreover, « -iṇī (inī) » was partly generalised, and came to be attached to nouns to which it did not properly belong; and when added to masculine nouns in « -ă », the « -i- » was dropped, making it « -ă-nī ». NIA. thus inherited this « -inī, -a-nī (-iṇī, -a-ṇī) », although more restricted than « -ī », from Late MIA. In most NIA. of the recent period ('New' NIA.), the final vowel « -ī, -i » has dropped, leaving the affix at « -n (-ṇ) »; and when in a language like Bengali, we have the full form in « -nī, -nĭ », it is due only to the influence of *ts.* feminine words in « -in-ī, -ānī ».

The « -i-nī, -a-nī » affix in the older periods of NIA. was not so common, and its improper use (that is, in the « -a-nī » form with original OIA. vowel bases) was less frequent; in the older periods we have commonly « -ī ». Gradually the « -n- » form, as more distinctive, came to dispute the field with « -ī », and to oust it from many words, and now it may be said to be equally important with « -ī » in most NIA. speeches; and in some, it is even more important. The loss of the gender sense

in the *adjective* in Bengali is also partly responsible for the curtailment of « -ī », and « -nī » is becoming more prominent in distinctive feminine *nouns*.

Examples: cases of « -nī<-in-ī » in OB.: « jōïnī » (yōginī); « kariṇi », masc. « kariṇā » (kariṇī), cf. « hariṇī », masc. « hariṇā » (hariṇa); « ghariṇī, MB., NB. ঘরণী ghôrôṇī » (gṛhiṇī); « śuṇḍini » (« śuṇḍin-ī »; also « śāuṇḍika > *śoṇḍia, *śuṇḍī », fem « śuṇḍi-nī »); MB. and NB. examples: NB. গোয়ালিনী, গয়লানী « gōāliṇī, gāylānī », fem. of গোয়ালা, গয়লা « gōālā, gāylā » *milk-man* (the old feminine form is গোআলী « gōāl-ī », which occurs 15 times in ŚKK., whereas the new form গোআলিনী « gōāliṇī » is found in the same work 12 times); MB. (ŚKK.) কালিনী রাতি « kāliṇī rāti » *black night*; চোরনী, চুরনী « cōraṇī > curaṇī », ŚKK. চুরণী, চুরিণী « curaṇī, curiṇī » *woman thief*; NB. চাঁড়ালনী « cā̃ṛāḷaṇī » *Caṇḍāla woman* (OB. = চণ্ডালী caṇḍālī); NB. *sts.* অভাগিনী « abhāgiṇī », besides the older আভাগী, আবাগী « āb(h)āgī » (< abhāgya); MB. ঢেটনী « ṭēṭaṇī », *bad woman* beside older ঠাটী « ṭhāṭ-ī » (<dhṛṣṭa ?); NB. ডোমনী, ডুম্নী « ḍōmṛ-nī, ḍum-nī » *Dōm woman* (=OB. ডোম্বী ḍōmbī); NB. পাগলিনী « pāgāliṇī » beside older পাগলী « pāgaḷī » *mad woman* (the first is a literary word, the second commoner, and is used also affectionately—পাগলিনী would be regarded as being from পাগল *mad, mad one*, and পাগলী from পাগ্‌লা *the mad one, madcap*); NB. মেছুনী « mēchuṇī < *māchuā-nī » *fish-wife*; NB. বেহাইন, বেহান, বেয়ান্ « bēhāin, bē(h)ān » (vāivāhika>বেহাই bēhāi+-nī); NB. বাঙ্গালিনী « bāṅgāliṇi » *Bengali woman*, a new, literary form, beside বাঙ্গাল্‌নী « bāṅ(g)āḷ-nī » *woman from East Bengal* (but OB. বঙ্গালী « baṅgālī » *woman from East Bengal*, as in the Caryās, < বঙ্গাল « baṅgāla » *East Bengal people, or land*); সোহাগিনী « sōhāgiṇī » *woman beloved by her husband*, beside older সোহাগী « sōhāgī » (< sāubhāgya-): ননদিনী « nānādiṇī », a new formation, literary, beside the proper word ননদ « nānādṛ » (nanandṛ); সতিন « sātin » *co-wife* (sapatnī+-nī), also সতিনী « sātinī »: cf. Bihārī « sawatiniyā », Hind. « sautin » beside Bengali সৎ, সতা « sāt, sātā » and Hind. « saut »; নাতিন « nātin », MB. (ŚKK.) নাতিনী « nātinī », also নাত্‌নী « nātnī », *grand-daughter* feminine of নাতী « nātī » (naptṛ-): here we have NB. loss of final « -ī » of MIA.; so মিতিন্ « mitin » *girl friend* (< mitra), ঠাকর(ি)ন, ঠাকরুন, ঠান্ < ঠাকুরাণী « ṭhākrān, ṭhākrân, ṭhākrun, ṭhān < ṭhākur-āṇī » *Madam, Lady* (< « ṭhākura +

-āni »; the wife of a « ṭhākurạ́ » *a cook*, or *a Rajput* would be ঠাকুর্‌নী « ṭhākurạ́-nī », a modern formation); ‡ঘুড়নী > গুন্নি (Chittagong) « ghuṛ-nī > gunni » = « *ghōḍa-nī » *mare*, beside older ঘুড়ী < *ঘোড়ী « ghuṛī < *ghōṛī » (= *ghōṭ-ikā); বাঘিনী « bāghinī » *tigress* (< vyāghra); সাপিনী « sāpinī » *female snake* (<sarpa); সিংহিনী « siṅhinī » (< siṅha); etc.

(আ)নী « -ānī » has become the common affix to denote a woman of a particular caste or profession: সেকরানী « sēkạ́rānī » *woman of the goldsmith caste* (<« sēkyakāra », see pp. 194-195); ধোবানী « dhōbānī », *woman of the washerman caste*; কায়েৎনী « kāyetạ́nī » *a Kāyastha woman*; বদ্যিনী « bȧdyi-nī » *woman of the Vaidya caste*; কুমোরনী « kumōrạ́-nī <kum(h)ārȧ-nī » *woman of the potter caste* (< kumbha-kāra); চামারনী « cāmārạ́-nī » *woman of the leather-worker caste* (< carmakāra); মেথরনী « mēthȧr-nī » *sweeper-woman*, beside মেথরাণী « methạ́rāṇī » (< Persian « mihtar » *prince*, by euphemism, commonly spelt like রাণী « rāṇī » with the cerebral « ṇ »); চৌধুরাণী « caudhurāṇī » *lady of the Chaudhuri family*; ডাক্তারনী « ḍāktārnī » *Lady Doctor*; মাষ্টারনী « māṣṭār-nī » *school-mistress*.

A great many common forms, however, have retained the old « -ī » and have not taken up the « -nī »: *e.g.*, মামী « māmī » *mother's brother's wife* has not been ousted by MB. (ŚKK.) মাউলানী « māulānī » (mātulānī); কাকী « kākī », খুড়ী « khuṛī » *father's younger brother's wife*; জেঠী « jēṭhī » (=jyēṣṭhikā), জেঠাই « jēṭhāi » (=jyēṣṭhȧryikā) *father's elder brother's wife*; শালী « śālī » *wife's sister*; খুকী « khukī » *girl baby* (<khōkā); রামী « Rāmī » (<Rāma), শ্যামী, শামী « Ś(y)āmī » (<Śyāma), বামী « Bāmī » (Vāmā +-ī), forms of women's names among the lower classes; দুলালী « dulālī » *darling*, etc. In many feminine adjectives, the MB. « -ī » has now been dropped with the weakening of the gender-sense, as in MB. (ŚKK.) বিতপনী « bitȧpȧnī » (= vitapanā), পাতলী « pātȧlī » *slim* (<patra-la-), বিকলী « bikȧlī » (= vikalā), দারুণী « dāruṇī » (=dāruṇā), কোঁঅলী « kõȧli=kõw̃ȧlī » (=kōmalā), আনাথী « ānāthī » (=anāthā), etc. In Late MB. and in NB., when through the influence of Sanskrit, the « -ānī, -inī » affix was regarded as an elegant form, *tbh.* formations like ননদিনী, পাগলিনী, etc., etc., were evolved by the dozen in the literary language, as well as *sts.* ones like নাগিনী, চণ্ডালিনী and চণ্ডালনী, বিহঙ্গিনী, চাতকিনী, কায়স্থিনী, প্রেতিনী (> colloquial

পেত্নী), পণ্ডিতানী, অনাথিনী, হতভাগিনী, রজকিনী, নাপিতানী (colloquial নাপিৎনী, নাপ্তিনী), ভিক্ষুণী (< MIA. Pali « bhikkhunī »), শূন্যানী (Śūnya-Purāṇa), etc., and quite a host of others, some of which are not Sanskrit at all (*e.g.*, বন্দিনী « bāndinī » *woman prisoner* from Persian « bandī »); but they are very freely used. (See Lalit-Mōhan Banerji, 'Vyākaraṇ-Vibhīṣikā,' Calcutta, San 1320, pp. 40 ff.)

The « -nī » affix is not be confused with « -āni » (13a, 14) discussed before, and also with the « -nī » in some isolated words, like রানী « rānī » (see p. 674), কাহিনী « kāhinī » *tale* (< * kathinikā = kathānikā), etc.

(51) পনা « pānā ».

**446.** This well-known NIA. affix, indicating state or function, is from OIA. « -tvana- ». From the change of « tv- > -pp- », it would seem to have originated in the South-western IA. region during the First MIA. stage, whence it spread elsewhere (see p. 508, *supra*). Examples; ঢীটপনা « ḍhīṭṭ-pānā » (dhṛṣṭa + -tvana-); গিন্নীপনা < গৃহিণীপনা « ginnī-pānā < gṛhiṇī-pānā »; etc.

There is an affix পানা, পনা « -pānā, -pānā » meaning 'like,' 'resembling,' 'similar to,' which seems te be a blend of পনা « -pānā » (in an extended, adjectival use) and the *sts.* word পারা « pārā » *like* < « *parāa < prāya- »: *e.g.*, চাঁদপানা « cāṁd-pānā » beside চাঁদ-পারা « cāṁd-pārā » *moon-like*; কুলাপানা, কুলাপনা, কুলোপনা « kulā-pānā, kulā-pānā, kulō-pānā » (*flat and broad*) *like a winnowing fan*; লালপানা « lāl-pānā » *reddish*; etc.

(52) মত « -mātṛ, -mātā », মন « -mānṛ » < মন্ত « -māntā ».

**447.** Occurring in some pronominal adjectives and adverbs, like এমত « ē-mātṛ » *like this* যেমত « jē-mātṛ » *like that*, etc. The form in « -nṛ » is due to influence of MB. « kēhānā, jēhānā » etc. See *infra*, under the 'Pronoun.' It is used as an independent word as well, *e.g.*, আমার মত « āmārṛ mātā » *like me, of my sort*. A blend মতন « mātānṛ » = « mātā + mānṛ » is also found. It is from MIA. « -manta » (< OIA. « -mant- »), which figures also as a stereotyped form in some adjectives and some names, *e.g.*, শ্রীমন্ত « śrī-māntā » *prosperous*, পয়মন্ত « pāyṛ-māntā » *lucky*,

*luck-bringing* (pada *status, position*), হনুমন্ত(ী) « Hânumânt(ā) » *Hanuman*; etc.

The MIA. affix « -vanta », influenced by the Skt. form of it, also gave the Bengali বন্ত « -bântâ » in words like গুণবন্ত « guṇâ-bântâ », ভাগ্যবন্ত « bhāgyâ-bântâ », etc.

Persian « -mand », cognate with the Indo-Aryan « -mant- », reinforced these affixes in Late MB., *e.g.*, « °aql-mand, dāniš-mand », etc.

(53) রূ > রু > উর « *-rū > -ru, -urṛ ».

**448.** Originally implying 'similarity, intensity,' from OIA. « rūpa » *form, shape* > MIA. « -rūva », this affix is generally used pleonastically in NIA. in which it occurs in only a few words: *e.g.*, *গোরূ > গোরু, « *gō-rū > gō-ru » *ox, cow, cattle*, wrongly spelt গরু in Bengali: cf. Hindī গৌর « gō-rū » (< « gō-rūpa », originally meaning *buffalo*); সাজারু « sājā-ru » *porcupine*, beside the simple form ‡ সেজা, হেঁজা « sējā, hēzā » (śalyaka- + rūpa: p. 476); বাছুর < *বাছরু « bāch-urṛ < *bācha-rū » (cf. Hindōstānī « bach-rū », Marāṭhī « vās-rū »), beside MB. বাছা « bāchā » *calf* (vatsa-rūpa); MB. শশারু « śáśā-ru » *hare* (śaśa-+rūpa); MB. ঘোড়ারু « ghōṛā-ru » *a kind of deer* (ghōṭaka-+rūpa); also MB. তুলারু « tulā-ru » *a kind of deer* (<?); ‡ গাবুর, গাভুর, MB. গাভরু « gāb(h)-urṛ < gābhâ-ru » (cf. Hindōstānī « gabh-rū ») *young person* (« garbha-rūpa » *children, young persons* as in the 'Divyâvadāna'); MB. (ŚKK.) জিঙ্গালরু « jiṅgālâ-ru » *the 'Jiṅgini' or 'Jiger' tree*; MB. কাঁউর, কাঙুর « Kā-urṛ, Kāṁ̃-urṛ » <OB. কামরু « Kāmaru =*Kāṁ̃a-rū » (as in Caryā 2: « Kāma-rūpa » i.e. West Assam: see *supra*, p. 299). Cf. also Marāṭhī « pākh-rū » *bird* (pakṣa-rūpa), Bhōjpuriyā « meherā-rū » *wife*, beside « meher » (mahilā-rūpa, mahilā), Skt. « hṛṣṭa-rūpa » *exceedingly glad*.

(54) ল « -lṛ », লা « -lā », লী « -lī ».

**449.** A common OIA. affix (with a variant « -ra »), « la » is found in the adjectival sense, meaning also 'possessing.' The pleonastic (svârthē) value also is very common; as well as a slightly modifying sense. The affixes « -ila » (see pp. 676-71) and « -ula » (< MIA. « -ulla », Bengali

« -ulā », as in MB. লাজউলী « lājaulī » = « lajjā-śīlā », and রাতুল « rātulā » *red* <MIA. « *rattulla » = OIA. « rakta + -ula ») are forms of this affix, with « -i- » and « -u- » themes. The affix is in some cases found in the form of « -r- », due probably to Bihārī influence, original Māgadhī « -l- » becoming « -r- » in Bihārī (see *supra*, pp. 536-538). Examples: আদল « ādālā » *resemblance* (*as of one face to another*) (OB. ādaa < advaya + -la), beside আদরা « adārā »; আধলা « ādhālā » *half, half-piece,* beside আধেলা « ādhēlā » (ardha); MB. উতরলী « utārālī » (fem. in « -ī < -ikā »), NB. উতরোল, উতরল « utārōlā < utārālā » *anxious* (uttvara-la); ছাওয়াল « chāwālā » *child,* ছাওয়ালিয়া > ছালিয়া, ছেলে « chāwāliyā > chāliyā, chēlē » *boy* (śāba- + -la + -iyā); পোলা « pōlā » beside পো(য়া) « pō(ā) » *son, child* (pōta-la-); MB. ছেলি « chēlī » Bhōjpuriyā « chērī » *she-goat* (chagalikā < chaga); গাড়ল, গাড়র « gāṛālā, gāṛārā » *sheep* (cf. Late Skt. « gaḍḍalikā < gaḍḍala » *rolling animal, as in the entire flock*); দীঘল « dīghālā » *long* (dīrgha-la); OB. fem. আগলি « āgali » *advanced* (Caryā 32: < agra-la-); পাকল « pākālā » *ripe, well-ripened* (pakva-la); হাঁড়ল « hāṛālā » *big, open-mouthed pot* (cf. হাঁড়ী, হাঁড়া « hāṛī, hāṛā » *large pot*); পাতলা « pātalā » *lean and thin* < *like a leaf* (patra-la-), MB. fem. পাতলী « pātalī »; MB. নহলী = নবলী « nā(h)alī », fem. *fresh, new* (*nava-l-ikā); MB. (KKC.) সোহাগলী « sōhāgalī » *wife beloved by her husband* (sāubhāgya + -lī); MB. বিজুলী, NB. বিজলী « bijulī > bij(ā)lī », also বিজুরী « bijurī », beside Hindōstānī « bij, bijlī » (MIA. vijjulia, OIA. vidyut + -la + -ikā); ফাটল « phāṭālā » *crack* (*on a wall, on the roof*) (ফাট √phāṭ *split*); *সহিলা > সহেলা > সয়লা, সহিলী > সহিলি, সইলি « *sahilā > sahēlā > sayla, sahilī > sahili, saili » *friend* (*among women*) (sakhī + -lā, -likā); MB. মাতল « mātālā » (matta-la); ধকল « dhākālā » *strain* (cf. ধাক্কা « dhākkā » *push*); বাঁধুলী « bādhulī » *a flower* (bandhuka + -likā); দাঁদলান « dādālānā » *to be on the aggressive, to be fighting and quarrelling, to oppress* (dvandva-la-); ফাঁদল « phādālā » *circumference* (< ফাঁদ « phādā », cf. Late Skt. « phaṇḍa < *phandra » *belly*); হাতল « hātālā » *handle* (hasta-); পয়রা « pāyrā » *liquid* (*as of treacle*) (< payas); etc., etc. We have this affix apparently in বাদল, বাদলা « bādālā, bādalā » *cloud, rainy weather* (Late Skt. vardala-), মাদল « mādālā » *a deep-toned drum* (mardala), কাতল, কাতলা « kātālā, kātalā » *carp fish*; etc.

(55) স « -sḍ », সা « -sā », ছা, চা « -chā, -cā ».

**450.** This affix, meaning 'likeness, similarity, resemblance,' is derived by Hoernle from OIA. « sadṛśa » (Gaudian Grammar, § 292); but this derivation is not tenable phonologically. As a source of this NIA. affix, I suggest the OIA. affix « -śa », as in a limited number of words in Skt., *e.g.*, « lōma-śa, kapi-śa, karka-śa, yuva-śa, arva-śa, ēta-śa, lōpa-śa, ? giri-śa, ? kala-śa ». This « -śa » affix was both pleonastic and adjectival, with an implication of similarity: *e.g.*, « kapi-śa » *tawny*, '*monkey-like*,' « karka-śa » *harsh, grating*, '*gravel-like*.' (This « -śa » is derived from an Indo-European « -ko [-k̂o] »: cf. Brugmann, 'Vergleichende Grammatik der idg. Sprachen[1]', II, Strassburg, 1889, § 83.)

Examples: « -a + -śa > -aśḍ », feminine « -aś-ī »: খোলস « khōl-aśḍ » *covering, slough of snake* (< খোল্ড় *cover*); মুখস *ts.* « mukha » + « -sḍ » *mask*; তাড়স « tāṛa-sḍ » *force, influence, sympathy, as in fever due to a pain or wound* (< তাড় √tāḍ *drive, beat*); ধেঁড়স « dhēṛa-sḍ » *a vegetable*, '*lady's fingers*,' beside ঢেঁড়ি, ধেঁড়ি « ḍhēṛi, dhēṛi » *a kind of ear-ornament*; আপস « āpā-sḍ » *friends, people of the same group or family* (appā < ātman, *ātma-śa); *sts.* রূপসী « rūpāsī » *a beautiful woman* (*rūpa-śa- + -ikā).

« -ā-śa + -āka > -aś-ā > -ḍsā »: also altered to the affricates ছা « -chā », চা « -cā », in the feminine, সী, চী « -sī, -cī »: *e.g.*, পয়সা « pāysā » *pice* (< pāi-sā, Hind. paisā); আলিসা > আল্‌সা, আল্‌সে « āli-sā > ālsā, ālsē » *parapet on a terrace* (< āli, āīl *embankment*); চিপসা, চুপসা « cipḍsā, cupḍsā » *lean, pressed* (√cip *press*); ভাপসা « bhāpḍsā » *foetid, rank, dank* (*like vapour*) *with a bad odour* (*bāspa-śa-); পানিসা > পান্‌সে « pāni-sā > pānsē » (by Vowel Harmony) *watery* (pānīya + -śa-); চামসা « cāmḍsā » *like untanned hide in smell* (*carma-śa); চকসা « cākḍsā » *clearing of the sky* (cf. চকচক « cāk-cāk » reduplicated form = *to be bright*); ফরসা « phārḍsā » *light, dawning*, beside Chakma dialect « pār = phār » *light* (see p. 512); ঝাপসা, ঝাপসা « jhāpḍsā, jhupḍsā » *hazy* (cf. ঝোপ « jhōpḍ » *wood, grove*); আবছা « ābḍchā » *hazy*, < *cloudy* (cf. ‡আভ « ābhḍ » = « abhra » *thin cloud*); লেঙচা « lēṇḍ-cā » *to limp, to be like a lame man* (cf. লেঙড়া « leṇgḍrā » *lame man*, লেঙ « lēṇ » *kick, foot, shin*); ভেংচা, ভাঙচা « bhēṇ-cā, bhāṇ(g)ḍ-cā » *make faces or wry-*

*mouth* (cf. bhaṅgi); কপচা « kāpaṭcā » *to chatter* (√kḷp, kalp); ঘুমসী, ঘুঙসী « ghumṭ-sī, ghuṇ-sī » *waist-string*, '*winding thread*' (< √ghum *to wander about*); আলগোছা « ālaṭgōchā » *without touching, from a distance* might be from « *ālāgā-śā » *distinct-like* (alagna + -śa): cf. however আলগোছে at p. 551; একসা « ēkṭ-sā » *rolled or united into one* seems to have been influenced by, if not actually derived from, the Persian « yak-sān ».

There are extensions of this affix: অসিয়া > চে « -ā-s-iyā > -cē », and আসিয়া > আসে « -ā-s-iyā > -āsē »: লালচে « lālṭcē = *lālā-siyā » *reddish*; so কালচে « kālṭcē » *blackish*; ফাঁকাসিয়া > ফেঁকাসে « phākāsiyā > phēkāsē » (also without nasalisation) *pale, colourless*, cf. Hindōstānī « phakk » *colourless*.

In the words সাতাসে, আটাসে « sātāsē, āṭāsē » *a child prematurely born after seven months or after eight months*, the « -āsē » represents মাসিয়া « māṣ-iyā » < « māsa » *month*. In a few onomatopoetics, however, we have an আস « -āsṭ » and উস « -usṭ » which seem to be connected with this « -sṭ » affix: *e.g.*, ধপাস্ « dhāpāsṭ », ধড়াস্ « dhāṛāsṭ » *with a loud thud*, পটাস্, কটাস্ « pāṭāsṭ, kāṭāsṭ » *with a crack*, ধুপুস্ « dhupus » *with a gentle thud* etc. Cf. « -āṭṭ » (p. 655) and « -āk » (pp. 681-682).

(56) সই, সহি « sâi, sâhi ».

**451.** OB. « *sahī », from OIA. « sahita », as in জলসই « jāl-sâi » *immersed in water*, বুকসই « buk-sâi » *reaching up to the breast*, রুলসই « rūl-sâi » ('Hutōm-Pēcār Naksā,' 1862, p. 74) *belabouring with a cudgel* (« rul < English *ruler*): etc. This is confused with another সই « -sâi » from the Perso-Arabic, for which see below.

(57) সর, সরা « -sâr, -sarā ».

**452.** From OIA. « sara < √sṛ » *moving*. This affix forms ordinals, and a few other adjectives and nouns: *e.g.*, MB. একসর « ēkâsârâ » *alone, by one self* (wrongly Sanskritised in MB. to একেশ্বর, also একশ্বর « ēkēśwârâ, ēkâśwârâ »); দোসর « dōsârṭ » *a second, a supporter, a double, second*, দোসরা « dōsṭrā » *second, second day of the month*; তেসর, তেসরা « tēsârṭ, tēsṭrā » *third* (*day of the month*); চৌসর « câusârṭ » *fourth, square*; MB. সোসর « sōsârâ » *equal*, lit. *moving along with* (= sama-sara); etc. Hoernle

derives this from « sṛta » (Gaudian Grammar, §271), but in MIA. this would give either « saṭa >saḍa », or « sata, sita > sa(d)a, si(d)a ».

(58) সোঁআ « -sōā ».

**453.** Found in MB., as in (ŚKK.) কানাসোঁআ « kānā-sōā » *reaching the brink* (=karṇa- + -sama-).

(59) হার, হারা « -hāṛ, hāra ».

**454.** It occurs in a few words like একহারা, দোহারা, তেহারা, চৌহারা « ēkahāra, dōhārā, tēhārā, cauhārā », to mean 'fold.' (দোহারা « dōhārā » also means *stout, robust, 'double-sized'*). The source seems to be the Skt. « hāra » *division, portion* (Yōgesh Chandra Vidyānidhi, Bengali Grammar, VSPd., p. 178). Cf. MB. ষাঠিহার « ṣāṭhi-hāra », *ষাঠিহারা « ṣāṭhihārā » > NB. ষেটেরা « ṣēṭērā » *sixth-day ceremony and worship after child-birth*. The affix occurs in Hindōstānī also, where it is agentive: *e.g.*, « sirjan-hār » *Creator*, « dēnē-hārā » *giver*, « pālan-hār » *one who maintains*, etc. The Hind. « hār(ā) » is commonly derived from « kāra- » *doer*: but the aspiration in this case would be difficult to explain. There seems to have been a confusion between « kāra > -āra » and « hāra » in Early NIA.: cf. Bengali জোকার, জাঁকার « jōkāṛ, jākāṛ » *shout or song of triumph*, beside জোহার « jōhāṛ » *salutation*, Hind. « juhār », found also in Kōl as « juhar » *salutation*; দোহার « dōhāṛ » < « *dhuārā » *singer in a chorus* (< dhruva-kāra).

In দেহারা « dēhārā » < দেহরা « dēhārā » *temple*, we have « ghara, gṛha »; and দোঁহার « dōhāṛ » *of two* is from « dōṇha, dōṇṇa + (k)ara ». Hoernle derives « hāṛ » from Skt. « vidha + ra » (Gaudian Grammar, §412), but this derivation offers phonological difficulties.

**455.** There are in addition a number of affixes which are in most cases mutilated forms of words forming parts of compounds, and these are found mainly in place names (*e.g.*, আস, সা, সী « -āsa, -sā, -sī » < « -āvāsa, -vāsa- », as in ইন্দাস, « Indāsa » = « Indrāvāsa », পাকড়াশী « Pākaṛāśī » *a surname* = « Parkaṭāvāsa + -ika »; -দী, দীয়া > দে « -dī, -dīyā < -dē » as in ন'দে < নদীয়া « Nōdē <Nādīyā », from « dvipa- »; etc.);

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but as these are not found in derived verbal or nominal forms of the language, and have long lost all force of affixes, they are not considered here. (See Y. C. Vidyānidhi, Bengali Grammar, VSPd., pp. 188-199). Affixes like ভর, ভরা « -bhārṛ, -bhārā » (*e.g.*, পেট-ভরা « pēṭṛ-bhārā *belly-full*, দিন-ভর « din-bhārṛ » *all day long*), করা « -kārā » (as in শত-করা « śāṭṛ-kārā » *by the hundred, per cent*, where « kārā = Bengali passive participle of কর « √kār », corresponding to « kṛta »: Hindōstānī has « kaḍa- » as in « sai-kaṛā, sai-kaṛõ », where « kaḍa » curiously enough preserves the old Māgadhī equivalent of « kṛta » which is lost to Bengali) are but compounded words, and are self-explaining; and they need no further discussion.

### [II] Tatsama Suffixes.

**456.** From the large and ever-increasing *tatsama* element in Late MIA. and in NIA., a number of common Sanskrit affixes were familiarised, and gradually these have been adopted into the language, their naturalisation being indicated by the formation of hybrids with *tōk.* or foreign roots or words. There seems, moreover, always to have been present in the minds of speakers of Late MIA. and Early NIA. a sense of some vague connexion between the « -ā, -ă » of nouns and adjectives and Skt. « -ākă, -ăkă », and between the « -a-, -ia- » of the passive participle with « -ta, -ita »: a connexion which the scholars have always noted and indicated.

In Second and Late MIA., as a single unvoiced stop would not be allowed intervocally (at least in orthography), the « -k- » or « -t- » of the *ts.* affixes would be written « -kk-, -tt- », and free use of this device would be made for purposes of metre or rime. This practice was continued to the Early NIA. stage: the ' Prākṛta-Paiṅgala ' has spellings like « rūakka (rūpaka), Mēṇakkā (Mēnakā), Sāraṅgikkā (Sāraṅgikā), ghitta (ghṛta), āatti (āyati) », and in Old Hindī, Old Rājasthanī, etc. we find instances where this tradition is carried on, like « matti (mati), Sarasatti (Sarasvatī), Manmaththa (Manmatha), sukkha (sukha), hayaggaya (haya-gaja), jagga (jagat), uṛaggaṇa (uḍa-gaṇa), saddāi (sadā) » etc., and even in foreign borrowings like « surattāṇa (sulṭān),

Arabbī (Persо-Arabic « ʿarabī »), Turakkī (Turkī) », etc. There are, however, also cases of doubling of other consonants than stops and aspirates in Late MIA. and Early NIA. In OB. of the Caryās we find also a few cases (see below, under « -ta, -ita »).

(1) ইমা « -imā ».

**457.** From OIA. « -iman », with the force of the English *-ness*: found also in MIA., *e.g.* « muṇisima (=manuṣyatva), gahirima (gabhīratva), vaḍḍhimā (vṛddhi-bhāva) », etc. OB. (Caryā 34) « pārima » (=pāra); MB., NB. বঙ্কিমা « bāṅkimā » (vakra-tva), লালিমা « lālimā » *redness*, রাতিমা « rātimā » *redness* (raktiman), beside কালিমা « kālimā » *blackness*, নীলিমা « nīlimā » *bluish tinge*, চাঁদিমা « cāṁdimā » *moon-light, moon-sheen.* This affix is found in other NIA. languages, but it is literary rather than popular. In Bengali, « -imā » has also a slightly diminutive force.

(2) ঈয় « -īyā » [io, io].

**458.** This is affixed to foreign and other names, forming adjectives: রুষীয় « Ruṣīyā » *Russian*, আরবীয় « Ārābīyā » *Arabian*, মিসরীয় « Misārīyā » *Egyptian*, খ্রীষ্টীয় « Khrīṣṭīyā » *belonging to Christ, Christian*, ইটালীয় Iṭālīyā » *Italian*, ডেনীয় « Ḍēnīyā » *Danish*, হেগেলীয় « Hēgēlīyā » *Hegelian*, etc.

(3) ক « -kā ».

**459.** It is sometimes difficult to decide whether the pleonastic « -ka » of Bengali comes from MIA. « -kka » (see p. 683), or is an OB. or MB. employ of the *ts.* affix. The Skt. « -ka » undoubtedly sustained in Bengali this MIA. borrowing from it, and helped to extend its use. When it is in connexion with *ts.* words, the « -ka » might be regarded as the *ts.* affix: *e.g.*, রাজনৈতিক « rājanītikā » beside -নৈতিক « -naitikā » *political*; আদিক « -ādi-ka- » >দিগ « -digā » in the oblique plural base of nouns; Skt. words with « -ka, -ika », like « bāla-ka, pañca-ka, sahāya-ka, mās-ika, pākṣ-ika, dain-ika, dōla-ka, sthāpa-ka, māpa-ka, jñāpa-ka, pāitṛ-ka, vāiṣay-ika, lāuk-ika, sāgni-ka, tīrth-ika, māukh-ika », etc., etc. form a whole host in Bengali,

and since many of these words are freely used in the colloquial, « -ka, -ika (with modification of root vowel) » have become quite familiar as adjectival affixes.

In a few words like পেটুক « pēṭ-ukṛ » *glutton*, মিশুক « miś-ukṛ » *sociable*, লাজুক « lāj-ukṛ » *shy*, মিথ্যুক « mithy-ukṛ » *liar*, we have probably the Skt. affix « -uka »; cf. also হিংসুক « hiṁs-ukṛ » *envious*.

See also below, under 'Verb: Pleonastic Affixes.'

(4) ত, ইত « -t(ā), -it(ā) ».

**460.** The passive participle affix of OIA. (Skt.), it is in very common use. It was apparently re-introduced in the Late MIA. period, in which it was written « -tta, -itta ». This affix is frequently used with *tbh.* and *sts.*, as well as foreign roots and words, showing its complete naturalisation. Examples: OB. (Caryā 8) ভরিতী « bharitī » *filled*, fem. in « -ita » + « -ī »; (Caryā 9) নিবিতা « nibitā » (nirvṛta, MIA. *nivvitta-); so (Carya 12) পরিনিবিত্তা « parinibittā »; (Caryā 30) উইত্তা « uittā » (MIA. « *uitta- » for « uia » = « udita »); MB., NB. থকিত « thākit(ā) » *astonished* (thakka < *stabh-kṛta + -ita), খলিত « khālitā » *slipped* (√skhal), লখিত « lākhitā » *seen, noticed* (√lakṣ), জানিত « jāniṭā » *known* (see p. 654), করিত « kār-it(ā) » as in করিতকর্মা kāriṭ-kārmā » *experienced* (= kṛta-karmā), জন্মিত, জন্মিত « jānmit(ā), jāmmit(ā) » *begotten*, উজলিত « ujālitā » *brightened* (< ujjvala), অবিয়ত « ābiyātā » *unmarried* (« ā- + biyā < vivāha + -tā »: cf. Hindī « byāh-it » *married*); এলায়িত « ēlāẏitā » *dishevelled* (where « ēlā » < আলা, আউলা « āilā, āulā » = « ākula- », see p. 383, + « -itā »); etc.; নিকাহিতা স্ত্রী « nikāh-itā strī » *woman or wife married in the* nikāh *form* (< Perso-Arabic « nikāh »); বাপ্তাইজিত « bāptāij-itā » *baptised*; and even আইনানুসারে রেজেষ্ট্রিত « āinānusārē rējēṣṭritā » *registered in accordance with law* (Perso-Arabic « ʾain »: রেজিষ্ট্রীকৃত « rējēṣṭrīkṛtā » is more common, however). A number of wrong forms in « -i-tā », created by Bengali writers, have become well-established in the language, like খনিত « khānitā » (= khāta), ইচ্ছিত « icchitā » (= iṣṭa), দংশিত « dāṅśitā » (daṣṭa), অনুবাদিত « ānubāditā » (anūdita), সিঞ্চিত « siñcitā » (« sikta », causative « sēcita »), নমিত « nāmitā » (nata), আহরিত « āharitā » (āhṛta, āhārita), একত্রিত « ēkātritā » (= ēkatra), নিঃশেষিত « niḥśēṣita »

(<niḥśēṣa), etc., etc. The « sêṭ » and « an-iṭ » bases of the Sanskrit grammarians have been entirely ignored. (See *supra*, p. 201).

(5) তব্য « -tâbyâ » [-tobbo].

**461.** The Skt. « -tavya » is combined in the colloquial rather than in the literary speech with a few *tbh.* roots, through an extension of its employ in *ts.* forms : বলতব্য « bâlâ-tâbyâ », কহতব্য « kâhâ-tâbyâ » (√bâl, kâh=brū, kathaya-), সহতব্য, সহিতব্য « sâhâ-tâbyâ, sâh-i-tâbyâ » for « sōḍhavya » ; rarely with other roots, as *e.g.*, like খাতব্য « khâtâbyâ » (khāditavya), imitating « dâtavya ».

(6) তা « -tâ ».

**462.** The affix of abstraction, used mainly with *ts.* and *sts.* words, often wrongly : *e.g.*, সখ্যতা « sâkhyâ-tâ » *friendship*, আধিক্যতা « ādhikyâ-tâ », colloquially among women আদিখ্যেতা « ādikhyētā » *excess, effusive or gushing affection*, জাতীয়তা « jātīya-tā » *nationalism*, রোমাণ্টিকতা « rōmāṇṭikâtā » *Romanticism*, মানবিকতা « mānâbikâ-tā » *human character*, ভদ্রতা « bhâdrâtā », সৌজন্যতা « sâ̆ujânyâ-tâ » beside সৌজন্য « sâ̆ujânyâ » *courtesy*, etc.

(7) ত্ব « -twâ » [-tto].

**463.** Quite common in Bengali with *tbh.* and even foreign words : *e.g.*, নতুনত্ব, নোতুনত্ব « nâtunâ-twâ, nōtunâ-twâ » *newness* (<nâ̆utunâ : p. 345); হিন্দুত্ব « hindu-twâ » *Hinduism, Hindu ideas and practices* (Persian « hindū ») ; বামুনত্ব « bāmunâ-twâ » *Brahmanism, Brahmanishness* ; মুসলমানত্ব « musâlmānâ-twâ » *Mohammedan notions and ways* ; ছোটত্ব « chōṭâ-twâ » *smallness*, বড়ত্ব « bâṛâ-twâ » *bigness* ; একঘেয়েত্ব « ēkâghēyē-twâ » *monotony* (< « ēkâghā-iyâ » *with the same beat*) ; কর্ত্তাত্ব, কত্তাত্ব « kârtā-twâ, kâttā-twâ » *domineering manner* (« kârtā », *sts.* « kâttā » ='*boss*'+« -twâ »), which, through influence of words ending in consonant+« -yâ » changing the final syllable into « -i » (like সত্যি « sâtyi » [ʃotti], পথ্যি « pâthyi » [potthi], অবিশ্যি « âbiśyi » [obiʃʃi]=« satya, pathya, avaśya », see p. 406), is frequently found as কত্তাত্বি [kɔttatti] in the Standard Colloquial.

(8) পারা « -pārā ».

**464.** A *sts.* form, form Skt. « prāyah » > « *parāa », meaning 'like,' 'almost as': see under পনা « -pānā », p. 696. In Oṛiyā, this appears as « pārā ». Example: পাগল-পারা « pāgalṛ-pārā » *like a mad person*, also পাগলের পারা « pāgalērṛ-pārā »; « pārā » is thus used as a separate word, as it is also in Oṛiyā.

(9) ময় « -mâyṛ ».

**465.** In the sense of 'full of,' 'spread about in or with': জলময় « jâlâ-mâyṛ » *covered with water*, পথময় « pâthṛ-mâyṛ » *throughout the street*, কাদাময় « kādā-mâyṛ » *all covered with mud*, দেশময় « dēśṛ-mâyṛ » *all over the land*, ইউরোপময় « Iurōpṛ-mâyṛ » *all over Europe*, etc.

(10) সহ « -sâhâ ».

**466.** The Skt. particle is loosely compounded with nouns to indicate inclusion: কাপড়-সহ « kāpârṛ-sâhâ » *with the garments on*, বাছুর-সহ গোরু « bāchurṛ-sâhâ gōru » *a cow together with the calf*, ঢাকীসহ বিসর্জ্জন « ḍhākī-sâhâ bisârjânṛ » *casting the image (of Durgā or other goddess or god, after the annual worship) into water, with the drummers and all=making a thorough end of an affair*; also ঢাকীশুদ্ধ « ḍhākī-śuddhâ », see below; etc.

(11) শুদ্ধ « -śuddhâ », শুদ্ধা « -śuddhā ».

**467.** Also used in the inclusive sense: আমি-শুদ্ধ « āmi-śuddhâ » *including me*, সব-শুদ্ধ(া) « sâbṛ-śuddhâ, -ā » *including all*, সাজশুদ্ধ ঘোড়া « sājṛ-śuddhâ ghōṛā » *horse with harness and all*, etc. This usage apparently originated from the sense of *entire, complete* which the Skt. word has. The word is also spelt with a dental স « s- », and a *sts.* or *tbh.* from সুধু or শুধু « sudhu, śudhu » also occurs, meaning 'only.' In Hindōsṭānī we have the same word in « suddhā », also « sūdhī »; in Sindhī it occurs as « sūdhā » *along with*. Hoernle derives it from a MIA. « *saŭddha, *saw̃addha », from Skt. « sam-ā-dhā » (Gaudian Grammar, p. 226), but does this not look likely.

See also under 'Post-positions,' *infra*, under 'Noun.'

## [III] Foreign Suffixes: Persian.

**468.** Persian suffixes, and some words which have almost become like suffixes in Bengali, are given below.

(1) আন, ওয়ান « -ān, -wān » *possessing* (< « -wān, -bān »): গাড়ীআন্, গাড়ী-ওয়ান্, গাড়ওয়ান, গাড়আন « gāṛīān, gāṛīwān, gāṛwān, gāṛāān » *cab-man*; বাগান < বাগোয়ান « bāgān < bāgwān » *garden* (=bāgwān); the word কোচুয়ান « kōcuān » beside কোচমান « kōc-mān » *coachman* seems to the English word, with influence of the Persian « -wān », found in দরওয়ান « dārwān » *gate-keeper* (darwān, darbān).

(2) আনা « -ānā » *pertaining to, having the nature of* (= -ānah): with an extension আনী, আনি « -ān-ī, -ān-i » (= -ānah + -ī), indicating abstraction: *e.g.*, বড়-ঘরানা « bāṛā-ghār-ānā » *pertaining to rich or high families*; হিন্দুয়ানী « hindu-ān-ī », হিঁদুআনী « hīdu-ān-ī » *Hindu ways*; বাবুয়ানা « bābu-ānā », বাবুয়ানী « bābu-ān-ī » *the ways of a gentleman, luxury and dressiness*; সাহেবিয়ানা « sāhēbi-ānā » *European ways, extravagance and haughty ways*, etc., etc. See p. 592 for the intrusive « -i- », giving rise to the form « -iānā ».

(3) খানা « khānā » *place, abode* (=xānah): শুঁড়ীখানা « śūṛī-khānā » *vintner's shop*; মুদীখানা « mudī-khānā » *grocer's shop, oilman's store*; ডাক্তারখানা « ḍāktār-khānā » *dispensary*; ছাপাখানা « chāpā-khānā » *printing establishment*; বৈঠকখানা « baiṭhakā-khānā » *drawing-room*; etc.

(4) খোর « khōr » *eater* (= xōr): গুলিখোর « guli-khōr » *opium-smoker*; আপিম-খোর « āpim-khōr » *opium-eater*; ঘুষ-খোর « ghuṣā-khōr » *bribe-taker*; etc.

(5) গর « gār » *maker* (=gar), frequently altered to an Indian কর « -kārā »: কারিগর « kārigār » *artisan, craftsman* (Skt. « kāru » *maker* + Pers. « gar ») beside কারিকর « kārikār »; বাজীগর, -কর « bājī-gār, -kārā » *magician, acrobat.*

(6) গিরি « giri » *business, craft, trade*; *manners, ways* (=Pers. « gar-ī »; also « gīr » *taking, holding, seizing* > *taker, holder* + nominal affix « -ī »): মুটিয়া-গিরি « muṭiyā-giri » *the calling of a porter*; মুচিগিরি « muci-giri » *a shoe-maker's calling*; বাবুগিরি « bābu-giri » *the ways of a gentleman = soft living*; কেরাণীগিরি « kērāṇī-giri » *the profession of a clerk*; etc.

(7) চী, চি « -cI, -ci », a diminutive affix, a modification of the Persian « -cah » > চা « cā » with feminine or diminutive « -I »: ধূনাচী « dhūnācI » *small incense-burner*; পাতঞ্চি « pātañci » *a carpet or mat*, from words like দেগচী, ডেকচী « dēgcI, ḍēkcI » *a caldron* < « dēgcah »; বাগিচা « bāgicā » *small garden* < « bāgIcah »; চাম্চা, চাম্চে « cāmcā, -cē » *spoon*, etc.

(8) তর « -tarā » *like* (< Perso-Arabic « tarah » *plan, mode, manner*): এমনতর « ēmānḍ-tarā » *such* (beside এমন-ধারা « ēmānḍ-dhārā »); কেমনতর « kēmānḍ-tarā » *in a peculiar way*; যেমনতর « jēmānḍ-tarā » *like that*; etc. After some *ts.* words it has an intensive force, as in গুরুতর « guru-tarā » *in a very excessive way*, ঘোরতর « ghōrā-tarā » *in a very terrible manner*, বহুতর « bāhu-tarā » *manifold*, etc., where it seems this suffix of foreign origin has been confused with the Skt. comparative affix « -tara ». The affix is found mainly in some pronominal adjectives and adverbs, and this use seems to be modelled on Hindōstānī (Urdū) forms like « is-tarah, jis-tarah, kis-tarah », etc.

(9) দান, দানী « -dān, -dān-I » *receptacle*: নস্যদান « nāsyā-dān » *snuff-box*, পিকদানী « pikḍ-dānI » *spittoon*, on the model of কলমদান « kālām-dān » *pen-stand* (qalam-dān), আতরদান « ātār-dān » *scent-bottle* (ʿitr-dān), etc.

(10) দার « -dār « *holder, one in charge of*: বাজনদার, extended to বাজনদারিয়া > বাজুন্দেরে « bājānḍ-dār, bājānḍ-dār-iā > bājundērē » *musician*; চৌকীদার « cāukI-dār » *watchman* > চৌকীদারী « cāukIdār-I » *work of a watchman*: চড়নদার « cāṛānḍ-dār » *passenger* (√cāṛ *ride*); ফাঁড়ীদার « phāṛI-dār » *person in charge of a police station*; ছড়িদার « chāṛi-dār » *rod-bearer*; সমঝদার « sāmājhḍ-dārḍ » *possessing discrimination*; অংশীদার « āṁśI-dār » for অংশ-দার « āṁśā-dār » *shareholder in a firm*; etc.

(11) নবিশ « -nābiś » *writer* (=navIs): নকলনবিশ « nākāl-nābiś » *copyist* (naql-navIs). In the word শিক্ষানবিশ « śikṣā-nābiś » *apprentice* (*especially in some learned trade*), we have the influence of the English word *novice*. নবিশি « nābiś-i » is the abstract form of the above.

(12) বন্দ « -bandā » > বন্দি « bāndi » *shut, enclosed* (=Pers. « band »): চিঠাবন্দি « ciṭhā-bāndi » *entered in a ledger*, পেঁটরাবন্দ, -বন্দি « pēṭarā-bāndā, -bāndi » *shut inside a chest*, বাক্সবন্দ, বন্দি « bāksā-bāndā, -bāndi » *locked in a box*.

(13) বাজ « -bāj » *one accustomed to do a thing* (< bāz), an abstract formation from which is বাজী « bāj-ī »: রাঁড়বাজ « rāṛ-bāj » *one who associates with courtesans* (slang); ধড়ীবাজ « dhaṛī-bāj » *acute fellow, swindler*; ধোঁকা-বাজ « dhōkā-bāj » *a swindler*; গলা-বাজী « galā-bājī » *speech-making*; etc.

(14) সহি, সই « -sâhi, -sâi » *proper, attached to* (Perso-Arabic « šaḥīḥ »): as an affix, this has been confused with the similar *tbh.* affix (p. 700); *e.g.*, মানান্-সহি, -সই « mānān-sâ(h)i » *agreeable, suitable*; প্রমাণ-সহি « prāmāṇ-sâhi » *of full size*; চলনসই « câlan-sâi » *serviceable*; মাপসই « māp-sâi » (*article*) *to measure*; টেঁকসই « ṭēk-sâi » *durable*; etc.

Some Persian words, being cognate with Sanskrit ones, are so very similar to the latter that their Indian or Indianised forms are employed: *e.g.*, Persian « -istān » in names of countries occurs in Bengali in the Sanskrit form « sthāna »: *e.g.*, হিন্দুস্থান « Hindu-sthān », আফগানিস্থান « Âphgāni-sthān », তুর্কীস্থান « Turkī-sthān »; Persian « -mand » often becomes মন্ত « mântâ », *e.g.*, দৌলতমন্ত « daulât-mântâ » beside শ্রীমন্ত « śrī-mântâ », and Persian « nāmah » is hardly felt to be foreign in the Bengali নামা « -nāmā ».

Other Persian affixes or words like « -yandah, -andāz, pōš » appear only in Persian words borrowed in the language, and as they are not used with native words, they cannot be said to have as yet become naturalised.

## [B] Prefixes

### [I] Prefixes of Native Origin: Tadbhava and Tatsama.

**469.** Bengali has a few prefixes which are living ones, employed in forming words. The following are the *tbh.* and *ts.* prefixes found in use.

#### (1) অ, আ « a-, ā- », অনা « anā- »: Privative, Pejorative.

OIA. initial « ă- » normally became « ā- » in Bengali (see *supra*, p. 314), but the influence of Skt. restored the « ă- » [=ɔ] in most cases. This prefix অ [ɔ] is not mutated to [o] even when the following syllable has [i] or [u] (see p. 396). Examples: আলুনি « ā-luni < *ā-lōṇ-ī » *not*

*salted* (*as of curry*) (a-lavaṇ-ika); আকাচা « ā-kācā » *not washed* (*as a dhōti*); অবন্তি « à-bânṡt-i » *disagreement* (বন √bân *to make up*); আকাঁড়া « ā-kāṛā » *not cleaned* (*as of rice*) (a-kaḍḍhia, *a-kaṇḍia = a-kṛṣṭa); MB. *sts.* আবুদ্ধিয়া « ā-buddhiyā » *without intelligence*; অশুধ « āśudhṡ », *mourning, ceremonial uncleanliness*, often written ওষুধ « ōṣudhṡ » (a-śuddha); MB. (ŚKK.) আদেখ « ā-dēkhā » *not seen*, আদিবস « ā-dibāsā » *bad day*, আবেলা « ā-bēlā » (NB. অবেলা « à-bēlā ») *bad time*; আধোয়া « ā-dhōā » *not washed*; অকেজো « à-kējō < *ā-kāj-uā » *good-for-nothing*; MB. আকারণে « ākāraṇē *without any reason*; আজান(া), অজানা « ā-jān(ā), à-jānā » *unknown*; অঘর « à-ghārṡ » *bad family*; আঘাট « ā-ghāṭṡ » *a bad 'ghāṭ'*; অবিয়ত « à-biyā-tā », see p. 704; etc.

We have also hybrids like অহিন্দু « à-hindu » *non-Hindu, un-Hindu*, অখুশী « à-khuśī » *displeased* (Persian « xūśī »), অহিসাবী *unmethodical* (Perso-Arabic « hisāb » *accounts*).

OIA. « ăn- », before vowels, is the source of the Bengali অনা « ânā », through the occurrence of forms like « an-āgata, an-āvṛṣṭi » etc.: *sts.* অনামুখ « anā-mukhṡ » *evil-face*, অনাছিষ্টি, অনাসৃষ্টি « anā-chiṣṭi, anā-sṛṣṭi » *extraordinary* (*in a pejorative sense*).

(2) অ, আ « à-, ā- »: Intensive > Pleonastic.

**470.** It is found in some MB. and dialectal NB. words. See *supra*, p. 378. Possibly it is a semantic development of the negative অ, আ above. The OIA. particle (later prefix) « ā » could not continue its force in NIA., as it was assimilated through phonetic decay in MIA. Examples: অমন্দ « à-mândā » *bad*; অবৃথা, আবৃথা « à-bṛthā, ā-bṛthā », « obretha » in the 'Crepar Xaxtrer Orthbhed' (see p. 234) = « vṛthā »; অঘোর নিদ্রা « à-ghōrṡ nidrā » = « ghōra nidrā » *deep sleep*; অরঙ্গা, আরঙ্গা « à-rângā, ā-rângā » *coloured*; অকুমারী, আকুমারী « à-kumārī, ā-kumārī » *virgin*, « ocumari » in the 'Orthbhed.'

Connected with the above would seem to be an আ « ā- » prefix, indicating 'similarity' or 'resemblance': *e.g.*, আকাঠ, -ড « ā-kāṭ(h)ṡ » *like a log* > *idiotic*; আখ(ম)ম্বা « ā-khāmbhā, -khâmbhā » *like a pillar* (slang);

আভাজা « ā-bhājā » *slightly fried* < *not properly fried* (here = the privative or pejorative « ā- » ?).

(3) কু « ku- ».

**471.** Pejorative, from OIA. « ku- ». This prefix also is used as a noun in Bengali, meaning 'something bad.' Examples: কুকাজ « ku-kājʼ » *bad deed*, কুচাল « ku-cālʼ » *bad ways*. There are also hybrids—কুনজর « ku-nājar » *bad sight* > *eye of displeasure* (*or of sensuality*) (Perso-Arabic « nazr »), কুকেচ্ছা « ku-kecchā » *scandal* (Perso-Arabic « qissah »), etc. (The OIA. « duṣ-, dur- » *bad* has not been naturalised in the same way.)

(4) দর « dārʼ- ».

**472.** A diminutive preffix, meaning *half*, *a little*, from MIA. « dara » (cf. Pischel, 'Grammatik der Prakrit-sprachen,' § 222) from OIA. « √dṛ » *to break*: *e.g.*, দরকাঁচা « dārʼ-kācā » *half-unripe*, also ‡ দরকচা, দরকোচা « dārʼ-kācā, dārʼ-kōcā », *not properly matured*; দরপাকা « dārʼ-pākā » *half-ripe*. It is a rare and practically an obsolete affix.

(5) নি « ni- », *sts.* নির্ « nir- ».

**473.** Privative affix, from OIA. « niḥ, nir ». Through Skt. influence this affix also occurs as নির্ « nir ». Examples: নিভুল « ni-bhulʼ » *faultless*, *without a mistake* beside নির্ভুল, 'নিব্‌ভুল' « nir-bhulʼ, nibbhulʼ »; নিখুঁত « ni-khũtʼ » *without a blemish*; নিগাঁই, নির্গাঞি « ni-gāi, nir-gāñi » *without any village home*; নিখান্তি, নিখাউন্তি « ni-khā-(u)nti », feminine from « *ni-khā-vānta » *one who does not eat*; নিনাই, নিনায়, নিনাও « ni-nāi, ni-nāy, ni-nāo » *one without a boat*; *sts.* ‡ নিউদ্দিশ « ni-uddiśʼ » beside নিরুদ্দেশ, নিরুদ্দিশ « nir-uddēśʼ, nir-uddiśʼ » (= nir-uddēśa); ‡ নিখাইক « ni-khāikʼ » *one who does not eat*; MB. (ŚKK.) নিমাথি, নিমাথিতী « ni-māthi, ni-māthitī » *woman without protector* (ni + māthā < mastaka- + ikā, etc.); নিলাজ « ni-lājʼ » *shameless*; নিদয় « ni-dāyʼ », নিকরুণ « ni-karuṇa » *pitiless*; etc., etc.

It is found also in verbs and other forms, like নিবা « nibā » *to extinguish* (nir-vā), where its force as a prefix is now lost.

(6) বি « bi- », rarely বে « bē- ».

**474.** Privative and pejorative = OIA. « vi- »: *e.g.*, বিষোড় « bi-jōṛ » *without a match, odd*; MB. বিবুধি « bi-budhi » (=dur-buddhi); বিকরুণ « bi-kāruṇā » (=niṣ-karuṇa); বিহড় « bihāṛā » *to turn wrong* (=vi-ghaṭa-); *sts.* বেজন্মা « bē-jāmmā » beside বিজন্মা « bi-jānmā » *bastard* (=vi-janman); etc. Cf. OB. (Caryā 32) « khāla-bikhalā » = « khāta- + vikhāta ».

(7) স « sa- ».

**475.** Skt. « sa- », *along with*, is used in Bengali in an intensive or ameliorative sense: *e.g.*, সঠিক « sā-ṭhikṛ » beside ঠিক « ṭhikṛ » *true, correct*; সকাল « sā-kālṛ » *early, morning* (as opposed to বিকাল « bi-kālṛ » *afternoon, evening*); so সবের « sā-bērṛ » *morning, early*, as opposed to অবের « ā-bērṛ » (< vēlā); *sts.* সাবকাশ « sābākāśṛ » (=avakāśa), সক্ষম « sā-kṣāmṛ » (= kṣama); etc. From the Persian « nābāliġ » > নাবালক « nābālākṛ » *minor*, a form সাবালক « sā-bālākṛ » *major*, as if with this prefix, has been formed.

The old sociative or instrumental use of « sā- » has been partly revived in Bengali, and we have even a hybrid form like সবুট « sā-buṭ » *with boots on* (< English *boot*, as in সবুট পদাঘাত « sā-buṭ pādāghātṛ » *a kick with the boot on*), সজোরে « sā-jōrē » *with force* (Persian « zōr »), on the model of *ts.* forms like « sa-vastra, sa-bala, sa-daya », etc.

(8) সু « su- ».

**476.** Ameliorative affix, used also as a noun = *something good*, (like « ku »). Examples: সুছাঁদ « su-chādṛ » *of good-shape*; সুজন « su-jānṛ » *good man*; সুমন « su-mānṛ » *good-minded* (predicative adjective), *good mind* (su-manas); সুদিন « su-dinṛ » *good day*; সুনাম « su-nāmṛ » *good repute*; সুডোল « su-ḍōlṛ » *of good shape*; etc. Hybrids—সুনজর « su-nājārṛ » *good glance, kindly glance* (Perso-Arabic « nazr »), সুখবর « su-khābār » *good news* (xabr), etc.

(9) হা « hā- ».

**477.** Explained as the interjection হা « hā » *alas*, which is a very likely source. It might have, however, originated from a MIA. « haa »

(=hata). Used with a few words to indicate absence of something, and a consequent yearning for it: *e.g.*, হাপুতি « hā-puti » *a woman who mourns or longs for children*; হাভাতিয়া > হাবাতে « hā-bhātiyā > hābātē » *a beggar for bread* (lit. *rice*); হাঘরিয়া > হাঘ'রে « hā-ghāriyā > hāghōrē » *homeless vagrant*; হাপুস as in হাপুস নয়নে কাঁদা « hā-pusa nāyānē kādā » *weep with flooded eyes*, where হাপুস may be from *হাউস « hā-wusa » from « hā, ha(t)a » + « √vṛṣ » *rain*; etc.

Some independent words like ভর « bhāra », as in ভর-সাঁঝ or -সন্ধ্যা « bhāra-sājha, -sāndhyā » *in the middle of the evening*, আধ « ādha » (ardha) as in আধ-ফোটা « ādha-phōṭā » *half-open* (*flower*), etc., occur in compounds, and these strictly speaking are not prefixes.

## [II] Foreign Prefixes: Persian.

**478.** (1) গর « gar- », from Perso-Arabic « ġair » *without*; গরমিল « gar-mila » *disagreement*; cf. গরহাজির « gar-hājir » *absent* (ġair-ḥāzir).

(2) দর « dar- » *under, within*; দরপত্তনী « dar-pāttānī » *sub-tenancy*.

(3) না « nā- » *not*: *e.g.*, না-পাযিমানে < না +পার্যামাণে « nā-pājjimānē < nā + pāryamāṇē » *when one is not able*, on the model of নাহক « nā-hāk » *without reason, without right* (nā-ḥaqq), নাবালক « nābālāk » *minor* (nā-bāliġ), etc. In forms like না-টক না-মিষ্টি « nā-ṭāka nā-miṣṭi » *neither sour nor sweet*, we have, however, the native Bengali negative particle rather than the Persian affix.

(4) ফি « phi- », from Perso-Arabic « fī », used in Bengali to mean *each*: ফি-লোক « phi-lōka », ফি-জন « phi-jāna » (*for*) *each man*, ফি-হাত « phi-hāta » *at each hand, at each step*, etc.

(5) বদ « bād- » *evil* (Persian « bad »): বদ-রীত « bād-rīt » *bad ways*, বদ-রাগী « bād-rāgī » *one who flies into a passion*, বদ-গন্ধ « bād-gāndhā » *bad odour*, etc.

(6) বে « bē- » *without*: also used pejoratively. This affix is assimilated to the cognate Skt. « vi- » > বি « bi- ». Examples: বেহাত « bē-hāta » *out of reach*; বেচাল « bē-cāla » *evil ways, waywardness*; বেরসিক « bē-rāsika » *one who is impervious to witticism*; বে-হেড « bē-hēḍ » (slang) *off one's head, losing control over oneself* (« hēḍ » < English *head*); বে-টাইম, -টাইন

« bē-ṭāim, -ṭāin » *in improper time* (< English *time*) ; etc. The word বেয়াড়া « bēāṛā », of course, represents the native « vikaṭa- ».

(7) হর « hār- » *each*, from Persian « har » : হরবোলা « hārṡ-bōlā » *ventriloquist* ; হর-দিন « hār-dinṡ » *daily* ; etc.

There are other Persian words like « bar-, sar-, kam- », but these have not as yet acquired the force of an affix, at least so far as native words or roots are concerned.

### English.

**479.** The English words *head, full,* and *half* are used in a number of compound forms with Bengali words, and have almost become affixes : *e.g.*, হেড-পণ্ডিত « hēḍ-paṇḍitṡ » from the Anglo-Indian *Head Pundit* ; so হেড-বাবু « hēḍ-bābu » *chief Indian clerk in an office* ; হেড-মুহুরী « hēḍ-muhurī » (Pers. « muharrir », see p. 610) ; হেড-গোমস্তা « hēḍ-gōmâstā » (Pers. « gumāštah ») ; হেড-মৌলবী « hēḍ-mâulâbī » *Head Moulvi* ; ফুলবাবু « phul-bābu » *a fop, a 'Full Babu'* ; ফুল-আখড়াই and হাফ-, হাপ-আখড়াই « phul-ākhṛāi, hāp(h)-ākhṛāi » *two styles of poetical and singing contest much in vogue in mid-19th century Bengal* (*full, half* + « ākhṛāi » *gathering* < « ākhṛā = akhāṛā » *club*). The prefix *sub-* (as সব, সাব « sâb-, sāb- ») is quite well-known through the occurrence of words like *sub-division, sub-deputy, sub-assistant, sub-overseer, sub-inspector, sub-registrar*, etc., etc., which are familiar to Bengali speakers everywhere, but it has not yet been used with an Indian word.

## CHAPTER II

## DECLENSION OF THE NOUN

### [A] Stems.

**480.** Bengali like most NIA. languages may be said to have started *de novo* in its morphology, having preserved but very little of the declinational system of OIA.; and the little that it has preserved consists of a few inflexions which have been generalised. MIA. considerably curtailed the elaborate declension of the noun of OIA. The various vowel and consonant stems of OIA. (as in Vedic), considerably over a dozen, were reduced to a bare six (« -ă, -ĭ, -ŭ; -ā, -ī, -ū » stems) in Early MIA., when « ṛ » became « -ă, -ĭ, -ŭ », and final consonants dropped off; and there were just a few relics of the other stems. They were further simplified in Late MIA., when the final long vowels were shortened (see *supra*, p. 301), and there was a general tendency to bring all declensions under the « -ă » type. Stems in « -i, -u » were gradually approximated to the « -ă » declension; « -i, -u » nouns were often extended to « -ia, -ua » by adding of « -ă < -kă, -kā »; and new affixes in « -a » replaced older ones in « -i-, -u », like « -ira » in literary Apabhraṅśa of Gujarat removing affixes like « -in, -ālu » (cf. R. G. Bhandarkar, 'Wilson Lectures,' pp. 111-114; Jacobi, 'Bhavisatta-kaha,' pp. 30* ff.; C. D. Dalal and P. D. Guṇē, 'Bbavisayatta-kahā,' Baroda, 1923, Introduction, pp. 17 ff.). Final « -i, -u » even tended to disappear from the stem, giving place to « -ă »: so that Early NIA. could inherit from Late MIA. (and from MIA. changing to NIA.) many stems in « -ă » like « rāsă (=rāśi); mună (=muni); dhună (=dhvani); gură (=guru); sāhă (=sādhu); bāhă, bāhă (= bāhu); sūdhă (= śuddhi); dēvă, dē (dēvī < dēvi) », etc. The OIA. stems were in this way reduced to the bare « -ă, -ĭ, -ŭ » stems in Early NIA., with « -ĭ, -ŭ » taking up the affixes of the « -ă » stem and at times even being suppressed in favour of the « -ă ». This is what happened in all OIA. words inherited through MIA. Late MIA. « -ăă, -ăă, -iă (-iă),

-uă (-ūă) » became the long vocalic stems « (-å), -ā, -ī, -ū » of Early NIA., and these long stems are preserved in most MIA. In Bengali, however, these final long vowels became weakened: « -ā » of course remained as আ « -ā » in writing (as the original short « ă » sound had become a vowel of a different quality, অ = [ɔ]), but it was not, and is not pronounced fully long; and « -ī, -ū » became « -i, -u », indifferently written long or short.

In MB., we have frequent examples of this levelling of the « -i, -u » stems to « -ă ». The nominative, through the influence of Sanskrit, may preserve or may even have restored the original vowel; but the stem, forming the basis of the other cases, is plainly an « -ă » stem. Even *ts.* words follow this tendency. Thus, we have commonly ধূলি « dhuli » beside ধূল « dhūlă, dhūlå » *dust*, nominative and accusative, but in locative it is ধূলে « dhūlē » (=dhūla + -ē); দিঠি « diṭhi » *sight*, but locative দিঠে « diṭhē » (=diṭha + -ē); বেলি « bēli < *bēlī » *time of the day*, (=*vēlikā) (beside বেল « bēlå », as well as বেলা « bēlā » with « -ā » from Skt.), locative বেলে « bēl-ē »; *ts.* nominative বুদ্ধি « buddhi », locative বুদ্ধে « buddhē », genitive বুদ্ধের « buddhērå »; *ts.* অপমৃত্যু « åpa-mṛtyu », locative and instrumental অপমৃত্যে « åpå-mṛty-ē » (as in the 'Caitanya-bhāgavata' of Vṛndāvana-dāsa); so in the 'Crepar Xaxtrer Orthbhed,' we find « xotro » = শত্রু « śātru », but locative « xotre » = শত্রে « śātrē »; etc. Such modifications of « -i, -u » to « -ă » in the oblique are fairly common in MB. In MB., epenthesis no doubt gave to original « -i, -u » nouns (*tbh.* or *sts.* and *ts.*) the appearance of being « -ă » nouns in the inflected forms: *e.g.*, চক্ষু, চখু « cākkhu, cākhu » *eye* > চউখ, চৌখ « cāŭkh, cāĭkh », genitive চক্ষের « cākkhērå », চউখের, চৌখের, চোখের « cāŭkhērå, cāĭkhērå, cōkhērå »; সাধু « sādhu », genitive সাধের « sāĭdhērå », instrumental সাধে, সেধে sĭdhē, sēdhē », etc., which would suggest as stems *চৌখ *cāĭkhå », *সাধ « *sāĭdhå »; so ষষ্ঠী « Ṣāṭhī » *the Goddess of children* (ṣaṣṭhī, ·aṣṭhikā) gives ষাইঠের, ষেঠের, ষাঠের « ṣāiṭhērå, ṣēṭhērå, ṣāṭhērå » as if from *ষাঁঠ « ṣāĭṭhă »: and quite a number of similar cases.

**481.** The inflexions of the seven (or eight, including the vocative) cases of OIA. tended to disappear in NIA., but some occur as survivals. Although we have in NIA. here an old instrumental or there an old

locative affix preserved, the two characteristic forms from point of view of most NIA. are (i) the nominative, and (ii) the oblique. The former roughly represents the old nominative, and the latter, frequently the sole representative of other case inflexions of OIA., rests on the original genitive or dative, locative or instrumental inflexion, to which the new case-forming post-positions are added. The juxta-position of these two stems, nominative and oblique, is the regular rule in Western and Central NIA., in Marāṭhī, in Gujarātī and Rājasthānī, in Western Hindī, in Panjābī, in Lahndī, in Sindhī, and in Western and Central Pahāṛī. It is much confused in Eastern Pahāṛī. In Eastern Hindī, it has fallen into disuse in the singular noun; and it is absent in the Eastern languages, Bihārī, Bengali, Oṛiyā and Assamese. The declension of the noun has thus become considerably simplified in the last group.

Distinction between masculine and feminine forms is absent in Bengali and other Magadhan languages. The same inflexions serve for both masculines and neuters as well as feminines. Thus the instrumental « -ē, -ẽ » is found in feminine nouns like « ghaḍiẽ, āliẽ, kāliẽ » in the Old Bengali of the Caryās; and the old feminine inflexions (although at times found in a form like « samāhia » [ = samādhyā], which is a sporadic survival in the literary language) are entirely lost.

**482.** Bengali nouns thus have come to have one declension only, irrespective of stem and gender. There are in the NB. Standard Colloquial just a few phonetic modifications in the inflexions, and these are noted below. We have in Bengali—

(1) Consonantal stems = mainly « -ă (-ā) » bases of Early MB. and OB., and Late MIA., and partly also OIA. « -i, -ī, -u, -ū » bases (see pp. 301, 305, 307, 308, 310); and *ts.* words with quiescent « -ă »; and also foreign words ending in a consonant.

So long as the final vowel was pronounced, the genitive affix was « -rā < -ārā » (kărā), as *e.g.*, MB. হাতর, রামর « hātărā, Rāmărā », as well as « -ērā <-kēra » (kārya), as in হাতের, রামের « hātērā, Rāmērā »; but NB., which has dropped the final vowel, now does not use « -ārā > র -র্ » but only « -ērā > এর -ের্ ».

(2) Vowel stems, simple and diphthongal:

[i] « -ă » or « -o, -ō » stems, in *tbh.* forms, representing an earlier « -aŵa »; and in *ts.* and *sts.* forms, the Sanskrit « -ă » (see *supra*, pp. 302, 304, 347);

[ii] « -ā » stems, in *tbh.* nouns representing « -āă, -ăā, -āā » of MIA. (see *ante*, pp. 302, 307); in *ts.* nouns, representing Skt. « -ā »; and in foreign nouns ending in vowels [-ă, -ə], etc., normally changing to « -ā » in Bengali (see *supra*, under 'Phonology of the Foreign Element');

[iii] « -ī, -ɪ » stems, representing, in *tbh.* words, the MB. « -i » after a vowel or after « -h- » (=OIA. « -ĭ, -ɪ »: see pp. 308-309), or the OB. « -ɪ » < « -ikă, -ikā » of OIA. (see pp. 302, 303, 852); in *ts.* stems, the Skt. « -i, -ī, -in » are properly represented by « -i, -ī »; and in foreign words, « -i, -ɪ » remain as « -i, -ɪ » (see *supra*, 'Foreign Element');

[iv] « -ŭ, -ū » stems, the history of which is parallel to that of the « -i, -ɪ » stems: they represent in *tbh.* words the MB. « -u » after a vowel or after « -h- » (=OIA. « -ŭ, -ū »: see p. 310), or the OB. « -ū » < OIA. « -ukă, -ūpă, -ukā, -upā » (see pp. 310, 311, 352); in *ts.* words, Skt. « -ŭ, -ū » remain « -ŭ, -ū », pronounced [u] in Bengali, as well as foreign « -ŭ, -ū »;

[v] a few « -ē » nouns; and

[vi] « -ō » nouns; both in *tbh.* forms representing the contracted « -ă » bases of Late MIA. (cf. pp. 311, 852, 353).

Foreign words with « -ē, -ō » bases are also found.

In addition, there are [vii] diphthong stems, in *tbh.*, *ts.* as well as foreign words (see *supra*, pp. 415 ff., under 'Bengali Diphthongs.')

NB. *tbh.* vowel stems in « -ă, -ā, -ē, -ō » as a rule take the র « -r̥ » affix for the genitive, and not এর « -ēr̥ »: *e.g.*, ভালর, পনেরর, ঘোড়ার, কালোর, আলোর, দের (=the surname, < « dēva ») « bhālă-r̥, pānērā-r̥, ghōṛā-r̥, kālō-r̥, ālō-r̥, dē-r̥ »; but monosyllabic words in « -ā » can take both « -r̥ » and « -er̥ »: *e.g.*, মায়ের, ঝীয়ের, ঘায়ের « mā-ērr̥, jhī-ērr̥, ghā-ērr̥ » (*of a blow or sore*) beside মার, ঝীর, ঘার « mā-r̥, jhī-r̥, ghā-r̥ ». OB. and MB., of course, used both « -ărā=-r̥, -ērā= -ēr̥ », the « -rā » form being found compounded with Late MIA. bases in « -ă ». In OB. and

MB. (unlike NB.) « -ērā » seems to have been preferred with *tôh.* as well as *ts.* forms in « - i, - I, - u, - ū »: *e.g.*, Caryā 19 « ḍōmbīēra » = NB. ডুম্নীর « ḍumṇīr্ » *of a Dōm woman*; মুনিএর beside মুনির « muni-ēr্, muni-r্ » *of a sage*; বহুএর beside বহুর « bâhu-ēr্, bâhu-r্ » *of many*; etc. Except in the case of diphthongs ending in « -i, -u », and in the diphthongs « -æo, -āo » with which euphony in NB. demands that « -ēr্ » is to be used, all NB. « -i, -I, -u, -ū, -ē, -ō » words take « -r্ ». *Tatsama* or foreign words in « -ā », however, can use either « -ēr্ » or « -r্ ».

The instrumental-locative in Old and Early Middle Bengali was « -ē, -ē̃ », in the case of all nouns ending in « -ă » or in any other vowel. NB. continues the « -ē » in what were originally « -ă » nouns (now nouns with a consonant ending through loss of the « -ă »); and in the case of nouns originally ending in other vowels, it uses the post-positional affix তে « -tē » rather than the organic one « -ē » for the instrumental and locative cases, to avoid the hiatus, always after « -i, -u, -ō » vowels, and optionally after « -ā »[1]: *e.g.*, লোকে « lōk-ē < lōk্ » *on, by or with a man*; but ঘোড়ায়, ঘোড়াতে « ghōṛā-ē > ghōṛāy, ghoṛā-tē » *on or with a horse*; মায়ে ঝীয়ে « māē jhīē » *mother and daughter both* (instrumental and nominative), beside মাতে ঝীতে and মায়েতে ঝীয়েতে « mā-tē jhī-tē, mā-ē-tē jhī-ē-tē »; Early Bengali বাবুএ « bābu-ē », NB. বাবুতে « bābu-tē » *on or by a gentleman*; Early Bengali মুনিএ « muni-ē », NB. মুনিতে « muni-tē » *on or by a sage*, etc. Assamese, and numerous dialectal forms of Bengali as well, stick to the instrumental, and avoid this further confusion between the locative and the instrumental by importing the « -tē » which has now come in the « sādhu-bhāṣā » and the Standard Colloquial.

The above are the slight alterations which are noticed in the use of some of the inflexions with the Bengali noun stems, and being recent, and essentially phonological, they cannot be said to mark out any distinction in the stem of the noun in Bengali.

[1] One may compare the importation of [t] in the popular French of Paris to avoid the hiatus (cf. Henri Bauche, 'Le Langage populaire,' Paris, 1920, p. 58). See *infra*, under Cases—Nominative, Instrumental, Locative.

### [ B ] Gender.

**483.** It has been noted above that the tendency in Apabhraṅśa was to generalise the inflexions of the masculine « -ā » stem. This considerably weakened the grammatical distinction between masculine and feminine nouns, and this distinction has been entirely dropped in Bengali, in its *tbh.* element. Adjectives qualifying feminine nouns (grammatical or natural) are sometimes furnished with an « -ā » or « -ikā » (*tatsama*) or an « -I, i » or « -nI, -ni » (*tatsama* or *tadbhava*) affix, *e.g.*, পরমা সুন্দরী « pārāmā sundārī », তরুণী স্ত্রী « tāruṇī strī », বৎসহারা গাভী « bāṭsā-hārā gābhī » *a cow which has lost her calf*, ‡ ভাগ্যমানী মেয়ে « bhāgyimānī mēyē » *a woman happy in her husband's love* (a from used by women in the Standard Colloquial, « =bhāgyavatī strī ») ; but these feminine forms are confined to *ts.* and *sts.* words, and are entirely against the spirit of the language. (Cf. Lalit Mohan Banerji, 'Vyākaraṇ-Vibhīṣikā,' pp. 27 ff., for examples of wrong use of the Skt. feminine affixes in Bengali). In the Western Magadhan dialects, predicates referring to nouns or pronouns in the feminine gender have the feminine affix « -I, -i », but in the declension there is no distinction, such as we find for instance in Western Hindī and Marāṭhī.

Grammatical gender may be said to be preserved in all NIA. except Magadhan. In most of them, however, the neuter has merged in the masculine : in some, like Marāṭhī, Gujarātī and Sinhalese, the neuter is preserved. Thus in Western Hindī, « pōthī, bāt » are feminine, as they represent the earlier « potthiā, vattā = pustikā, vārtā », and verbal predicates referring to them (in the past participle or future) as well as genitive and other adjectival forms qualifying them must be put in the feminine. This is thus a survival of MIA. conditions ; and there is no survival of this kind now in the Eastern Magadhan speeches, Bengali, Assamese and Oṛiyā, although it exists in the older phases of the above speeches, and is still found to some extent in the Central and Western Magadhan speeches. We have in OB., and to some extent also in Early MB., a state of things almost identical with that obtaining in Western Hindī or in Apabhraṅśa. In the Caryās, there are numerous cases showing that nouns in « -I, -i < -ikā » and in « -ā = *ts.* -ā » preserved their grammatical gender, and were in the

feminine: *e.g.*, « diṭi (=diḍhī < *dṛḍhikā) ṭāṅgī » *strong axe* in Caryā 5; « sōnē bharitī nāẅī » *boat filled with gold* (Caryā 8); « mēlili kācchi » *the hawser was loosened* (Caryā 8); « tōhōri kuḍiā » *thy little hut*, « tōhōra antarē mōē ghalili hāḍēri māli » *for thy sake the chaplet of bones has been cast away by me* (Caryā 10); « tōhōri bhābhariālī » *thy coquetry*, « ḍombi-ta āgalī nāhi ecchiṇāli » *before the Ḍōm woman there is no (greater) wanton* (Caryā 18); « maï dibi piricchā » *a question (or statement) is to be rendered by me* (29); « ṭuṭi gēli kaṅkhā » *the desire was destroyed* (37); « lāgēli āgi » *the fire caught* (47: āgi=āgī <aggia=agnikā); « nia ghariṇī caṇḍālī lēlī » *as (thy) own wife, a Caṇḍāla woman has been taken (by thee)* (49); « phiṭilī Śabarālī » *the Śabara's nature was destroyed* (50); etc. These would indicate that the sense of grammatical gender was quite strong in the language. Inanimate nouns, abstract, material or concrete, like « kaṅkhā, piricchā, nāẅī, āgi, māli, ṭāṅgī » etc., are feminine only because of their affixes,—as much as names of persons of the female sex like « ecchiṇāli » and « caṇḍālī »; and they as a matter of course take feminine forms of the genitive-adjective (tōhōr-i, hāḍ-ēr-i) or attributive adjective (āgal-ī, diḍh-i), or verbal predicate of participial and adjectival origin (dib-i, gēl-i). But in Early MB., this is changed, and names of inanimate objects cease to have any grammatical gender, inspite of the affix. Grammatical tradition yields to reason. In Early MB. (ŚKK.) there are cases like গেলী or চলিলী রাহী « gēlī, calilī Rāhī » *Rādhā went*, তার পিসী নিয়োজিনী « tārā pisī niyōjilī » *her aunt was appointed*, রোষিলী রাধিকা « rōṣilī Rādhikā » *R. angered*, etc., where predicates take the fem. affix « -ī, -i » when they qualify feminine nouns, names of sentient beings. In other MB. and NB., occasional cases of similar use crop up: *e.g.*, VSP., p. 166, ব্রাহ্মণেরি নারী « brāhmaṇ-ēr-i nārī » *a Brāhman's wife*; and there are also in MB. stray relics of grammatical gender, like ŚKK. (p. 381) চুড়ী « cuṛī » *bracelet* being qualified by the feminine adjective জড়ী « jaṛī » *encrusted with gems* (jaḍita+-ikā), and বরণে উজলী কনক বউলী « bāraṇē ujalī kanaka-bāulī » *a floret of gold shining in its lustre* (KKC., p. 64).

This early abandoning of grammatical gender in the eastern speeches has been regarded as a heritage from the non-Aryan languages current in the East, and has been connected with conditions in Tibeto-Burman, which

does not possess grammatical gender (cf. Jules Bloch, 'Langue Marathe,' § 180). The dropping of the neuter affix «-am» for the masculine «-ē < -aḥ» characterises the eastern Aryan speech at least as early as the time of Aśōka, and in literary Māgadhī of the Second MIA. period («phalē < phalaṁ», like «dēvē < dēvaḥ»). The differentiation of the grammatical feminine from the grammatical masculine, or masculine-neuter, as we can see from the relics of OB. and eMB., continued in full force to the 12th century, and was even existent in the 14th. Postulating a specific Tibeto-Burman influence in doing away with the grammatical distinction of the feminine from the masculine-neuter in Late Middle Bengali and other Eastern Magadhan speeches therefore appears rather problematical. Although Assamese and East Bengali are within the sphere of Tibeto-Burman influence, West Bengali and Oṛiyā are removed from it. The Kōl speeches were to a large extent current in Bengal and in Northern India, and Kōl does not differentiate between masculine, neuter and feminine nouns by means of affixes. It is quite likely that in the tendency towards the elimination of the gender affixes in grammar there was the influence of Kōl speakers adopting the Aryan speech in North-eastern India from very early times. It is equally likely that the simplification was a normal development in the Aryan speech of the East, apart from questions of outside influence. On the other hand, differentiation of masculine, feminine and neuter nouns by means of affixes is characteristic of Dravidian: Marāṭhī and Gujarātī thus in this respect agree with Dravidian, while at the same time they preserve an OIA. conservatism. There are relics of the neuter in Western Hindi also.

Magadhan speeches including Bengali preserved the common NIA. differentiation between animate and inanimate nouns in the accusative case. This peculiarity is undoubtedly derived through contact with Dravidian (see p. 172; Caldwell, 'Comparative Gram. of the Dravidian Languages [2],' p. 271).

### [C] Number.

**484.** The dual of OIA. fell into disuse by the First MIA. period. The distinction between the singular and the plural has been maintained

intact up to Late MIA., and it continues down to the present day in a number of NIA. speeches. It is through phonetic decay (loss of final vowels) that the old plural inflexions could not be preserved everywhere in NIA. The Western languages, Marāṭhī, Gujarātī, Rājasthānī, Sindhī, Lahndī, Panjābī and Western Hindī, have to a greater or lesser extent retained the plural affixes, nominative or otherwise, inherited from MIA. and OIA. Thus in Marāṭhī, in masculine nouns originally ending in « -ă », the nominative plural has lost its affix through phonetic decay and has become identical with the singular (« dēvăḥ, dēvāḥ > MIA dēvō, dēvā > dēvu, dēvă » > NIA. Marāṭhī « dēv », both sg. and pl.), but the feminine and neuter nouns preserve their affixes in the plural nominative, although in an attenuated form (*e.g.*, « iṣṭā, iṣṭāḥ > MIA. iṭṭhā, iṭṭhāo » > Marāṭhī sg. « Iṭ », pl. « Iṭā »; « mālā, mālāḥ > MIA. māḷā, māḷāo » > Marāṭhī « māḷ, māḷā »; so Marāṭhī sg. « rāt », pl. « rātī »; neuter singular « sūtram > sūt », plural « sūtrāṇi > sūtẽ »; Sindhī nom. sg. « ḍ'ēhᵘ = dēśaḥ », nom. pl. « ḍ'ēhᵃ = dēśāḥ »; nom. sg. « piu = pitā », nom. pl. « piurᵃ = pitaraḥ »; Western Hindī sg. « bāt < vārtā », pl. « bāt-ẽ », where « -ẽ » is explained as being from the neuter pl. affix « -āni », transferred to feminine nouns; etc.). The nominative affix is entirely lost in most other NIA. languages, and plural oblique cases in some instances are extended to the nominative (*e.g.*, Western Hindī « ghoṛē = ghōṛahi = *ghōṭēbhiḥ », instrumental > nominative plural). Instrumental plural and genitive plural are the two forms which survived in NIA., and these two were used for the nominative plural. (The accusative, dative, and ablative plural forms were lost in Late NIA., although Literary Apabhraṅśa used the locative plural.) Typical NIA. started, therefore, with three forms to indicate the plural number: the original nominative plural, which had weakened considerably and was fast disappearing in most places; the instrumental plural in « -hi, -hĩ < -bhiḥ »; and the genitive plural in « -ṇa, -na ».

**485.** In most NIA. languages there is no confusion between the nominative and the genitive plurals, the latter being kept distinct as the oblique form: *e.g.*, W. Hindī « camār » (= carma-kārāḥ, carma-kārāḥ) sg. and pl., but oblique plural, never nominative, is « camārõ, ‡camārā »

(=carma-kārāṇām). The instrumental supplies the nominative plural affix « -ē » of W. Hindī, as noted above; but the genitive plural never invades the domain of the nominative plural. This distinction is preserved in Marāṭhī, Sindhī and other Western speeches, and also in the Eastern speeches; although in the latter, the old genitive>oblique is found in some cases to encroach into the domain of the nominative; *e.g.*, Eastern Hindi nom. sg. « ghōṛā », nom. pl. « ghōṛawan=ghōṭakānām », beside « ghōṛawē =ghōḍa(w̃)ahi=*ghōṭakēbhiḥ »; Maithilī « lōkani » pl. genitive originally, is commonly used as plural affix; however, it may be said that the plural oblique is used for the oblique only. Thus in Oṛiyā, we have « puruṣa », plural « puruṣē < *puruṣahi=puruṣēbhiḥ » but « puruṣāṅ-kā(rā) » where the form « puruṣān- < puruṣāṇām » retains its genitive function.

Evidence of Western Hindī and the Eastern languages would show that in Northern India, from the Panjab and the Midland eastwards, the instrumental assumed the place of the lost nominative, at least in masculine « -ă » nouns, from the Early NIA. or Late Apabhraṁśa stage. But in Bengali, this instrumental « -ahi, *-ai, -ē » no longer figures as an affix, although it is found in its immediate neighbour and relation Oṛiyā, as well as in forms of the Bihārī speeches. It is just possible that in a NB. expression like লোকে বলে « lōk-ē bālē » *people say* we have in Bengali the plural « -ē < -ahi ». Cf. also expressions like চল সবে « câlâ sâb-ē » *come all*; সবে মিলি ভারত সন্তান « sâb-ē mili Bhārātâ-sântānâ *all united Sons of India*; দশে মিলি করি কাজ, হারি জিতি নাহি লাজ « dâś-ē mili kâri kajâ, hāri jiti nāhi lājâ » *ten people united we do the deed, we lose or we win there is no shame*; ŚKK., p. 192, সবৈ কহিব আইহনের মাএ « sâb-ẽ kâhibâ Aihânērâ māē » *we shall all tell Ā.'s mother*. But this form can also be explained as a sg. instrumental-nominative « -ē < -ẽ < -ēna ». Cases of instrumental nominative like the above can thus be regarded as representing both « -ēna > -ẽ > -ē, -ĕ » in the singular and « -ēbhiḥ > -ahi > -ai > -ē » in the plural. In the ŚKK. there occur two cases সবই, সবঈ « sâbâi, sâbâī » (pp. 66, 336), which may represent the « *-a(h)i » stage, rather than the emphatic particle « hi » (saba+hi); for in MB. the latter is commonly preserved as « hi ». Relics of the instrumental plural are found in the pronoun (see *infra*); but

in general, it can be said that the plural instrumental affix of OIA. is lost to Bengali and Assamese.

**486.** The genitive plural affix « -ānām > -ṇă, -nă » is better preserved in Bengali. It is found (though as a rare form) in nouns in dialectal MB. and NB., and also occurs in the pronouns; but in the noun, its proper genitive force is now lost. It is used mainly as a secondary affix added to the nouns of multitude which are used to form the plural: *e.g.*, Standard Bengali গুলিন, গুলান « -gul-i-nṛ̆, -gul-ā-nṛ̆ » beside গুলি, গুলা « -gul-i, -gul-ā », plural affix (< Skt. kula-); dialectal (East Vaṅga) Bengali আইন < আনি « -āin <-āni » as in সকলাইন, হকলাইন « sākkāl-āin, hā- » *all*, হোলাইন « hōl-āin <*pōlāni » *sons*; Western Bengali (LSI., V, I, pp. 89, 100) মিতান-রা-কে « mit-ān-rā-kē » *to friends*, সাংগানগার « sāṅg-ān-gā-rṛ̆ » *of friends*, etc. We have also in MB. সভান « sābhā-nṛ̆ » *all*, gen. সভানের « sābhān-ērṛ̆ ». The genitive force is preserved in the pronoun: *e.g.*, তান « tānṛ̆ » *his* (honorific), but even in the pronoun, the genitive in « -nă » has supplied the (honorific) nominative, as তিনি « tin-i ». The forms « -n-i » and « -ān-i > -āin » have their « -i » apparently from the old instrumental plural « -hi » which in this way modified the genitive before being itself lost. Maithilī, Magahī and Bhōjpuriyā as well as Western Hindī also show this « -n-i » for the plural. We have another modification of « -na » in Bengali, viz. « *-nha > -hā, -~hā » as in pronominal forms like যেঁহ, তেঁহ, ইহ « jēhā, tēhā, ihā » *who, he, this* (honorific), দোঁহ « dōhā » as in দোঁহে « dōhē » *two* (nominative), দোঁহার « dōhārṛ̆ » *of two*, which may be compared with the Eastern Hindī « -nha, -nhi » as in Tulasī-dāsa. The « -ha, -hi » is difficult to explain: but it can well be due to contamination with the instrumental plural « -hi », or the singular locative « -hi » which became the accusative (oblique) in Bengali (see under 'Locative' below).

The « -na, -n-i, -nha > -hā, -~hā » form is practically obsolete in Bengali as a plural affix for the noun, agglutinated words of multitude having taken its place. In the respectful form of the verb, which represents an original plural, we have ন « -nṛ̆ »: করেন, গেলেন, দিবেন, বলিতেছেন « kārēnṛ̆, gēlēnṛ̆, dibēnṛ̆, bālitēchēnṛ̆ » *gives or give, went, will give, is or are telling*: this « -nṛ̆ » represents the OIA. « -anti », but phonologically it

cannot be the Bengali development of « -anti », we would expect « -āt » or « -ât » or « -it » (*supra*, p. 502) ; it is certainly the genitive plural « -na » extended from the noun to the verb to indicate the plural or the honorific. In certain forms of MB. (as for example in the ' Padmā-Purāṇa ' of Bañśī-dāsa), this verbal affix occurs as আঁই, আঞি « -āi, -āñi », *e.g.*, দিলাঞি « dilāñi », করিলাঁই « karilāi » : here it is unmistakably a modification of the nominal « -nâ > -ni » as added to the verb.

The genitive « -ṇa, -na » certainly existed in OB., but no sure example is found in the Caryās. (Cf. Caryā 18, « kājaṇa kāraṇa » = « kāryāṇām kāraṇam » ?). So far as NB. is concerned, it occurs only sporadically, in some stereotyped plural forms, like « gulā-nṛ, guli-nṛ », and it figures in a few forms like নানান্ « nānā-nṛ » *many, several* (nānā). Words like ভোটান « Bhōṭānṛ » *Bhotan country* <' *Bhōṭ* ' *or Tibetan people*, কোল্হান « Kōlhānṛ » *tract inhabited by the Kōls* (see *supra*, p. 2) are instances of this « -nṛ < -ānām » ; phonetically a form like ভোটান « Bhōṭānṛ » cannot represent a Skt. « Bhōṭânta » *Bhōṭa frontier*, as it has been suggested by some.

**487.** In the word সবাই « sâbāi » *all* (MB. সঙ্গাই, সঙ্গাঞি « sâṁgāi, -āñi », as in the ŚKK.) beside an emphatic সব্বাই « sâbbāi » (see *supra*, p. 448), we have possibly a unique relic of the OIA. nominative plural affix : « sarvē hi > sabbā hi (generalised « -ā ») > sab(b)āï ». The force of the « -hi > -i » is no longer present. The form সবে « sâbē » noted above (p. 724), may be a contracted form of it, rather than « *sabahi ».

In the ŚKK. (p. 176) we have the following : মারন্তাক যে না মারে। তার পাণী না লএ পীতরে ॥ « mārântā-kâ jē nā mārē, tārâ pāṇī nā lâē pītârē » *the fathers do not accept the water* (*offered in the Śrāddha*) *of him who does not strike an aggressor*. Here of course পীতরে is merely a *sts.* form from the Skt. « pitaraḥ », familiar in many a *ślōka* current among the people.

**488.** Original nominative plural affix was lost to OB. Original plural instrumental certainly was used for the nominative, but it also became obsolete in OB. itself. Original genitive plural had only a very restricted use for the plural of all cases down to Early MB. To indicate the plural, which had come to be indistinguishable from the singular, some new devices came in. Of these, the most noteworthy was the affixing of

some noun of multitude to the noun. This method of indicating the plural by composition is already found in OB. as in the Caryās. Where the noun was qualified by a plural numeral, there was no necessity of compounding with a noun of multitude: *e.g.*, « pañca vi ḍāla » (*with*) *five branches indeed* (Caryā 1); « bēṇi pakhā » *two wings or sides* (pakṣa-: Caryā 4); « causaṭṭhi pākhuḍī » *sixty-four petals* (Caryā 10); « pāñca janā » *five men* (Caryā 12: « janā=jana+ā », see pp. 658-659; it is not the MIA. plural nominative « -ā »: cf. NB. একজনা « ēkaṭ janā » *one man*, সে জনা « sē jānā » *that man*, and পাঁচ জনা « pāṁcaṭ jānā »); « pañca tathāgata » (Caryā 13); « pāñca kēḍuāla » *five oars*, « dui māga » *two ways* (Caryā 14); « batisa tāntī » *thirty-two strings* (Caryā 17); « tini bhuana » *the three worlds* (Caryā 18); « tia dhāu » *three natures* (dhātu) (Caryā 28); etc. But in the other cases, where it was felt necessary for the plural idea to be specified, we have compounding or periphrasis: *e.g.*, « maṇḍala-saēla bhājai » *all the* maṇḍalas *are broken* (Caryā 16); « kuliṇa-jaṇa » *people of good family*, « bidujaṇa-lōa » = « vidvajjana-lōka » (Caryā 18).

« Saēla=sakala, jaṇa=jana, lōa=lōka » seem to have been established as plural-forming words in OB. In MB. we find গণ « gaṇa », সকল « sakāla », সব, সভ, সম্ভ « sābhā, sābā, sāmhā » (see p. 319), আদি(ক) « ādi(ka) » and কুল « -kulā », among others. The last is the source of the common pan-Bengali affix for the plural, গুল « -gulā » (-kula-ka > MB. -kulā, -gulā), extended to গুলা « gul-ā »<(« -*kulāka »: by Vowel-Harmony গুলো « gulō »), গুলান্ « gulā-nā », ‡গুলাইন « gulāin < *gulā-n-i » with the « -na » from the old genitive (see p. 725), and গুলি « -guli » (to denote pettiness, lovableness or prettiness of the object whose plural it indicates is really the feminine: < « -*kulikā »: see pp. 672, 673, 686), and we have further an extension গুলিন « -gul-i-nā ». In addition, we have extensions of « -gulā » with the pleonastic ক « -kā » (গুলাক « -gul-ā-kā », গুলিক « -gul-i-kā ») which are found mostly in West Rāḍha. This *sts.* form with the « -k- » in an intervocal position softened to « -g- », seems to have been quite common from Early MB. times; but literary Bengali preserves the *ts.* « kulā > kulā » as well, as in অলিকুল « āli-kulā » *bees*, কামিনীকুল « kāminī-kulā » *ladies*, ধেনুকুল « dhēnu-kulā » *cows*, পাখীকুল « pākhī-kulā » *birds*. In dialectal

Bengali, « -gulă, -gulā, -gulān » become গুনো « -gunō » (Calcutta and surrounding tracts), গিলা, গ্লা « -gilā, -glā » (North Bengali), and উন্, গিন্ « -un, -gin » (Chittagong).

**489.** There is in NB. the affix দিগ « -digă », genitive দিগের « -digēr̥ » which is used with names of animate, preferably sentient and intelligent beings, in the plural forms of the *oblique* cases. The affix is never used for the nominative. দিগ, দিগের « -digă, -digēr̥ » are « sādhu-bhāṣā » forms ; in the specimens of prose in the Late MB. and Early NB. periods, a form দিগর « digăr̥ » also occurs side by side with দিগ « -digă ». The equivalents of দিগ, দিগের « -diga, -digēr̥ » are common in West Bengali, specially in the Standard Colloquial, and are দি, দিগ্ and দের « -di, -dig-, -dēr̥ ». The affix seems to have been of Central Rāḍha origin : it is not found in East and North Bengali dialects, where its occurrence at the present day can without difficulty be explained as being due to the influence of the « sādhu-bhāṣā » as well as of the Standard Colloquial. The use of this affix, both with organic inflexions and with post-positions, is indicated below, with the word মানুষ « mānuṣ̥ » *man*.

*Accusative and Dative* : Sādhu-bhāṣā মানুষদিগকে « mānuṣ̥-digă-kē », মানুষদিগেরে « mānuṣ̥-dig-ēr-ē », archaic মানুষের দিগরে « mānuṣ̥-ēr̥ digăr-ē », মানুষের দিগরকে « mānuṣēr̥-digăr̥-kē » ; Standard Colloquial মানুষদিকে « mānuṣ̥-di-kē », মানুষদিগে « mānuṣ̥-dig-ē », মানুষ'দগকে « mānuṣ̥-dig(ă)-ke », also « mānuṣ̥-dikkē », beside the genitive মানুষদের, মানুষেদের « mānuṣ̥-dēr̥, mānuṣēdēr̥ », and the genitive *plus* the dative or accusative post-position কে—মানু(ষে)দেরকে « mānuṣ(ē)-dēr̥-kē » ;

*Instrumental* : Sādhu-bhāṣā মানুষদিগ-দ্বারা, -কর্তৃক « mānuṣ̥-digă-dwārā, -kărtr̥k̥ » মানুষ, মানুষের দিগর (দিগের) দ্বারা « mānuṣ(ēr̥) -digăr̥ (-digēr̥) dwārā », etc. ; Standard Colloquial মানুষদের দিয়ে < দিয়া, -দ্বারা « mānuṣ̥-dēr̥-diyē < diyā, -dwārā », etc. ;

*Ablative* : Like instrumental, with হইতে, হ'তে « hăitē, hōtē », থাকিয়া, থেকে « thākiyā, thēkē » etc., in the place of instrumental post-positions.

*Genitive*: Sādhu-bhāṣā মানুষদিগের, মানুষেরদিগের « mānuṣ(ēr)-digēr » , মানুষদিগর « mānuṣ-digār » , archaic and rare মানুষের দিগরের « mānuṣēr digārēr » ; Standard Colloquial মানুষেদের, মানুষদের « mānuṣ-ēdēr, mānuṣ-dēr » , মানুষেরদের « mānuṣēr-dēr, mānuṣēddēr » ;

*Locative*: Sādhu-bhāṣā মানুষদিগতে, -দিগেতে « mānuṣ-digē-tē, -digē-tē » , archaic মানুষের দিগরে, মানুষের দিগরেতে « mānuṣēr digār-ē, -digār-ētē » ; Standard Colloquial মানুষদেরতে « mānuṣ-der-tē » , মানুষদিগেতে « mānuṣ-digētē » (rather uncommon for the locative: the Standard Colloquial would prefer the form মানুষ-গুলিতে, গুলাতে « mānuṣ-guli-tē, -gulā-tē » etc.)

The affix is thus in three forms, -দি -দ « -di-, -d- » , দিগ « -dig(ā)- » and দিগর « -digār » . The last form apparently has a র « -r » which is not the genitive affix. It is frequent in letters and documents and in prose generally from the 18th century onwards, but it became obsolete by the middle of the 19th century. This দিগর « -digār » is only an artificial form built on the proper genitive দিগের or দিগর « -dig-ēr, -dig-ār » . It came to be established through a confusion with the Persian « dīgar » *another, more, and the rest*, etc. Persian « dīgar » occurs frequently in the highly Persianised Bengali of the law courts: a form like মানুষের দিগরকে « mānuṣēr digār-kē » *to men* arose probably in the early 18th century in the law courts; and when a prose style came into being in Bengali about that period, it had to be based as a matter of course on the only prose that was current, viz., in legal and epistolary documents. The curious form দিগর « digār » , which is thus merely the native দিগ-র, দিগের « -dig-ār, -dig-ēr » mistaken for the Persian word, in this way came to be accepted in the « sādhu-bhāṣā » in its formative and early periods. The confusion between the native affix দিগ « -digā » and the Persian « dīgar » is plain: we have তাহাদিগকে, তাহাদিগের « tāhā-digā-kē, tāhā-dig-ēr » *to them*; and a Persianised expression তাহার দিগরকে « tāhār digār-kē » = *to the others of his (group)* > *to them* could easily be evolved when the form « -dig-ār » was handy in the language. With the decay of Persian influence upon Bengali, the form দিগর « digār » has become obsolete.

The persistent use in many Late MB. and Early NB. prose documents of the form দিগর « digārạ » as a separate plural forming post-position, like সব, সকল « sābạ, sākālạ » and the rest, has thrown some Bengali scholars off their guard, and has been responsible for the assumption that দিগর « digarạ » and -দিগ, -দিগের, -দি, -দের, « -digā, -dig-ērạ, -di, -dērạ » etc. are derived from the Persian word.

There is no affix corresponding to -দিগ, -দিগের, -দি, -দের « -digā, -di, -dig-ērạ, -dērạ » in any other NIA. language. It does not occur in OB. There has been some speculation about the origin of this group of affixes. (Cf. Beames, 'Comparative Grammar of the Modern Aryan Languages of India,' II, London, 1875, p. 200, Bengali Grammar, Oxford, 1894, p. 20; R. G. Bhāṇḍārkar, Wilson Philological Lectures delivered in 1877, Bombay, 1914, pp. 238-239; A. F. R. Hoernle, Gaudian Grammar, pp. 190-191; Chintāmaṇi Gāŋguli, Bengali Grammar, Bengali year 1288, p. 40; Rabindranath Tagore, 'Śabda-tattwa,' pp. 85-90.) But there is nothing in MB. to warrant an affiliation to an obsolete genitive affix « -dā » (Hoernle), to a plural form « *-nhi-kēra > *-ndigēra > -digērạ » (Rabindranath Tagore), or a derivation from a Skt. « diś, dik » *direction* (Beames and Bhāṇḍārkar), or from a Skt. « dīrgha » (Gāŋguli).

The proper source of -দিগ, -দি « -digā, -di » is undoubtedly the *ts.* word « ādi » which came into wide use in Eastern Rāḍha from the Second MB. period. Rai Bahadur D. C. Sen suggested « ādi, ādi-ka », so commonly found in MB. literature from the 16th century onwards (and certainly earlier still) as having developed into the NB. affix. (Cf. 'Vaŋga-bhāṣā Ō Sāhitya[4],' pp. 33, 34, 235, 332). It would be noted that in MB., আদি « ādi » and its extension আদিক « ādi-ka » are used for the nominative as well. The words are used in MB. mainly after proper names, but they are found with other nouns, masculine as well as neuter. The sense is not exactly of the plural, but of 'and the like,' 'and the rest.' Thus, in the 'Narôttama-Vilāsa' of Narahari Cakravarti (c. 1614-1625), we have—

ঐছে কত কহি অধ্যাপকে স্থির কৈলা।
প্রাতঃকালে স্নানাদিক করি সজ্জ হৈলা॥

বিনা যানে রাজা অধ্যাপকাদি সনে।
গেলেন খেতরি শীঘ্র গৌরাঙ্গ প্রাঙ্গণে ॥.....
মহাবিজ্ঞ রামচন্দ্র গোবিন্দাদি তথি।
কৈল সমাদর সবে হৈলা হৃষ্ট অতি ॥ (VSP., II, pp. 1244-1245)

« âichē kâtâ kâhi, âdhyāpākē sthirâ kâilā |
prātâḥ-kālē snānâdikâ kâri sâjjâ hâilā ||
binā yānē rājā âdhyāpākâdi sânē |
gēlēnâ Khētâri śīghrâ Gâurâṅgâ-prāṅgâṇē ||.....
mâhā-bijñâ Rāmâ-cândrâ Gôbindâdi tāthi |
kâilā sâmādârâ, sâbē hâilā hṛṣṭâ âti ||

*In this way saying a great deal, he made the scholars quiet;*
*In the morning-time, having finished his bath and other duties, he was dressed;*
*Without a vehicle the king, with the scholars and the rest,*
*Went quickly to Khetari, to the courtyard of Gaurâṅga;*
*The very wise Rāma-candra, and Govinda and the rest there*
*Did honour, and all were very glad.*

In some cases, we find the phrase আদি করি সবে « ādi kâri sâbē » *all with so-and-so at the head=so-and-so and others*, rather than the simple আদি or আদিক « ādi, ādi-kâ ». This « ādi-kâri » must have had something to do with the evolution of দিগর « digârâ » discussed above.

As yet the more common plural-affix is গণ « gâṇâ », at least in literature; but the « ādi, ādi-ka » > « -dâ, -digâ », for the plural oblique seems to have been well-established by the end of the 15th century: তোমাদের « tōmādērâ » *your*, for instance, is found in Kṛttivāsa's 'Rāmāyaṇa, Ayōdhyā-kāṇḍa' (pp. 29, 30, VSPd. edition, MS. of c. 1602 A. C.) as well as in 'Uttara-kāṇḍa' (*e.g.*, p. 194; MS. of c. 1580 A.D.; the MSS. are late, and it cannot be ascertained whether « -dērâ » was actually in use in Kṛttivāsa's time, 15th century, but in all probability it was).

MB. *ts.* « ādi » would naturally become « âidâ, âid » by epenthesis: মানুষাদি « mānuṣâdi » would become মানুষাদ « *mānuṣâid », genitive মানুষাদের « *mānuṣâidērâ », whence NB. মানুষেদের « mānuṣêdērâ », which is still common, and then by dropping of the « -ê », মানুষদের « mānuṣâ-dērâ ».

We even now invariably say রামেদের « Rāmēdēr̥ » *of Rāma and his people* = « *Rāmāīdērā < Rāmādi, Rāmāīd + -ērā » ; and রামদের « *Rām-dēr̥ » is not heard at all : the old full form is preserved in this case, where we have a proper name, and the sense too is the old one of a group rather than of the plural. The « ā- » of « ādi, āīd » came to be linked with the preceding word, and gradually « -di, -d- » alone had the force of an affix. Then it came to be used with nouns ending in vowels like « -i, -u » : *e.g.*, পাখীদের « pākhī-d-ēr̥ » *of birds*, গোরুদের « gōru-d-ēr̥ » *of cows*. The intermediate stages are not preserved in MB. literature, as the literary language scorned to have colloquial forms as yet not fully established. The form দি « -di » without epenthesis, is found, but it is rather rare in the Standard Colloquial (see under accusative above, p. 728). আদিক « ādi-kā » became আদিগ « ādigā » by voicing, as in the case of গুলা < কুল- « -gulā < kula- ». The « ā » was assimilated with the ending of the preceding word, and there was not much scope for epenthesis here (to a possible « * āīdgā ») : and the « -kā » form seems to have been rather a learned and artificial one than colloquial—the result of an attempt to give a respectable look with the all-useful « -ka » to a vernacular form in « -di, -ādi ». দিগ « digā » also came to be generalised, like দি, দ « -di, -d̥ » with words in « -i-, -u » vowels. The genitive form of দিগ is দিগের « digēr̥ = digā + -ērā » ; and দিগর « digār̥ = digā + -ār̥ » also is found. It would not be correct to derive দিগের form আদি-কের « ādi-kēra », regarding the case as one of retention of the older MIA. form of the common Bengali genitive affix « -ērā » ; the occurrence in MB. of আদিক « ādi-kā » is against such a derivation. Rai Bahadur Y. C. Vidyānidhi, while accepting « ādi » as the source of the Bengali affix, suggests that « ādi + kāra » > দিগার « *digārā » was the original form of দিগের « digārā » (Bengali Grammar, VSPd., p. 196), which has the « -ā- » changed to « -ē- » through Vowel Harmony (see pp. 400 *supra*) ; but the need to postulate a MB. « *digārā » is equally unnecessary.

**490.** The *tbh.* word সব « sābā », strengthened in MB. by the *sts.* সভ < সভা « sābhā < sābhā », the *tbh.* or *ts.* words কুল- > গুলা « kulā- > gula- », জন « jān̥ » and গণ « gāṇ̥ », and the *ts.* or *sts.* আদি, আদিক > দ, দিগ « ādi, ādi-ka > -d-, -digā », have thus furnished to Bengali a set of new

agglutinated plural affixes. There are other *ts.* words of multitude loosely agglutinated to indicate the plural in the « sādhu-bhāṣā »—*e.g.*, « samasta, sakala, samūha, varga, lōka, caya, nicaya » etc. The Perso-Arabic « mahal » is also similarly used, though in a restricted way, *e.g.*, বন্ধু মহল « bāndhu-māhāl্ » *society of friends=friends*, রাজনৈতিক মহলে « rājnāitik্-māhāl-ē » *among politicians*, etc.

The case affixes and post-positions are placed after the noun of multitude agglutinated, and this system has its parallel in the agglutinative system of Dravidian, *e.g.*, মানুষ-গুলা-কে « mānuṣ্-gulā-kē » *to men*, cf. Tamil « manidaṉ-gaḷ-ukku ». Here of course we have only a fortuitous resemblance, there being no genetic connexion whatever between the very late Indo-Aryan « -gulā, -kē » and the Dravidian « -gaḷ, -ukku ».

Of the above nouns of number, সব « sāb্ », সকল « sākāl্ » sometimes সমস্ত « sāmāstā », and অনেক « ānēk্ » (MB. আণেক « āṇēkā ») which indicate merely number and not grouping, are loosely compounded with nouns as attributives to express the plural. This is found from the oldest period of Bengali: *e.g.*, Caryā 1, « saala-samāhia » *with (all) samādhis*; ŚKK., p. 1, সব দেবেঁ মেলি সভা পাতিল আকাশে « sābā-dēbēṁ mēli sābhā pātilā ākāśē » *the Gods having met held a gathering in the sky*; ibid., p. 1, ব্রহ্মা সব দেব লআঁ গেলান্তি সাগরে « Brāhmā sābā-dēbā lāẏā gēlānti sāgārē » *B. taking the Gods went to the sea.* In NB., the noun qualified can optionally take a second word at the end, or the affix « -ērā, -rā » (see *infra*).

Other forms of periphrasis are found from the Early MB. period: the pronominal adjective জত, যত « jātā » *as much* is used attributively, singly or with সব « sābā », গণ « gāṇā » etc.: *e.g.*, Early MB. (ŚKK. p. 19), যত নানা ফুল পান করপুর সব পেলাইল পাএ « jātā nānā phulā, pānā kārāpurā, sābā pēlāïlā pāē » *all the various flowers, betel-leaves, and camphor she scattered with her foot.* ibid., p. 237, কাহ্নাঞিক দেখি যত গোপগোপীগণে। হরষে হন্নিলা তবেঁ সজল নয়নে ॥ « Kānhāñikā dēkhi jātā gōpā-gōpī-gāṇē, hārāṣē hāyilā tābē sājalā nāẏānē » *Seeing Kṛṣṇa, all the herdsmen and herdswomen through joy then had moistened eyes.* The loss of a genuine plural-forming affix had placed the language in this difficulty.

Plural nouns qualified by demonstratives solve the difficulty by adding the noun of multitude to the pronoun: *e.g.*, সে-সব কাজ « sē-sâbô kājô » *those works*, এই-সমস্ত কথা « ēi-sâmâstâ kâthā » *these talks, etc.* This usage is found in the ŚKK.: *e.g.*, p. 18, এতেকেঁ এ সব কাজের প্রকার জাণহ আশেষে বিশেষে « ētēkĕ ē-sâbâ kājērâ prâkārâ jāṇâhâ âśēṣē biśēṣē » *in this way know thoroughly and in detail the method of these works*; p. 33, এ সব গোপবধূজন লঞা কথা না বাসি বড়ায়ি « ē-sâbâ gōpâ-bâdhū-jânâ lâẏâ kâthā nā jāsi bāṛāyi » *taking all these wives of the herdsmen, where indeed dost go, old mother!* p. 56, এ সব চরিতেঁ « ē-sâbâ câritĕ » *with these deeds*; etc., etc.

**491.** The commonest NB. affix for the plural is রা or এরা « -rā, -ērā » which is now organic or inflexional in its nature, although in origin it is post-position. রা, এরা « -rā, -ērā » are only extensions of the genitive bases in র, এর « -râ, -ērâ » by means of the আ « -ā » affix. Originally, there was a noun of multitude after the strengthened genitive in « -ā ». This stage is still found in the Maithilī « hamarā-sabh, tōharā-sabh » *we, ye*; and in Bengali, the noun of multitude can be optionally used, and as a matter of fact is still frequently used in the colloquial as well as in the literary language (of both prose and poetry); *e.g.*, আমরা সব « āmṛā-sâbô » *we*, তোরা সব « torā-sâbô » or তোমরা সব « tōmṛā-sâbô » *ye*, বামুনেরা সব « bāmunērā -sâbô » *Brāhmans*, রাজারা সব « rājārā-sâbô » *kings*, পাখীরা সব « pākhīrā -sâbô » *birds*, etc. It is like « mama gaṇaḥ » or « māmakāḥ sarvē » for « vayam ». In NB., however, the noun of multitude is ordinarily felt to be superfluous. The genitive form with its « -ā » of definitiveness (see *ante*, pp. 658-659) could be easily distinguished from the ordinary genitive of connexion which does not have the « -ā ».

The use of the strong genitive with the noun of multitude came into being with the pronouns of the first and second person, when the old plurals আহ্মি, আহ্মে, আমি « āmhi, āmhē, āmi » and তুহ্মি, তুহ্মে, তুমি « tumhi, tumhē tumi » first became honorific singular and then ordinary singular. New plurals were found out; either by mere juxta-position, as nominative আহ্মি সব, আমি সব « ām(h)i-sâbâ », তুহ্মি সব, তুমি সব « tum(h)i-sâbâ », oblique আহ্মা (আমা) সব « ām(h)ā-sâbâ », তোহ্মা (তোমা) সব « tōm(h)ā-sâbâ », the case affixes

and post-position being added to সব «sâbâ»; or by means of the strong genitive, *e.g.*, আম্হারা, আমারা, আমরা সব «āmhā-r-ā, āmā-r-ā, āmă-r-ā sâb(h)â» *we*, তোম্হারা, তোমারা, তোমরা সব «tōmhā-r-ā, tōmā-r-ā, tōmă-r-ā sâb(h)â» *you*. Both the types are found in MB. literature. With the demonstrative and other non-personal pronouns, however, «sâbâ» is employed in NB. only to indicate inanimate objects, and to indicate animate objects সব «sâbâ» must be used with the রা «-rā» form: *e.g.*, এ-সব «ē-sâbâ» *these things*, সে-সব «sē-sâbâ» *those things*, and এরা «ē-rā», এরা-সব «ē-rā-sâbâ» *these people*, তারা «tā-rā» *they, those people* (but এ-সব লোক «ē-sâbâ lōkâ» *these men*, সে-সব ছেলে «sē-sâbâ chēlē» *those boys*). The method by simple juxta-position of «sâbâ» to the base has not yet become obsolete in NB. The simple strong genitive, without adding the noun of multitude, already came into being in the 14th century. But it was still not very popular, and was confined to the first and second personal pronouns apparently. In the ŚKK., there are only 3 instances of it:

p. 202, আজি হৈতে আম্হারা হৈলাহোঁ এক মতী ॥
«āji hâitē āmhārā hâilāhō (= hâĭlāō) ēka-mātī»
*From to-day we have become of one accord.*

p. 232, পুছিল তোম্হারা কেন্হে তরাসিল মনে ॥
«puchilâ tōmhāra kēnhē tārāsilâ mānē»
*Why did ye ask with a mind afraid?*

p. 263, আম্হারা মরিব শুণিলে কাঁশে।
«āmhārā māribâ śuṇilē Kāśē»
*If Kaṁsa were to hear, we shall die.*

The «-rā» plurals for the pronouns seem to have been well-established in the 15th century: তোমরা, তারা, ইহারা, মোরা, আমরা «tōmārā, tārā, ihārā, mōrā, āmārā» etc. are quite frequent in the 1580 and 1602 MSS. of the Uttara and Ayōdhyā-Kāṇḍas of Kṛttivāsa's 'Rāmāyaṇa.' It was during this century also, apparently, that the «-rā, -ērā» affixes were extended to nouns. Thus in Vijaya-gupta's 'Padmā-purāṇa' (last quarter of the 15th century: edition by Pyārī-Mōhan Dās-Gupta, Calcutta, 1318, from late MSS., modernised to a great extent), we find ছেলেরা «chēlē-rā» (for

« chāīlā-rā ») *children* (p. 12), কাজীরা « kājīrā » *the Qāzīs* (p. 55), বাপুরা « bāpurā » *good men, fathers* (a term of address: p. 149), কামারেরা « kāmārērā » *black-smiths* (p. 169), শিবেরা বাপে ঝী « Śibērā bāpē jhī » *they together, Śiva the father and* (*Padmā or Manasā*) *the daughter*, lit. *the Śivas, father and daughter* (p. 219), etc., beside তা(হা)রা « tā(hā)rā », মোরা « mōrā » (pp. 53, 54), তোরা « tōrā » (p. 71), etc., etc. In MB. from the 16th century the use of « -rā, -ērā » is steadily on the increase, although it looks as if it was not favoured by literary Bengali of the Late MB. period. The « sādhu-bhāṣā » of the 19th century similarly preferred compoundings with « gaṇa, sāmūhā, sākāla » etc.; but « -rā, -ērā » are at the present day commonly used both in the « sādhu-bhāṣā » and the Standard Colloquial and it is found in all the dialects. In the « sādhu-bhāṣā » and the Standard Colloquial « -rā, -ērā » are used only for the nominative, but in many forms of dialectal (colloquial) Bengali, we have the « -rā, -ērā » bases employed for the genitive as well by adding the usual « -r » : *e.g.*, Standard Colloquial nomi ative তারা « tārā » *they*, genitive তাদের « tādēr » *their* (= « sādhu-bhāṣā » তাহারা « tāhārā » and তাহাদিগের « tāhādigēr »), but East Bengali তারা « tārā », genitive তারার « tārā-r » : the last is therefore a double genitive form. Similarly, there is Western Bengali (Dhalbhum) আমরাকে « āmarā-kē » *us, to us* = Standard Colloquial আমাদের « āmādēr » ; so Malpaharia চাকররাকে « cākar-rā-kē » *to servants*, মিতানরাকে « mitān-rā-kē » *to friends* (LSI., V, I, p. 100), etc.

The use of a form of the genitive for the nominative plural is not an isolated fact in Bengali. Apart from the genitive plural in « -rā, -erā », we have in Bengali itself, in the Western dialects, plural forms by extension from the obsolete genitive in « -kā » : *e.g.*, Western Bengali (Dhalbhum, LSI., V, I, p. 79) ইগা « i-gā <* i-kā » *these*; (Malpaharia, Santal Parganas, LSI., V, I, p. 100) বেহিয়াগা « bēhiyā-gā » *courtesans*, ইহাগা « ihā-gā » *these*, সাঙ্গানগার « sāṅgān-gā-r » *of friends*; (Manbhum, LSI., ibid., p. 97) হাৎগা « hāt-gā » *hands*; S.W. Bengali (LSI., ibid., p. 110) ইগা « i-gā » *these*; etc. Among the sisters and cousins of Bengali we have similar instances, *e.g.*, Magahī « hamar-nī » *we* <« hamar » *of us* + genitival affix « -nī »; Bhōjpuriyā « hamanī-kā, hamaran » *we*, « unha-kā » *they*,

« kēkanī, kekanī-kā » *who ?* (pl.); in the Baghēlkhaṇḍī form of E. Hindī, we have similarly « hamārē, tihārē » *we, ye* (cf. Kellogg, 'Hindī Grammar' p. 193). In Eastern Pahāṛī (Khas-kurā or Nēpālī), the plural affix is « -hēru, -haru » and « -ēru », with which are connected the dialectal Rājasthānī (Mālvī) plural affix « -hōr, -hōrō, -hōnō » and the Early Kanaujī (W. Hindī) plural affix « -hwār » (cf. LSI., IX, IV, p. 23; IX, II, p. 55). The source of the above would seem to be the old genitive and adjectival post-position of MIA., namely « -kara, -kēra »,—the source equally of the Bengali « -r৳, -ēr৳ »: the « h-, hō-, hē- » being possibly the « -h- » of the old oblique (cf. Hoernle, Gauḍian Grammar, pp. 191, 192).

The evolution of the « -r-ā, -ēr-ā » affix for the plural is comparatively a late thing in Bengali, and its derivation from « kara, kēra<kārya » is clear; and it cannot be in its origin a Dravidian borrowing, nor should it be compared with the Dravidian plural « -ăr, -ār », found in Tamil as well as in the Dravidian speeches adjoining Bengali, viz., Oraon and Maler.

**492.** In dialectal Bengali there is an affix for the plural, মীনা « mīnā » (West Bengali, Manbhum Dist.), or মন « mān৳ » (South-Western Bengali of Midnapur). This is undoubtedly the same as the affix « -māna- » which is found in Oṛiyā as a common plural affix (in the nominative « mānē »): *e.g.*, « puruṣā », pl. nom. « puruṣ-ē, puruṣā-mānē », genitive pl. « puruṣāṇ-kā(rā), puruṣa-mānāṇ-kā(rā) ». In the Early Oṛiyā of the 15th century inscriptions (see *supra*, p. 107), the form occurs as both « māṇa » (with a cerebral « ṇ ») and « māna ». The source of this form is the OIA. « mānava », compounded to indicate the plural, like « jana, lōka ». The *tbh.* form in Oṛiyā gave « *māṇā=*māṇā » (« ava, aẘa> ā »: see p. 346): but when it became an affix, it was possibly confused with a *ts.* « māna » *measure*, and this has led to the spelling with a dental « -n- » which obtains now: « *māṇavahi, māṇāhi » gave « māṇē, mānē ». In OB., the word is found with the « -ā » affix, *e.g.*, in Caryā 46: « mōha-vimukkā jaï māṇā, tabē tuṭaï avaṇā-gamaṇā » *when a man is freed from ignorance, then (his) coming and going (=saṁsāra) is broken.* The word is found in the Haijong dialect of East Bengali (Maimansing) as মান « mān৳ » *man*, and possibly it occurs in other dialects. In Bhōjpuriyā, we have « manaï », a common word for *man in general*, which

represents either a «*mānavika» or the old Māgadhī nominative singular «māṇavē>*māṇaẅi»: and «man» for the plural is found in the Nāgpuriyā dialect of Bhōjpuriyā, as well as in the contiguous Chattisgaṛhī form of Eastern Hindī. We have thus a tract of IA., embracing the Oṛiyā, West Bengali (in part), South-eastern Bhōjpuriyā and Chattisgaṛhī speeches, in which «mānava» has come to be a plural indicating word: and considering that «mānē» is in full force in Oṛiyā, it may be presumed that this employ originated in the old West Rāḍha form of Māgadhī Apabhraṅśa, which was the source of Oṛiyā, and thence it spread to the contiguous dialects.

**493.** Early Assamese uses the words «gaṇa, saba (samha, sama), sakala» etc. to indicate the plural, just like Bengali. The use of these affixes has become obsolete now. New Assamese employs instead the words «-bilāk, (-blāk), -bōṛ» and «-hāt». All these are rare in Middle Assamese. «-bilāk» is of obscure origin. North Bengali has a dialectal form for the Common Bengali «-gulā, -gulāk», namely, «-gilā, -gilāk, -glā», and a connexion between «-gilāk» and «-bilāk» has been suggested; but apart from the phonetic difficulty of the change of «-gi-» to «-bi-», there is a wide difference in the employment of this word — «-gulā» in Bengali is contemptuous, but «-bilāk» in Assamese is honorific. In Early Assamese, again, «-gulā(ka)» is not found at all. The Skt. work «vilōka» has been suggested as the source of «-bilāk» (Devānanda Bharāli, 'Asamiyā-bhāṣār Maulik Vicār,' Dibrugarh, 1912, p. 35). The use of the *ts.* «lōka» as an honorific plural affix in Assamese lends support to this derivation (*e.g.*, «tai» *thou*, «tumi» *you*, honorific «tumi-lōk»; so «mantrī-lōk» *ministers*), but the change of «ō» to «ā» is not justifiable, and this precludes the above derivation.

«-bōṛ» may be from an IA. «bahula» or «bahala» *many*, rather than from «bhūri» (as suggested by Devānanda Bharāli, *op. cit.*) Or can it be that «-bōṛ» and «-bilāk» are connected with each other, and are to be referred to a non-Aryan (Tibeto-Burman) source? There is the common Boḍo plural affix «frā, for, fŭr» which comes up in this connexion: Boḍo formed an important (if not the largest) non-Aryan element in Western Assam where the Assamese dialect was characterised.

Assamese « -bāṭ৳ » represents « *ahanta », present participle of « √ah =as », corresponding to Bengali হৈতে, হইতে « haite », apparently used as a genitive-ablative post-position in the Eastern Magadhan dialects, and later stereotyped into the plural affix in Assamese.

**494.** By reduplicating the adjective, we have the sense of the plural distributive in Bengali, as in other NIA. languages: *e.g.*, বড় বড় ঘোড়া « baṛa baṛa ghōṛā » *horses, each a big one*; OB. (Caryā 28) « ūcā ūcā pābata (*sts.*) » *hills, each a high one*; MB. (ŚKK., p. 388) বড় বড় গাছের « baṛa baṛa gāchērā » *of trees, each a big one.*

## [D] Case Inflexions: Inherited from MIA., and Newly Created.

**495.** Following the method of the Sanskrit grammarians, the Bengali noun is declared to have seven cases (eight, including the vocative), which are formed by adding both inflexions and postpositions. The following are the case affixes which are added to the noun in New Bengali, like organic inflexions, as distinct from the detachable post-positional words:

Nominative: এ, য় « -ē, -y৳ »;

Instrumental: এ, য় « -e, -y৳ »;

Locative: এ, য় « -e, -y৳ »; ‡ত, তে « -t৳, -t-ē », এ-তে « -ē-t-ē », extended also to the Instrumental and the Nominative.

Oblique-Locative: এ, য় « -e, -y৳ », occurring as the Accusative and Dative, and also in the Instrumental with the post-positional verb করিয়া « kariyā » or ক'রে « kōrē »;

Genitive: র, এর « -r৳, -ēr৳ »: in the plural, ‡ গা, গো « -gā, -gō »;

Dative: কে, কে, এরে « -k-ē, -r-ē, -ēr-ē ».

**496.** Of the above, the Genitive, Dative, and Locative affixes « -r৳, -ēr৳, -gā, -gō; -k-e, -r-ē, -ēr-ē; -ta, -t-ē » are of recent, Late MIA. origin, having developed, not from OIA. case inflexions, but from help-words which came to be combined with the stems or inflected forms of the noun in the period immediately before the NIA. stage. The other affix, the affix এ « -ē », occurring also as য় « y৳ » after the « -ā » and « -ō » vowels in New Bengali, which is found in the Nominative and Instrumental, and in the

Oblique-Locative and Accusative, is the sole representative in Bengali of the OIA. case affixes, into which several OIA. cases have merged.

### Nominative.

**497.** Bengali and Assamese nominative affix has the characteristic affix « -ē ». It has become rather obsolete in West Bengali, but it is still a living form in East Bengali and in Assamese. Instances are exceedingly common in the OB. of the Caryās and in MB. of all periods. In other Magadhan Languages, « -ē » as the nominative affix (singular) is obsolete now, but the older literatures of Oṛiyā and Maithilī show that it was formerly as much a living form as in Bengali and Assamese. See *infra* for examples.

In the old Prācya or eastern speech of the First MIA. Period, the OIA. nominative masculine and neuter affixes « -aḥ, -am » both became « -ē ». The specimens of the Eastern dialect that we have all show this « -ē »—Aśōkan Eastern speech, Old Māgadhī as in the Śutanukā inscription (see p. 59), 'Māgadhī' and 'Ardha-māgadhī' as in Aśvaghōṣa's dramas (p. 59), Jaina Ardha-māgadhī, and Māgadhī of the Sanskrit drama. In Late MIA., i.e., during the Apabhraṁśa Stage, this « -ē » in all likelihood became « *-i », as we find from the evidence of some of the Prakrit grammarians. Thus Mārkaṇḍēya (17th century) in his 'Prākṛta-sarvasva' notes for Māgadhī that « sāu puṁsy ēd-itāu : puṁsi sāu parē 'kāra ēd-itāu syāt » : i.e., *in* -su, *or nominative singular, masculine* (*and neuter*), *the final* « -ă » *becomes* « -ē » *and* « -i » : *e.g.*, « śili muṇḍidē = śiraḥ muṇḍitam » (Vizianagram ed., p. 102) ; and further, he says that in the Śābarī dialect, a form a Māgadhī, « -ă- » in the nominative singular becomes both « -ē » and « -i », and this is a rule which is common to both masculine and neuter nouns : « māṇuśē, māṇuśi ; vaṇē, vaṇi » beside « māṇuśō, vaṇaṁ », for Skt. « mānuṣaḥ, vanam » (p. 108 : « ataḥ sāv ēd-itāu ca, puṁ-napuṁsaka-sādhāraṇō 'yaṁ vidhiḥ »). Paralleling the weakening of the OIA. locative « -ē » to « -i » in Late NIA. of both the East and the West, and that of Śaurasēnī and Mahārāṣṭrī and other Western MIA. « -aḥ > -ō » to « -u »

in the Apabhraṁśas of the West (see pp. 311-312), the Māgadhī « -ē » can reasonably be expected to have also become « -i », as the grammarian has noticed it. A form like « putra > puttē » would therefore result in Māgadhī Apabhraṁśa as « * putti », in Māgadhī NIA. (including OB.) as « *pūti ». This « -i » form for the nominative (by extension, serving as the base for the other cases also) seems to have actually survived in a few words: *e.g.*, OB. vocative « Kāṇhi » (Caryā 7: < Kāṇhē, Kṛṣṇa); N.B. ‡ পুতি « puti » beside পুত « puta » *son*; চাটুতি « Cāṭuti » (see pp. 409, 692); ঠাঁই « ṭhāi » *place* < « *thāẅi, ṭhāmē=sthāman » (but cf. W. Hindī « ṭhāw<*ṭhāẅu ») ; নেই « nēi » *indulgence*< « *nēhi=ṇēhē=snēhaḥ » (but cf. MB. দে « dē » < « dēha »; « dēhi » is found in Early Oṛiyā); and a few similar forms in MB., NB. A form like « putra-kaḥ » with pleonastic « -ka » would give Māgadhī Pkt. « putta(g)ē » which would become in Māg. Ap. « *puttaï », and the Old Bengali transformation of it would be « pūtē »=MB. and NB. পুতে « putē ». And probably in this way the « -ē » is mostly to be derived from a Māgadhī « -aē » = Skt. « -a-kaḥ ». Thus, OB.: « jē ajarāmara hōï diṭa-kāndha » (= « diḍha-kāndhē », to rime with « sāndhē » in preceding line) *so that he becomes ageless and deathless, and strong in his shoulders* (Caryā 3: < *diḍha-kandhaï < diḍha-kandhaē = dṛḍha-skandhakaḥ); « Bhādē bhaṇaï » *says Bhāda* (Caryā 35: < Bhaddaē =Bhādrakaḥ): « kumbhīrē khāï » *the crocodile eats* (Caryā 2: <kumbhīlaē = kumbhīrakaḥ); MB. (ŚKK.) কংসের কারণে হএ সৃষ্টির বিনাশে « Kaṁsērā kāraṇē hāē sṛṣṭirā bināśē » *through the reason of K. the destruction of the world takes place* (p. 2); বাঢ়এ মদনে « bāṛhāē mādanē » *love increases* (p. 30); না ছাড়ে নান্দের পোএ « nā chāṛē Nāndērā pōē » *Nanda's son does not leave* (p. 38); 'Crepar Xaxtrer Orthbhedh'— « xadhue eq crux bhanaia boner moidhe raqhilo » = সাধুয়ে এক ক্রুশ বানাইয়া বনের মধ্যে রাখিল *the saint made a crucifix and kept it within the forest*, « xtrie zigguiaxa corilo »=স্ত্রীয়ে জিজ্ঞাসা করিল *the woman asked*; etc., etc.;—such instances from MB. and NB. are extremely common. A noun without any verb, in the usual nominal phrase-building of NIA., is frequently found with this « -ē » in Bengali.

Examples from Oṛiyā: « ...Uttāmā-kumārē...upujilā » *Prince Uttama was born* ('Dhruva-caritra,' p. 4); « bicārā nāśā kāribārē, ētā nōhāi subicārē »

*you think of killing, this is not justice* (Jagannātha-dāsa, 'Bhāgavata,' the Story of the Birth of Kaṅsa, Contai ed., p. 19); « ēmānta bhāli jānē jāṇē, buddhi āṇṭilā mānē mānē » *so viewing, each individually formed the plan in his mind* (*ibid*, p. 7); « bājrā pāṛilā jēnhē śirē, bādānē nōhilā uttārē » (text =uttārā) *as if a thunder-bolt fell on the head, there was no reply in the mouth* (*ibid*, Rāsa-līḷā, p. 7); « sujānā jāṅāṉkārā hitē, kāhāï biprā Jagannāthē » *for the good of virtuous men, the Brāhman Jagannātha narrates* (*ibid*., p. 10); « ēkā gōplē āgāsāri jāï, khōjāï puṣpā-bāri » *one herdswoman goes advancing and seeks flowers and water* (*ibid*., p. 12); etc. This « -ē » for the singular nominative has already become rather rare in Early Oṛiyā.

Examples from Maithili: « jani Manamathē mana bēdhala bānē » *as if Love pierced* (*her*) *mind with an arrow* (Vidyāpati, VSPd. ed., p. 39); « kāpala parama rasālē » (*he*) *trembled, filled with love* (*ibid*, p. 40): « saṛanē-hu na purala manaka sādhē, nayana dēkhala Hari, ēta aparādhē » *even in a dream the heart's desire was not fulfilled*; (*she*) *saw Hari with* (*her*) *eyes,* (*was that*) *such a crime?* (*ibid*, p. 51); « cintāē bikala hṛdaya nahi thīrē, bādana nihāri nayana baha nīrē » *the heart agitated with thinking is not steady*; *seeing his face, tears flow from the eyes* (*ibid*, p. 52); etc., etc.

An « -i » affix inherited from the Māgadhī « -ē » disappeared in the OB. period, possibly through confusion with the locative « -i < -ē », and « -akaḥ > -aē > *-aï > -ē » was fully established. In establishing this « -ē » as the characteristic nominative affix, there was the influence of the « -ē̃, -ē » affix of the instrumental. The nominative was replaced by the instrumental in the passive construction which occurred in OB. in the past tense of the transitive verb, following the MIA. conditions: *e.g.*, OB. « * Kānhē (for * Kānhi) pōthī paḍhaï » *Krishna reads a book* would become in the past tense « * Kānhē̃ pōthī paḍhilī ». The difference between the nominative and instrumental affixes in OB. (Kānhē < Kaṇhaē =Kṛṣṇakaḥ, Kānhē̃ = Kaṇhē[ṇa]ṁ = Kṛṣṇēna) was one of nasalisation only, and the cases could be easily confused, and then affixes interchanged. And as a matter of fact, « -ē, -ē̃ » interchange, and are used one for the other from the OB. period. The tendency also was to drop the affixes « -i, -ē » for the nominative when the construction was active: thus, beside

« kumbhirē khāï » (Caryā 2) and « Bhādē bhaṇaï » (Caryā 35), we have the simple « -a » base: *e.g.*, « Saraha bhaṇaï » (Caryā 32). But this tendency may be said to have been resisted by the « -ẽ, -ē » of the instrumental nominative of the past transitive: *e.g.*, OB. « cōrē nila » *a thief took away* (Caryā 2); Kukkurī-pāẽ gāïḍa » *Kukkurī-pāda sang* (*ibid*); « Kānhē gāi » (= Kṛṣṇēna gītam: Caryā 18); « Bājulē dila » *Bājula gave* (35); « Ājadēvẽ saala bihariu » *everything Ārya-dēva has taken away* (48); MB. গাইল চণ্ডীদাসে « gāïlẽ Cāṇḍīdāsē » *C. sang*, etc. The nasalisation of the instrumental « -ẽ » was entirely dropped during the 15th century, and this made the fusion of the two cases complete.

In the gradual merging of the two cases, it is not unlikely that there was some influence of masses of Bengalised Tibeto-Burmans in North and East Bengal, who adopted the Aryan speech of Bengal during the formative period of Bengali. In Tibetan, for instance, the 'verb must be regarded as denoting, not an action, or suffering, or condition of any subject, but merely a c o m i n g t o p a s s, or in other words, they are impersonal verbs, like *taedet, miseret* etc. in Latin, or *it suits* etc. in English. Therefore they are destitute of what is called... the active and passive voice, as well as of the discrimination of persons... From the same reason the acting subject of a transitive verb must regularly appear in the I n s t r u m e n t a l case, as the case of the subject of a neutral verb, —which, in European languages, is the Nominative—ought to be regarded, from a Tibetan point of view, as Accusative expressing the object of an impersonal verb, just as ‚poenitet me' is translated by ‚I repent'... The subject of a transitive verb, in Tibetan, assumes regularly the form of the instrumental, of a neutral verb that of the nominative which is the same as the accusative.' (H. A. Jäschke, 'Tibetan Grammar²,' London, 1883, p. 40).

The possibility of the « -ē » of the nominative also preserving the Māgadhī Ap. instrumental plural « -ahi » (> nominative, as in Oṛiyā) has been noticed before (p. 724). The instrumental in MB., through overlapping of function with the locative and through confusion with the « -ē » of the locative, assumed the postpositional affix « -ta, -t-ē » which is proper to the latter: *e.g.*, MB. (ŚKK.) হাথেত « hāthētā » *in or with the*

*hand*, NB. হাতেতে « hātētē ». This as a matter of course was taken up by the nominative in the Second and Late NB. periods, after nouns ending in a vowel (i.e. the vowels « -ā, -i, -u, -ō », after « -a » had dropped off) : *e.g.*, ঘোড়াতে ঘাস খায় « ghōṛā-tē ghās khāẏ » *the horse eats grass*, earlier ঘোড়ায়=ঘোড়া এ « ghōṛā-yẏ=ghōṛā-ē » and ঘোড়া « ghōṛā », which are still used ; so গোরুতে « gōru-tē » or গোরু « gōru » (the earlier গোরুএ « gōṛu-ē » is no longer found in the Standard Colloquial : see *supra*, p. 719).

Old Bengali shows a number of instances of nominatives in « -u » and « -ō » : these are literary impositions from Western or Śaurasēnī Apabhraṅśa ; and although they crop up in the artificial Braja-buli dialect, they are not found in the Bengali speech proper, either in MB. or in NB. (see *supra*, pp. 115-116 ; 103-104).

### Instrumental.

**498.** The instrumental « -ẽ, -ē » occurs in numerous instances in the Caryās : *e.g.*, « ḍarē » *in fear* (2), « bēgẽ » (5 : vēgēna), « māṅsē » (6 : māṅsēna), « akilēsē » (9 : =aklēśēna), « nāvẽ » (10 : = nāvēna), « bōhẽ » (12, 35, =bōdhēna), « suraa-pasaṇgē, jōīṇi-jālē » (19 : =surata-prasaṇgēna, yōginī-jālēna), etc., etc. This « -ẽ » is used also for the plural number : *e.g.*, « tiṇiẽ paṭẽ » *with* or *in three beings* (16) ; and it has been generalised for feminine nouns as well, *e.g.*, « sāṇē » (Caryā 2 : saṁjñā+-ēna) « michẽ » (22 : =mithyayā), « hēlẽ līlẽ » (18 : = hēlayā līlayā), « bhāntiẽ » (41 : = bhrāntyā) ; etc., etc. (see *supra*, p. 717).

The « -ē » represents the OIA. « -ēna », instrumental singular : « -ēna » is found in MIA. as « -ēṇa, -ēṇaṁ, -ēṁ » ; in Old Bengali and Early Middle Bengali it still retains the nasalisation— « -ẽ » ; *e.g.*, হাতে মারে « hātē mārē » *strikes with the hand*, eMB. হাথেঁ মারে « hāthẽ mārē », OB. « hāthẽ māraï », MIA. « hatthēṁ mārēi » = OIA. « hastēna mārayati ».

The change of « -ēna » to « ẽ » has been through the nasalisation of the vowel by the « -n- ». The nasalised form already occurs in Apabhraṅśa. A parallel case is the change of « -ānām » of the genitive plural

to the forms « -ā, -ō » in NIA. (See p. 373.) The full « -n » also is preserved, for both « -ēna » and « -anām », in NIA.: *e.g.*, in Awadhī (Lakhimpurī dialect) « ḍarēn » *through fear*; and « -n(a), -n-i < ānām » is quite common.

The instrumental « -ē » is the sole relic of a true inflexion of OIA. which has survived in Bengali without contamination.

Instrumental « -ẽ, -ẽ » is preserved in Bihārī, *e.g.*, Maithilī « nēnẽ » *by a child*. It is found as « -ē » commonly enough in Early Oṛiyā. Traces of it occur in the Western Languages: *e.g.*, Hindī « dhīrē calō » *walk slowly*. For Marāṭhī, cf. Jules Bloch, 'Langue Marathe,' § 193, and R. G. Bhāṇḍārkar, 'Wilson Philological Lectures,' pp. 204-205.

The locative and instrumental were confused through the possession of the common affix « -ẽ, -ē », and in some cases a form could be equally either locative or instrumental. This resulted in the employment of the post-positional locative affix « -ta » in the instrumental as well, which has been noticed above. The Caryās show one or two instances: *e.g.*, Caryā 1, « sukha-dukhētẽ » *through joy and misery*; Caryā 15, « biārētẽ » *by discrimination* (vicāra-). In MB. and NB. « -ta, -t-ē, -ē-tē » become established for the instrumental, and for words ending in vowels (esp. « -i, -u, -ō »), « -tē » has become the characteristic instrumental affix (see *ante*, p. 719).

In Caryā 14 « bāha tu cchandā » *row thou with pleasure*, and in Caryā 45 « bāḍhaï sō taru śubhâśubha-pāṇī » *that tree grows through the water of good and evil*, we have exceptional cases of the simple base being used for the instrumental.

### Locative and Oblique.

**499.** It represents in all probability an old locative suffix, an OIA. « *-a-dhi », not found in Sanskrit, but attested from MIA. (Pali) « -dhi » and from the Greek « -thi ». It has been also surmised that there was in OIA. an affix in two forms, « *-bhi, *-bhim » (which is represented in Homeric Greek by « phi, -phin », and is found in Latin in « ti-bi »: it occurs also in Armenian). Its use, as can be seen from the Greek and

other Indo-European languages, was in the sense of 'by, along with,' in the Locative and Ablative, as well as Instrumental, and rarely in the Genitive and Dative: and it was not of a definite number. This « *-bhi, *-bhim » would become « -hi, -him » in MIA., and it seems this suffix is partly also the base of the MIA. ablative and locative affixes: the nasalised « -him » would certainly seem to go back to it. (Cf. Wackernagel, 'Altindische Grammatik,' I, p. xx; Herman Hirt, 'Handbuch der griechischen Laut- und Formen-lehre,' Heidelberg, 1912, § 304.) Thus, घरे « ghare » *in the house*, eMB. घरे, घरें « ghare, ghare » = Late MIA. « gharahi, gharahim » < OIA. « *gṛha-dhi(m), *gṛha-bhi(m) ».

It is very likely, however, that we have in addition the OIA. locative singular affix « -asmin » here, = « *-assim, -aśśim, -amhi, -ammi » in Early MIA., which has merged into the Late MIA. « -ahi, -ahim ». There is some difficulty of deriving « ahi, -ahi » from the Eastern form « *-assi, *-aśśi » as well as the Western « -amhi, -ammi ». The genuine Māgadhī form in the oldest period was « *-aśśi », and « -amhi » was a Western one (cf. Truman Michelson, JAOS., 1909, pp. 77 ff.); but later Prakrit grammarians note « -ammi » for both Māgadhī and Mahārāṣṭrī. The form « -ahi » is found in Early Maithilī in the locative, and « -e, -ẽ, -aï, -ahi, -ahĩ » occur in Old Bengali. Oṛiyā uses now « ṭhā-r-ē » for the locative, but « -ē » is quite common for the locative in Early Oṛiyā.

Old Bengali has also « -i » < « -ē » of OIA. for the locative: this « -e > -i » later dropped off in MB. (see *supra*, p. 312).

Instances of the inflected locative from the Caryās: « cīē » *in the mind* (1); « divasaï » (2); « eku hiahī » *in one heart* (2: printed text = « ekuḍi ahī », but « -ḍi ahī » must be for « hiahī », as the commentary has « hṛdayē »); « ghaḍiē, bākalaï » (« balkalē »: Caryā 3: printed text= « bākalaa ») ; « gharē » (2,11) ; « khanahī » (4 : « kṣaṇē », or « kṣaṇam »); « mājhẽ » (5, 14, 18, 30); « hiahi » (6); « niaḍi » (5), « ṇiaḍi » (7) = « nikaṭē » ; « acārē, caraṇē » (11) ; « pahilẽ » (12 : = prathamē); « maṇgē (=mārgē), kulẽ » (14) ; « caṛilē » *on having mounted* (5) « jīvantē, mailē; jāma-maraṇē » (22) ; « kaṇṭhē » (28) ; « sājhē » *in the evening* (33); « āiē » *at the beginning* (41 : < ādi) ; etc., etc.

There is in Bengali from the earliest times an accusative or dative form in « -ē, -ē » : *e.g.*, OB. « sahajē thira kari » *making the* sahaja *steady* (Caryā 2) ; « ṣahajē kahēi » *describes the* sahaja (Caryā 27); « bindhaha parama-ṇibāṇē » *pierce the supreme Nirvāṇa* (Caryā 28) ; « balada biāēla gaviā bājhē » *an ox made a barren cow to bear* (Caryā 33) ; « Bhādē bhaṇaï, abhāgē laïlā » *Says Bhāda, I have taken bad-luck* (Caryā 35) ; « sākhi kariba Jālandhari-pāē » *I shall make Jālandharī-pada my witness* (Caryā 36 : see p. 121 *supra*) ; « sadguru-baanē dhara patavāla » *grasp the word of the good master as an oar* (Caryā 38) ; etc. MB. (ŚKK., p. 46), দেহ মোরে সরস বচনে « dēhā mōrē sārāsā bācānē » *give me a pleasant reply* ; *ibid*, p. 100, কান্দিবোঁ জাণাহিবোঁ কাংশে। পাছে কাহ্নাঞি মোকে না দিহে দোষে ॥ « kāndiā jāṇāyibō Kāśē, pāchē Kānhāñī mōkē nā dihē dōṣē » *I shall cry and inform Kaṁsa, afterwards Kṛṣṇa will not (be able to) put blame on me* ; (Kṛttivāsa, ' Uttara-kāṇḍa ') মানুষ হঞা জিনিলে তুমি হেন রাবণে « mānuṣā hāñā jinilē tumi hēnā Rābāṇē » *being a man, you could defeat such (a foe as) Rāvaṇa* ; (KKC.) দোষ নাহি দেখা কেন কর অপমানে « dōṣā nāhi dēkhyā kēnā kārā āpāmānē » *why do you do me insult, seeing no fault ?* ; *ibid*, ষোল উপচার দিয়া ছাগল মহিষে « ṣōlā upācārā diyā chāgālā-māhiṣē » *making the sixteen offerings (and sacrifices of) goats and buffaloes* ; NB. অন্ধজনে দয়া কর « āndhājānē dāyā kārā » *have pity on a blind person* ; etc., etc. We have also an « -ē » in instrumental forms with করে or করিয়া « kōrē, kāriyā », like হাতে ক'রে « hātē kōrē » *with the hand* (never হাত ক'রে « hāta kōrē »), ঝোড়ায় ক'রে « jhōṛāy kōrē (< jhōṛā-ē) » *in a basket*, etc.

This « -ē, -ē » affix recalls the oblique (accusative, dative, instrumental and locative cases) in « -(a)hi, -(a)hī » which is found in Early Awadhī and W. Hindī : *e.g.*, Awadhī (Tulasīdāsa), « taba Rāmahī bilōki Baidēhī » *then Vaidēhī, seeing Rāma* ; « nṛpahi bacana priya, nahī priya prānā » *to the king his word is dear, not dear his life* ; « nāi munihī siru, sahita samājā » *having bowed his head to the sage, together with his companions* ; « aisē prabhuhī bilōkaũ jāi » *I shall go and see such a lord* ; « pūchata prabhuhī » *they are asking the lord* ; etc.

W. Hindī ('Chatra-prakāśa,' ed., Nāgarī Pracāriṇī Sabhā, p. 88): « utari Narmadā dēsahī āyē » *crossing the Narmadā, they came to the country* ; p. 91,

« jahã sēvakahī nidrā lāgai, sāhiba tahã saṇgahī jāgai » *where sleeps takes the servant, the Lord even there watches in his company*; etc. The affix is exceedingly common with the pronouns, in the form « -hi », and the present-day Western Hindī oblique « -ai, -ē » is derived from the earlier « -a-hi ». From their nature and employ, it would seem that we have in Bengali « -ē » and the Eastern and Western Hindī « -ahi, -ahī, -ai, -ē » a common inflected form. The use of it has now become comparatively rare in NB., but it was exceedingly common in MB. It is the case of the gradual restricted use in Bengali (as in other eastern dialects) of an oblique form as differentiated from the nominative. We find the same thing in Early Oṛiyā and in Early Maithilī: what may be called the « -ē » oblique is no longer in use now, but it figures in the older literature in these speeches: as *e.g.*, in Oṛiyā, Jagannātha-dāsa's 'Dhruva-caritra': « muniṅki prāṇāmi kāhē mādhurā bācānē » *after saluting the sages says sweet words* (Contai edition: p. 17); « muhī jāï bāsibāku dhāili āñcāḷē » *I went and caught the skirt to sit down* (*ibid*, p. 19); « Uttāmā putrē saṇgē lēi » *having taken* (*his*) *son Uttama with him*, « Sunīti putrē kōlē dhāri » *S. having held her son in her lap* (p. 61); « sē kānyā Dhrubē dēlā bibhā » *gave that daughter to Dhruva in marriage* (p. 63); « Guhyākā-gāṇē dāyā bāhi, kāhānti Dhrubā-mukhā cāhi » *feeling pity for the Guhyakas, he says looking at D.'s face* (p. 69); « ēmāntē Kubērā-bācānē Dhrubā bicāri tōṣā-mānē » *in this way D., having pondered on K.'s words, glad of heart* (p. 73); etc.; in Maithilī: Vidyāpati (VSPd. edition): « Rāhu dūri basa, niyarō na āvathi, taī nahi karathi garāsē » *R. dwells afar, does not come near, that is why he does not gobble up* (p. 12); « kāmini karaē sanānē » =« kāminī karōti snānam » (p. 23); « āōra pēkhala.... mōtima-hārē » *further I saw the chain of pearls* (p. 28); « lōbhē garāsali lājē » *desire ate up* (*destroyed*) *shame* (p. 38); « sunaha, sundari! Bidyāpati-bacana-sārē » *hear, O fair one, the precious words of Vidyāpati* (p. 38); « lakhala lalita tasu gātē rē » *O, I saw his handsome body* (p. 39); « tējala guru-jana-lājē » *I have given up shame of superiors* (p. 43); etc.

This oblique « -ē » of Early Bengali and of other Magadhan dialects, < « -aï, -aī, -ahi, ahī », seems to be identical with the locative. The trans-

ference from the locative to the dative, accusative and instrumental sense is perfectly clear and intelligible. It has been suggested that this NIA. oblique « -ahi, -ahī » is derived from the OIA. genitive « -sya » (Hoernle, Gauḍian Grammar, p. 210; Beames, II, p. 221; R. G. Bhāṇḍārkar, Wilson Philological Lectures, pp. 243-244); and again, that the instrumental plural of OIA., « -bhiḥ » > Late MIA. « -hiṁ » has been extended to the singular, and as « -hī, -hi » has become the oblique singular (cf. Baburam Saksena, 'Declension of the Noun in the Ramayan of Tulsidas,' IAnt., 1923, Vol. LII, p. 74; cf. also L. P. Tessitori, 'Notes on the Grammar of Old Western Rājasthānī,' § 59, IAnt., 1914, p. 183; see *ante*, pp. 161-162). But the change of « -sya » to « -hi » presents a phonetic problem which is unexplained, considering that « -sya » remains as « -s- » in a number of forms, *e.g.* Hindī « kis, jis, tis = kasya, yasya, tasya », Bengali কিস্- « kis- » = « kasya » (see *supra*, p. 549; Jules Bloch, 'Langue Marathe,' p. 182). The extension of an old plural to the singular, again, would be extremely curious, and certainly it is a very unsatisfactory explanation. The locative singular in « -a-hi, -a-hī » (< *-dhi; *-bhi, *-bhim; -smin) offers the most likely solution of this very characteristic case inflexion of NIA.

In the Bengali dative case forms « -(e)r-ē, -k-ē » we have the same locative affix « -ē », added to the post-positional affixes; and the locative « -t-ē » is case of double locative form (= post-positional locative affix « -ta » + « -ē »). So also the Oṛiyā « -ṭhā-r-ē », W. Hindī « -m-ē̃ ». (Cf. Grierson and Hoernle, JRAS., 1903, p. 617).

**500.** There are cases of use of the simple base for the locative in OB. and in MB.: *e.g.*, « sāsu gharē ghāli, kōñcā tāla (= tāli) » *putting the breath inside the room, and the key in the lock* (Caryā 4); « bēḍhila hāka paḍaï cau-dīsa » *the surrounding tumult falls in the four quarters* (Caryā 6); « kulē̃ kula » *from shore to shore* (Caryās 14, 15); ŚKK. গোহারী করিবোঁ রাজা কংসের দুআর « gōhāri karibõ rājā kaṅsērā duārā » *a cry for justice shall I raise at the gate of king Kansa* (p. 328). This is mainly for purposes of rime, and does not indicate any real loss of the vowel, but cf. NB. দোর দোর ভিক্ষা মাগা « dōr̤ dōr̤ bhikṣā māṅgā » *to beg from door to door* (see pp. 311-312).

There is no trace of the locative plural affix « -su, -ṣu » of OIA. in Bengali and its sister-speeches: it seems to have fallen into disuse from the Late MIA. stage. Śaurasēnī Ap. uses the instrumental plural « -ahī, -ēhī » for the locative plural: it may be that such was also the case in Māgadhī Ap. in which « -ahī, -ēhī » could easily become confused with the singular locative.

**501.** The above are the real inflexions of the Bengali declension. The other affixes were independent words compounded with the noun, and then inflected; but in the genitive, there is in all likelihood an adjectival « -ka ».

The locative « -ta » is found in OB. in numerous instances in the Caryās: *e.g.*, « sāṅkama-ta » *on the bridge* (5); « māṅga-ta, bāṭa-ta » (8: mārga-, vartman); « piṭa-ta » *on the vessel* (14); « gaaṇa-ta » *in the sky*, « gīva-ta » *on the neck* (28); « ṭāla-ta » ? *on high*, « hāḍī-ta = *hāṇḍī--ta » *in the pot* (33). This « -ta » would seem to be the word « -antaḥ » *within*: it was compounded with the noun-base: « mā(ṅ)gata<*maggaanta =mārga+antaḥ ». The loss of the « -n- » here is unexpected for OB. The present participle in « -anta » still preserves the « -n- », and a post position like « antar-ē » *for*, is as yet not reduced to অরে « -tarē » (as in NB.) in the language of the Caryās. The fact of the word being agglutinated with the noun-base may have been responsible for its losing its individuality, and any intermediate stage with the nasalised vowel, like «*mā(ṅ)ga-w̃-āta, *mā(ṅ)-gāta » must be pre-Bengali. The « -ta » post-position characterises the Bengali-Assamese group only among Magadhan speeches. This post-position would nevertheless seem to have been a Magadhan (MIA.) inheritance in Bengali. At the present day, it occurs as « -tṛ » in Assamese and in dialectal Bengali (North, East, South-east). Standard Bengali employs « -tē » (which is a locative form « -ta+-ē », *i.e.*, from « *antahi = antaḥ+ dhi »), and also « -ē-t-ē » (=locative in « -ahi »+« antaḥ »+« -ahi »). The word « antaḥ » for the locative is found in Marāṭhī as a recent NIA. formation (see Jules Bloch, 'Langue Marathe,' § 197). R. G. Bhāṇḍārkar's derivation of Bengali « -tē » from the MIA. « tahī »=locative of pronominal base « ta- » (Wilson Philological Lectures, p. 248), cannot be entertained, considering the existence of « -ta, -tṛ » side by side with « -t-ē ».

The extension of « -tâ, -t-ē » to the instrumental and nominative has been noted before. It has also been used with an ablative force from Early MB. times: *e.g.*, ŚKK., p. 264, মাঅ বাপত বড় গুরুজন নাহীঁ « mâ-bāpâtâ bāṛâ guru-jânâ nāhī » *there are no greater respected ones than mother and father*; p. 308, আহ্মাত আধিক তোর কে করিবে হিত « āmhātâ ādhikâ tōrâ kē kâribē hitâ » *who will do more good to you than I?* ; p. 326, আহ্মাতে চাহসি বাঁশী « āmhātē cāhâsi bāśī » *askest for the flute from me*; Kṛittivāsa, রাজাতে বিদায় মাঙ্গে « rājātē bidāyâ māṅgē » *takes farewell from the king* (cf. R. S. Trivēdī, 'Śabda-kathā,' pp. 102-104).

The Skt. word « madhya » was used as a post-position for the locative in the Apabhraṅśas of Northern India, in the *sts.* form « *maddha, *madha, *mādha > maha, māha ». This is the source of the NIA. locative post-fix « -mẽ, -mā, -mā », etc. Dialectal Bengali (Haijong) মি « -mi » is in all likelihood derived from this (LSI., V, I, pp. 214 ff.): *e.g.*, দেশমি « dēśa-mi ». This post-fix is otherwise unknown to Bengali, and to Assamese and Oṛiyā as well.

### Genitive.

**502.** The OIA. genitive affixes in the singular have not survived in Bengali, as in most other NIA. speeches. The solitary « -a-sya » of « -ă » nouns was carried down to Late MIA., as a generalised affix for all nouns, and even this fell into desuetude. This « -a-sya » became « -aśśa » in Māgadhī, as we can see from the evidence of the Brāhmī seals found in Magadha (see *supra*, p. 59, foot-note) and from the Prakrit grammarians. Side by side with « -aśśa », Prakrit literature registers a form « -āha » for this form of MIA.: and this « -āha » forms a unsolved problem. A change of « -aśśa » to « -āha » is difficult to explain: the change of « -śś-, -ss-, -ś-, -s- » to « -h- » in MIA. continues to be obscure (see *supra*, pp. 549, 550, 555). It seems « -āha » or some analogous form (-ahō?) is found as early as Second MIA. in Māgadhī, as in the dramas of Aśvaghoṣa. (H. Lüders, 'Bruchstücke Buddhistischer Dramen,' pp. 34-36); and the fact remains that Māgadhī Pkt. has « -āha », Śaurasēnī Ap. has « -āha, -āhŏ, -āhō », beside « -assu, -asu' »; and that Old Bengali shows

« -ā » (and in a few pronouns, « -āha, -ha ») for the genitive (examples are given below). Can it be that the real development of Early MIA. « -assa, -aśśa » was a form « -ā, -ă » in Late MIA., through stages like « *-assə, *-aśśə > *-ăsə, *-ăśə, *-āsə, *-āśə > *-ăs, -ăś, *-ās, * ăś > *-ă, *-ā », and then the locative affix « -ha < -dha » (as in Skt. « i-ha » = MIA. « i-dha », cf. Avestan « iδa », etc.) extended to the genitive sense, or an emphatic particle « -ha, -hō < -hu = khu, khalu », was added to it? The transcription in Greek letters of MIA. Brāhmī and Kharōṣṭhī legends in the coins of the Indo-Scythian prince Nahapāna of Malwa of the 1st cen. A. C., so far as it can be restored, would seem to suggest that the pronunciation « *-as » was current at the time, in Western India at least: the transcription seems to have been

ΡΑΝΝΙΩ ΞΑΗΑΡΑΤΑC ΝΑΗΑΠΑΝΑC

= ranniō (raññō) Ksaharatas (Kṣaharātassa) Nahapanas (Nahapānassa) (E. J. Rapson, 'Catalogue of the Coins of the Andhra Dynasty in the British Museum,' London, 1908, p. cxii), where it would seem as if « -āsə » or « ăsə », or « -ās, -ăs » was heard.

Be it as it may, in OB. we find « -ā, -āha » as the genitive affix—« -āha » being found with pronouns: thus, « hariṇā hariṇira nilaa ṇa jāṇī » *the abode of the Stag and of the Doe is not known*, « Bhusuku bhaṇaï, mūḍhā hiahi na païsaï » *B. says, it does not enter into the heart of a fool* (Caryā 6); « jā ēthu jāma-maraṇē bisaṃkā » = « yasya atra janma-maraṇē viśaṃkā » (Caryā 22); « jabē muṣā-ēra cā(ra) tuṭaï » = « yadā *mūṣakasya-kāryaḥ cāraḥ truṭyati » (21); « jāh-ēra bāna-cihna-rūva na jāṇī » = « *yasya-kāryakaṁ varṇa-cihna-rūpaṁ na jñāyatē » (29). In MB. the oblique form of the pronouns has « -āha » side by side with « -ā »: *e.g.*, তাহ, তাহা, তা « tāha, tāh-ā, tā- » = « tasya ». The « -āha, -ā » is thus preserved in the pronoun in Late MB. and in NB., but in the noun it is entirely lost from after the OB. period, except in the verbal noun in « -ibā »—*e.g.*, genitive দিবার, করিবার, যাইবার « dibā-rṛ, karibā-rṛ, jāibā-rṛ », dative ‡দিবাকে, করবাকে, যাবাকে « dibā-kē, karbā-kē, jābā-kē.

**503.** From the Transitional MIA. Period we find the use of a number of words, either along with the genitive pleonastically, or compounded with the base to indicate the genitive idea. We have « -santa(+-ka) » (present participle of « √as » *to be*) meaning 'belonging to,' in the Nasik inscriptions of the 1st-2nd century A.C., *e.g.*, « amha-sa(n)taka, pitu-sa(n)taka » *our, of the father* (Senart, 'Nasik Cave Inscriptions,' Ep. Ind., VIII, pp. 73, 78); and the other words which came in during the Second MIA. Period are « kṛta > kada, kaa; kārya > kajja, *kāira > kēra, kēla; kāra; kara; kṛtya > kicca; *dita (= Skt. datta) > dida, dia; karṇa > kaṇṇa », etc. These words have become transformed into the genitive and other affixes of NIA. (see pp. 163, 164 *supra*). MIA. literature, however, does not notice all of them, but only a few, although certainly they all occurred in the spoken dialects in different parts of the country. The most popular post-positional or compounded word of genitival import occurring in MIA. literature is « kēra- (kēla-) », which is found all over Northern India in later times. The source of this word is « kārya », and it cannot be « kṛta » (which would give « kaṭa, kaḍa », or « kada, kaa, kida, kia » in MIA.); « kārya » came to be used (apparently as a *semi-tatsama* form with epenthesis) in Transitional or Second MIA., as « *kāira », before it became « kēra », in Māgadhī « kēla » (cf. Pischel, 'Grammatik der Prakrit-sprachen,' §176). This « kēra- » is found East in Bengal, and West in Rajputana; « kēra- » also occurs in the speech of the European Gipsies who went with their language from North-Western India during the Second MIA. period. A vernacular or *tbk.* form would be « kayya » or « kajja », and the Sindhī affix of the genitive, « -jō, -jī », is certainly from this « kajja ». (Grierson: cf. A. F. R. Hoernle, JRAS., 1903, p. 616). Māgadhī Prakrit, like the Prakrits of other parts, took up « kēra (kēla) », side by side with some of the other words. As in other dialects, the form was either used after the genitive, as an adjective qualifying the noun governed, or it was compounded with the noun-base into an adjective; but in either case, the whole sooner or later came to be regarded as one word, which brought about the voicing and dropping of the « -k- » in Eastern Magadhan quite early.

In Bengali forms like মানুষের « mānuṣēr̤ », ঘোড়ার « ghōṛār̤ », making up with the inflexion a single word, as opposed to the Hindī « mānuskā, ghōṛē-kā » forming a group apparently of an oblique base and a separable post-position, Grierson sees an inherent tendency in Bengali, as an 'Outer' language, towards a synthetic declension, which presents a contrast to Western Hindī as the 'Midland' speech favouring a separate post-position (see *supra*, pp. 161-164; LSI., IX, II, p. 328). But there is nothing in the Prakrit of the dramas, using « kēra(ka), kēla(ka) », to suggest that a particular dialect, Māgadhī, or Śaurasēnī, specially preferred compounding or mere juxta-posing after the inflected genitive. The pronouns, however, generally seem to retain the old inflected genitive which was strengthened by « -kēra (-kēla) », and nouns could have mere compounding. Thus we have, *e.g.*, in the 'Mṛcchakaṭika,' Śaurasēnī « ajjassa kērō » beside « vessā-jaṇa-kērakō » and « paḍivēsi-gahavaï-dāraa-kēriāē », and Māgadhī « ajja-Cāludattāla kēlakē » beside « vappa-kēlakē »: but always « mama, tava, tassa (taśśa), kassa (kaśśa), attaṇō » + « kera(ka), kēla(ka) ». The pronominal forms in NIA., like Bengali তার, তাহার « tā-r̤, tāhā-r̤ » (= tasya + kara), মোর « mōr̤ » (= mama + kara), and Hindī « tis-kā » and « mērā, mērā », etc. show that the old usage for pronouns still continues. Besides, 'Outer' speeches do not always show a synthesis: *e.g.*, Oṛiyā « jāṇāṇ-kā(rā) » (= jaṇāṇām kara-), which is as much post-positional as W. Hindī « ghōṛō-kā »; and European Gipsy, which is based on an 'Outer' speech allied to Western Panjābī, possesses forms like « cōres-kērō, -kērī » and « cōreṇ-(ę)ērō, -ērī » (= cāurasya, cāurāṇām + kēra-). The preservation of the « -k- » in W. Hindī is no isolated thing: we have « -kar, -karā » (rather than « -r̤ » as in Bengali) in the Bihārī dialects. The W. Hindī « -kaṇ, -kā » seems to have retained the « -k- » chiefly through two reasons: firstly, it formed the only consonant in the post-position, and as such intelligibility demanded its retention; and secondly, there was in all likelihood the influence of the adjectival « -kka » affix, which also had a genitival force. The loss of « -k » in the agentive affix « -nē » of W. Hindī (= MIA. *kaṇṇahī, OIA. *karṇa-smin:

cf. L. P. Tessitori, 'Grammar of Old Western Rājasthānī,' Ind. Ant. 1915, §§ 70, 71) is to be recalled.

Side by side with « kārya > kēra, kēla », the words « kara, kāra » and « kṛta > kaa » were used in Māgadhī Prakrit and Apabhraṅśa to indicate the genitive. It would seem that in Māgadhī Ap. « kara » was used with the pronoun originally, and then was extended to the noun. Reduced to « -ara > -rā, -rạ́ », it occurs as the genitive affix in Assamese-Bengali and Oṛiyā, and also in Maithilī and other Bihārī speeches in the genitive of the first and second personal pronouns. The unreduced form « -kara » is here and there found as a survival in MB., possibly through Maithilī influence; it is met with in Oṛiyā in the plural, where the « -k- » is preserved by the « -n- » of the genitive plural affix (see *supra*, pp. 137, 724); and it occurs in the forms « -kar, -karā, -kạ́rā » in the genitive and dative of the pronouns other than those of the first and second persons in Maithilī, Magahī and Bhōjpuriyā. « kēra, kăra » have become practically doublets of an identical genitive affix. They figure also in Eastern Hindī side by side. « kara » is still found in its unchanged form in Marāṭhī surnames like « Hōḷ-kar, Bījāpur-kar, Cipḷuṇ-kar, Tāḷēgā̃w-kar » etc., meaning 'belonging to, dwelling in': compare the use of the genitive « -kā » in Mārwāṛī family names like « Khēm-kā, Gōyēn-kā, Himmatsiṅh kā », etc.

The affix « kāra » seems to have been rather rarely used in Māgadhī Apabhraṅśa. It is now found in its unreduced form in a few nouns and pronouns in Bengali: *e.g.*, সকালকার « sākālạ́ kārạ́ » *of the morning*, হেথাকার « hēthā-kārạ́ », এখানকার « ēkhānạ́-kārạ́ » *of here*, বছরকার bāchārạ́-kārạ́ » *of the year*, সকলকার « sākālạ́-kārạ́ » and সবাকার, সবাইকার, সব্বাইকার « sābā-kārạ́, sā(b)bāi-kārạ́ » *of all*, আপনকার « āpānạ́-kārạ́ » *of self*. It does not occur in the other Magadhan speeches: and it may well be a modification of « kārạ́ » itself.[1] The affix « kārạ́ » is used in NB. with nouns indicating

[1] Hoernle (Gauḍian Grammar, p. 236, foot-note) regards this 'kāra' as being a double genitive, '-kā + -ra.' This explanation cannot be objected to considering that we have '-ka' as a genitive affix in Middle Bengali. But we do not have '-kā' (with the long 'ā') with nouns in Bengali: and although in Early Bengali we sometimes find '-ka,' the words which form the genitive with '-kāra,' as above, never employ the '-ka' form.

time and direction, and besides it has a definitive force (cf. Rabīndranāth Tagore, 'Sambandhē « kārṛ̥ »' in 'Śabda-tattva').

The form « kṛta > MIA. kaa » is more important. As a word strengthening the genitive as well as the dative relation it seems to have come up in the Transitional MIA. Period, and probably even earlier. We have quite early « tasya kṛtē dattam = tasmāi dattam » in Sanskrit, an idiom apparently borrowed from a Prakrit or vernacular one; and a Buddhist Skt. form like « udyāna-kṛtam āsanam » shows the early establishment of « kṛta > kaa » as a genitive-indicating word. But it is a question whether the « -k- » genitive of the Magadhan languages (Early Bengali ক « -kā »; New Bengali dialectal কা, গা, ৎগা « -kā, -gā, -gō », Oṛiyā « -kā », in the plural; Maithilī « -k », Magahī « -k, -kē », and Bhōjpuriyā « -k, kē, -kāī ») is based on the « kṛta » form. « kaa, kṛta > kaa », compounded with the preceding noun-base, could be expected to drop the « -k- », and to be changed to « -aa » as in the case of « -kēra, -kara > -ēra, -ara ». It seems that the basis of the New Magadhan « -k- » of the genitive is the MIA. pleonastic « -kka », rather than « kaa < kṛta » (see *supra*, p. 683). The « -kā » of the Bihārī dialects would derive better from a monosyllabic « -kka » rather than from the disyllabic « -kaa ». The 'Prākṛta-Paiṅgala' (14th century) has some instances of the « -ka » genitive which would seem to be an Eastern form derived from « -kka »: *e.g.*, (in the 'Bibliotheca Indica' edition, ASB.), p. 249, « Khurasāṇa-ka Ollā »; p. 403, « gāï-ka ghittā »; p. 412, « dēva-ka likkhia kēṇa mēṭāvā »; p. 470, « tā-ka jaṇaṇi ki ṇa thakkaü baṇjhaü », etc. But the presence of a « kaa < kṛta » is not absolutely precluded from consideration; and this « kaa » can of course easily give the Western Hindī « kaṇ, kō, kā », and also Eastern Hindī and Bihārī « -kē, -kāī ». The « -kā » in an Oṛiyā form like « puruṣāṇ-kā » may be either the « -kka » generalised as an affix or help-word and employed by extension with the original genitive plural, or it may equally be the word « kaa » used post-positionally (= puruṣānām kṛta-).

About the use of the « -ka » (< -kka, -kaa), there is an agreement between Modern Bengali and Oṛiyā: it is confined only to the plural (or plural > honorific singular) in Oṛiyā, and in Bengali now it is found,

although dialectally only, in the plural genitive of the pronouns only. Why this form should be chosen for the plural is not clear: possibly « -ra » and « -ka » (Oṛiyā « -ŋ-ka », Bengali « -kā, -gā, -gă = -gō ») were gradually adopted for the singular and the plural respectively in the absence or disuse of an affix distinguishing the two numbers.

Examples of « kēra > -ēra, -kara > -ara, -kka (-kaa) > -ka » for the genitive, from OB. and MB.:

« chāṇḍa-ka bāṇḍha » *the bonds of* (= *from*) *pleasure* (1); « rukhēra tentali kumbhīrē khāï » *the crocodile eats the tamarind of* (=*from*) *the tree* (2); « hariṇā hariṇira nilaa ṇa jāṇī » *the abode of the Stag and of the Doe is not known,* « hariṇāra khura na dīsaï » *the Stag's hoofs are not seen* (6); « tōhōri kuḍiā » *thy hut,* « kāhari nāvē » *in whose boat?* (tava + ha, kasya, + kara-), « tōhōra antarē » *for thy sake,* « hāḍērī mālī » *chaplet of bones* (haḍḍa + kēra + -ikā) (10); « tōhōri bhābhariālī » *thy coquetry* (18); « ḍombī-ēra saŋgē » *in the company of the Ḍōm woman* (19); « mōhōra » *my* (20); « muṣā-ēra » *of the mouse* (21); « sō karaü rasa-rasānēri kaṅkhā (text = rasānērē kakhā) » *let him entertain the desire for pleasure and for elixirs* (22); « tōhauri » *thy* (28); « jāhēra » *of which,* « tāhēra » *of that* (29: yasya, tasya + kēra-); « cāndari cānda-kāntī (reading of the commentary) » *moon-light of the moon* (31); « hāthēra kāŋkāṇa » *the bracelet of* (=*on*) *the arm* (32); « Ḍhēṇḍhaṇa-pāēra gīta » *Ḍ.'s song* (33); « mōhērā bādhā » *bound up of* (=*by, with*) *ignorance* (34); « pākhi na cahaï mōri pāṇḍiācāē » (see *supra,* p. 121); « kāhēri śaŋkā » *whose fear?,* « mahāmudērī kaŋkhā » *desire of the* mahāmudrā (37); « tōhōrē dōsē » *through your fault,* « tōhāra biṇāṇā » *your science* (39); « bāṣaṇā tōrā » *thy desire* » (41); « mōra » *my* (49); « tailā bāḍira pāsēra jonhā-bāḍī tāēlā (=uēlā? bhāēlā?) » *the mansion of moon-light by the side of the third mansion became clear* (50).

It is seen that « -ēra, -ara » like their source-forms in MIA. are adjectives referring to the nouns they quality, and take the feminine affix « -ī = -ī » (see *supra,* pp. 720-721), and also the case-terminations (*e.g.,* « tōhōrē dōsē » in Caryā 39: = « *tava-kērakēṇa dōṣēṇa » in MIA.)

« kēra, kara » occur in a few instances as cases of stereotyped survival in MB.: *e.g.,* ŚKK. নাড়ীকের « nāḍī-kērā »; লাখেকের « lākhē-kērā » *of one*

*lakh*; 'Śrī-Kṛṣṇa-vijaya,' বৎসকের « bātsā-kērā » (R. S. Trivēdī, 'Śabda-kathā,' p. 103); 'Mānik Candra Rājār Gān,' কোড়াকর « kōṛā-kārā » *of a cowrie*, ঘড়ীকর « ghāṛi-kārā » *of an hour* (VSP., pp. 63, 65); 'Śūnya Purāṇa,' রূপাকর « rūpā kārā » *of silver* (p. 38), তামাকর « tāmā-kārā » *of copper* (p. 39), হীরাকর « hīrā-kārā » *of diamond* (p. 40), etc. In some of the above instances, *e.g.*, « lākhēkērā, kōṛākārā, ghāṛīkārā », the base may be in « -kā »: « lākhēkā » *one lakh*, « kōṛākā » *one cowrie*, « ghāṛikā » *one hour*, so that the inflexion would be « -rā, -ērā » and not the old « kara, kēra ».

The « -ka » affix for the genitive is rather uncommon in Bengali from the oldest times: it has disappeared from Modern Bengali in the singular, but is found in dialectal forms in the plural only. Examples: OB. « chānda-ka bāndha » *the bondage of pleasure* (Caryā 1), « samādhika pāṭa » *the process of* samādhi (comm. to Caryā 21); in the ŚKK., জরমক বংশে কুলে কলঙ্ক থুইবে « jārāmā-kā tārē kulē kālaṅkā thuibē » *will put a stain on the family for all life* (p. 127); আপন কাজক লাগি সবই বিকলী « āpaṇā kājā-kā lāgi sābāi bikālī » *every body is anxious for the sake of her own work* (p. 253); পরাক লাগিথোঁ সে হারাইবে নাক কানে « pārā kā lāgiā sē hārāïbē nākā kānē » *he will lose both his nose and his ears for the sake of another* (p. 307); নিত্যানন্দ রাম বন্দো রোহিণীক সুত « Nityānanda-rāmā bāndō Rōhiṇī-kā sutā » *I praise N., the son of R.* (Lōcana-dāsa's 'Caitanya-maṅgala'), বিহারক রাজপুরী নামে অম্রাবতী « Bihārā-kā rājā purī, nāmē Amrābātī » *the capital of Bihār, Amarāvatī by name* (Vīra-nārāyaṇa's 'Kirāta-parvan'); গৃহস্থক ধর্ম এহি পুরাণ কহিছে « gṛhāsthā-kā dhārmā ēhi purāṇā kāhichē » *this is the duty of the house-holder, so declares the Purāṇa* (Sañjaya's 'Mahābhārata': the last three examples given in R. S. Trivēdī's 'Śabda-kathā,' p. 104); etc. NB.: মোর, আমার « mōṛ, āmāṛ » *my*, plural ‡ মো(রা)গো, আমা(র)গো « mō(ṛā)-gō, āmā(ṛā)-gō », আমকা, আমগা « āmā-kā, -gā » *our*; তার « tāṛ » honorific তাঁর « tāṛ », *his*, plural ‡তাগো, তাঁগো « tā-gō, tā-gō »; মানুষের « mānuṣēṛ » *of man*, plural ‡মানুষগো, -গ, এর-গো « mānuṣā-gō, -gā, -ēṛā-gō » *of men*. The « -gā, -gō » affix for the plural is present in some form or other in the vulgar dialects practically all over Bengal.

**504.** An affix « -sat-ka », loosely compounded with a noun, with its base (for the singular) or with the genitive (for the plural), is largely found

in inscriptional Sanskrit all over Northern India from the Second MIA. period: *e.g.*, Inscription of Jayanāga of Karṇa-suvarṇa (p. 180, *supra*), « brāhmaṇānām-satka-grāma-sīmā »; Siyadoni Inscription (c. 11th cen. A. C., Lalitpur District, U. P., Ep. Ind., I, pp. 162 ff.): « samasta-kalla-pālā-nāṁ-satka-haṭṭānām-upari (= Hindī « -kalwārō-kē hāṭō-par), Vigraha-pāla-satka-dramma, bāmana-satka-vīthi, caṇḍāla-satkâvā-sānikā », etc., etc. This affix « -sat-ka » is difficult to explain: apparently it is the present participle of « √as »—« santa- + -ka » (pleonastic), such as we find in the Transitional MIA. (see *ante*, p. 753). It is not unlikely that a vernacular from « santa-ka » became « *santə-ka, *sant-ka, *sakka » which was Sanskritised into « sat-ka » in medieval Sanskrit as in the inscriptions. In Early Assamese we have the affix সাক « -sākâ », as in the forms আমাসাক, তোমাসাক « āmā-sākâ, tōmā-sākâ » *our, your, us, you*, which are obsolete in Modern Assamese. (Dēvânanda Bharāli, 'Asamiyā-bhāṣār Maulik Bicār,' p. 32). These would affiliate themselves to a MIA. « *amha sakka, *tumha-sakka », Sanskritised into « *asma-satka, *yuṣma-satka ». This form সাক « sākâ » has not been found in Bengali.

The plural of the genitive has been discussed under 'Number' above (p. 725 ff.)

### Dative

**505.** The « -ka » genitive of Bengali is used for the dative in OB.: *e.g.*, Caryā 4 « mantiē [1] thākura-ka parinibittā » *the minister* (= *queen, in chess*) *has checked the king*; Caryā 21, « nāśa-ka » *for destruction*. This genitive-dative in « -ka » is exceedingly common in MB., as in the ŚKK. and other works: *e.g.*, ŚKK. p. 3, মানুষ নিয়োজিল মারিবাক তাএ « mānuṣâ niyōjilâ māribā kâ tāē » *appointed men for killing him*; সেই উপদেশ দিব তোহ্মাক তখনে « sēi upâdēśâ dibâ tōmhā kâ tâkhanē » *he will give you advice at that time*; p. 108, ঘরক মন না জাএ « ghārâ-kâ mānâ nā jāē » *the mind does not turn to home*; etc., etc. This « -ka » occurs as « -kə » now, but it is confined

[1] The printed text reads মহিঁ: I accept the emendation proposed by Muhammad Shahīdullāh in the VSPdP., 1327, p. 151.

to North Bengal and Assam only, and members of the Bengali-Assamese group of dialects in other parts now employ « -k-ē, -r-ē ».

« -k-ē » is an inflected form, the final « -ē » being really the locative affix, as has been noted before (p. 749). It can be the locative of the adjective-genitive with pleonastic « -ka » (*supra*, p. 756); it can be equally the locative of the form « kaa < kṛta »: *e.g.*, তাকে দিল « tākē dilā »=Skt. « tasya kṛtē dattam » for « tasmāi dattam » (cf. Grierson in the 'Zeitschrift für vergleichende Sprachforschung,' quoted by Hoernle in the JRAS. for 1903, p. 615). There is a third likely source of « -k-ē »—the OIA. « kakṣa » (see *supra*, pp. 164, 553) which has been suggested by Beames ('Comparative Grammar,' II, pp. 252-259) and Hoernle (Gauḍian Grammar, § 375, p. 224), and accepted by Kellogg (Hindī Grammar ², p. 130). Hoernle later admitted the « kṛta » derivation (JRAS., 1903, p. 615). R. G. Bhāṇḍārkar would trace the dative « -k-ē » of Bengali and « -kō » of W. Hindī to a MIA. locative « kēhī, kahī » *where, somewhere*, from the interrogative pronoun base « ka » (Wilson Philological Lectures, pp. 246-248).

The last derivation does not at all seem convincing. Against it, and in favour of a derivation from « kakṣa », are the forms « kakhu » in OB. (see below), « kāhū, kāhu » with « -ā- » in Eastern Hindī, and « kahū » as in Western Hindī. (See also the remark in connexion with the derivation of the locative « -t-ē » at p. 750.) The forms « -kū, kahū » etc., as in Western Hindī, « ku » as in Oṛiyā, and « -ka » as in Early and dialectal Bengali, will also go against it: for all these forms accord but ill with « kahī, kaī » the locative of « kaa, kṛta ». There cannot of course be any objection to the derivation of « kē » from « kṛta », but the difficulty remains with regard to « kō, kū, ku » and the « -hu » forms. The forms « ku, kū » is not found in NB., but it occurred in OB., and it is now the characteristic dative affix of Oṛiyā only among Magadhan speeches. In Caryā 35, we have « ēbē cia-rāa ma-kū(=mō-kū) ṇaṭhā » = « idānīṁ cittarājaḥ mama vinaṣṭa(ḥ) », as the commentary explains; and also « Bājulē dila mōha-kakhu (bhaṇiā) »=« Vajrakulēna...mahyam pradattam », also according to the explanation of the commentary.

We have apparently « kakhu » side by side with « kū » here. The Skt. « kakṣa » seems to have been adopted in Late MIA. as a post-positional, and from « kakkha » a weak form « *kakha » can very well be assumed. This in the transitional stage between Late MIA. and NIA. seems to have become « kaha, kāha ». The proper NIA. *tbhs.* « kākha, kākha, kācha » seem to have influenced the lengthening of the « kāha ». The change of « -kṣ- < -kkh- » to « -h- » is not isolated: Beames gives « pāhū, pahū » *beside, to,* from Hindī, which he derives from « pakṣa » ('Comparative Grammar,' II, p. 258); Old Western Rājasthānī also has the same word as « pāhī, pāhi » (Tessitori, §7²[8]); and Oṛiyā as « pāi, pā » as in « ki-pāi, ki-pā » *why? wherefore?* Pischel also cites a number of instances of change of « -kṣ- > -kkh- » to « -h- » from Prakrit ('Grammatik der Prakrit-sprachen,' § 323). We can also compare the origin of « maha, māhi, mẽ », NIA. post-position of the locative, from Sanskrit « madhya » introduced in MIA. as a *sts.* « maddha, madha » beside the *tbh.* « majjha > NIA. mājha ». The normal NIA. form of « kakṣa », with « -kh- », is certainly preserved in the Sindhī « khē » for the dative, and « khā, khō, khū » for the ablative (although Trumpp derived these from « kahā < *kathaṁ < kṛtam, kṛtē »: Sindhī Grammar, London, 1872, pp. 115-116): here the initial « -k- » of « kakkha » has been elided, like the « k- » in « kajja- < kārya » giving « -jō, -jī » for the genitive. The Sindhī « khē, khā, khō, khū », inflected forms of a post-fixed « (ka)kkha », the Old Bengali « kakhu », and the Early Eastern Hindī « kāhū » would all support the assumption that « kakṣa » is the source of Western Hindī « kahu, kau, kō, kū » and Oṛiyā « ku ». These are all to be connected with an Apabhraṅśa (Māgadhī as well as Ardha-māgadhī and Śaurasēnī) form for the *ablative,* « *kakkhahu, *kakkhahū », or probably « *kakkhāu, *kakkhau ». (Cf. Māgadhī and Śaurasēnī ablative affix « -ādō », which we would expect to give « -āu, -au » in Apabhraṅśa). Unlike « kē », the present day « kō, kū, ku » is thus not of locative origin.

« -kē » of Bengali can thus be either « kṛta », or « kakṣa », in the locative. It is not unlikely that the two post-positional words have converged into this one form. In the plural of the dative as in তাদেরকে « tādēr-

-kē » *to them*, we can see that an analysis into « tasya + ādi-kēra + kakṣē » or into « + kṛtē », is equally possible. The *tbh.* form কাছে « kāchē » is still in use in Bengali as a post-position meaning *near, by, with*. The earlier forms of « -kē », namely « *-kai, *-kahī », are not found in Old Bengali. The Caryās, in addition to « -ka » and « -ku », give instances of « -kē »: « rūpā thōi mahī-kē ṭhāvī » *putting away the silver, it was placed on the ground*, and « kēḍuāla nāhi kẽ ki bāhaba-kē pāraï (text = pāraa) » *there being no oar, what can one do in the matter of rowing?* (Caryā 18: the text in the second instance is corrupt). « -kē » occurs regularly in MB., NB.; and « kẽ », with nasalisation, is rather rare in MB.

Maithilī has « kẽ », Magahī « kē », and Bhōjpuriyā « kē »: all these are identical with the Bengali post-position. Of the E. Hindī dialects, Awadhī has « kā, kã, ka », Baghēlī « kā, kahā », and Chattisgaṛhī « kā ». The Baghēlī « kahā » is a relic of the older forms « kahũ, kabā » etc. of Early Eastern Hindī as in Tulasī-dāsa, and « kā, kã » apparently also are from « kāhũ > *kāhā ». The « kakṣa » derivative is thus found to occur in Bengali, Oṛiyā, E. Hindī and W. Hindī, and Sindhī.

**506.** The dative « -r-ē, -ē-rē »: it is found from OB. times, *e.g.*, « kariṭā kariṇi-rē risaa (= risaï) » *the male elephant is impassioned (?) with regard to the female elephant* (Caryā 9); « kēhō kēhō tōhō-rē biruā bōlaï, biḍu-jana-lōa tō-rē kaṭṭha na mēlaï » *some call thee (as being) of ugly form, (but) the learned never free thee from embrace* (Caryā 18). It is the locative in « -hi, -hī » of the genitive in « -ra, -ēra ». At the present day, the « -r- » dative is found in East Bengal (W. Vaṅga specially), and the « -k- dative is spread from Rāḍha through Varēndra to North Bengal and Assam, and seems to occur also in East Vaṅga, as in the Haijong Dialect of Maimansing, and in the Chakma of Chittagong.

### Ablative.

**507.** Bengali-Assamese does not now possess an organic affix for the ablative, unlike Oṛiyā. In Caryā 4, however, there seems to occur a solitary instance of an ablative form in OB.: « khēpahu (= khēpahũ) jōini lēpana jāya » = « kṣēpāt sva-sthāna-yōgāt sā bōdhicitta-rūpā nāirātma-yōginī, mōha-

malâvaliptā bhavati », as the commentary explains. In Oṛiyā the ablative affix is also « hũ », as in Early Oṛiyā, *e.g.*, 'Kaṅsa-janma' in Jagannāthadāsa's 'Bhāgavata': « Ugrasēna-hũ nōhē āna » *he is not different from U.* (p. 4, Contai edition), « kāhũ utpatti hōilā » *from whom was the origin?* (p. 8, *ibid*). In Modern Oṛiyā it occurs as « -u »: « ghārā » *house*, ablative « ghār-u »; and it figures also in 'S.-W. Bengali.' The genitive form is also put in the ablative: « ghārā-rā, ghārā-r-u ». With proper names, and as an honorific, the post-positional form « ṭhā-r-u » from « ṭhā » *place* is used (cf. « ṭhā-r-ē » for the locative), and « ṭhāu, ṭhu » also are found as ablative post-positions with pronominal adverbs of place. The « -hũ, -u », doubtless a Māgadhī form, is apparently the same as that we find in Śaurasēnī Ap., viz « -hu » in the singular and « -hũ » in the plural (puttahu, puttahũ). The origin of this « -hu, -hũ » in Ap. is obscure, but it seems that it was due to the fusing of several case-terminations—« -a-taḥ > -adō > *-au » of the ablative, *plus* « -h-, ~ » of the locative, for instance. The form « -a-hu, -a-hũ » occurs in Sindhī, Panjābī and Western Hindī as « -ō, -ð » (*e.g.*, Hindī « hāthō-hāth » *from hand to hand* < « *hatthahu hatthi »), and in Marwāṛī as « -ā » (cf. Tessitori, Grammar of OWR., §61).

The use of the locative form in « -ta, -tē » for the ablative has been noted above (p. 751). In the MIA. and NIA. confusion or interchangibility of the three cases, instrumental ablative and locative, there is probably the influence of Dravidian. (Cf. K. V. Subbaiya. IAnt., 1910, pp. 145ff.)

**508.** The development of the OIA. noun declension, through the Late MIA. (Apabhraṅśa Māgadhī) into Bengali, as described above, is set forth below, in the declension of the OIA. word « putra » = MIA. « putta »:

| Māgadhī Apabhraṅśa | Bengali |
|---|---|
| Nominative: singular— | Nominative: singular— |
| (i) *putti, *putta (< Māgadhī Prakrit puttē < putraḥ). | (i) * pūti, *pūta < পূতি, পূত puti, puta. |
| (ii) *puttaï (<puttaē < puttagē, puttakē < putrakaḥ). | (ii) পুতে putē. |

Nominative : plural—

(i) *puttă (< puttā < putrāḥ).

(ii) *puttahi (< puttēhi < *putrēbhiḥ = instrumental).

Accusative : singular—

*puttā, *puttaṁ (< puttaṁ < putram).

Accusative : plural—

*putta, *puttāī (< *puttāṇi, *puttāni < putrān).

Instrumental : singular—

*puttē, *puttēṁ (< puttēṇa[ṁ] putrēṇa)

Instrumental : plural—

*puttahi, *puttahī (< puttēhi, puttēhiṁ < *putrēbhiḥ).

Dative : singular—

(i) *puttā (< puttāa < putrāya).

(ii) *puttā/ă(ha) (genitive) + kai; + ka(k)khi, ka(k)khī, kahi, kahī; putta-kkaī, -kkaī.

(iii) *puttāha-(k)arahi, -(k)alahi; *puttāha-(k)ērahi, (k)ēlahi.

Dative : plural—

*puttahi, *puttēhi (< puttēhi [as in Aśōkan inscr.] < *putrēbhiḥ = putrēbhyaḥ) (also Genitive Forms).

Ablative : singular—

*puttāu, *puttău, *puttahu, *puttahū.

Nominative : plural—

(i) পুত putṛ.

(ii) ? পুতে putē.

Accusative : singular and plural—

Lost.

Instrumental : singular—

OB. *pūtē, *pūtē > পুতেঁ putẽ, পুতে putē.

Instrumental : plural—

? পুতে putē.

Dative : singular—

(i) Lost.

(ii) পুতকেঁ putăkẽ, পুতকে « putēkē », পুতকে putṛ-kē.

(iii) পুতরেঁ, পুতেরেঁ putărẽ, -ērẽ, পুতরে, পুতেরে putṛ-rē, putērē.

Dative : plural—

Lost.

Ablative : singular—

OB. *pūtu, *pūtahu, *pūtahū; Oṛiyā putahū, putu.

Ablative: plural—

(i) *puttahī, *puttēhī (< *putrē-bhiḥ = instrumental).

Genitive: singular—

(i) *puttă, *puttā, *puttaha, *puttāha (= puttaśśa < putrasya).

(ii) *puttā/ă(ha)-(k)ēra -([k]ēla); *puttā/ă(ha)-(k)ara, -(-[k]ala); *putta(k)ēra- (-[k]ēla); *putta-(k)ara- (-[k]ala).

(iii) *putta-kka- (=putra-ka-).

Genitive: plural—

*puttāṇa, *puttāṇaṁ, *puttāṇ-i- (<putrāṇām).

Locative: singular—

(i) *putti (<puttē < putrē).

(ii) *puttahi, *puttahī.

(iii) *putta-anta; *putta-antahi, -antahī; *puttahi antahi (*puttahī antahī).

(iv) *putta-ma(d)dhi, -ma(d)dhahi, -ma(d)dhahī; -mahī, -mahahi, -mahahī (< madhya).

Locative: plural—

(i) *puttaśu, *puttēśu.

(ii) *puttahī, *puttēhī (<*putrē-bhiḥ=instrumental)

Ablative: plural—

Lost.

Genitive: singular—

(i) OB. *pūtā, *pūtāha.

(ii) পুতর, পুতের putārṛ, putērṛ.

(iii) OB., MB. পুতক putā-kā.

Genitive: plural—

OB. *pūtāṇa, *pūtaṇa, *putāni: NB. ‡পুতাইন putāin.

Locative: singular—

(i) OB. *pūti (cf. NB. ঘর ghārṛ < ghar-i).

(ii) OB. *pūtahi, *pūtahī, *pūtaï, *pūtē>MB., NB. পুতে putē;

(iii) ‡পুতং putāṭṛ, পুততে putaṭṛtē, পুতেতে putē-tē.

(iv) ‡পুতমি putṛ-mī (cf. Bihārī « pūt-mẽ, -maï).

Locative: plural—

Lost.

### Post-positional Words.

**509.** Use of post-positions to denote case relations is found in IA., Kōl and Dravidian. In OIA., indeclinables like « ā, adhi, anu, pari, pra » etc. are found both as prepositions and as post-positions; so in Old Greek. In IE., these so-called prepositions were properly adverbs referring to the act, but in all IE. languages, including IA., they came to attach themselves to and to 'govern' particular case forms of nouns (accusative or instrumental, ablative or genitive or locative). The prepositional and post-positional use with the noun of these particles fell into gradual disuse from Late OIA., and they lost their separate and independent existence in the sentence as help words: they were compounded as prefixes or pre-verbals with the verb, the sense of which they modified. Classical Sanskrit shows fewer particles with a prepositional or post-positional employ than Vedic (J. S. Speyer, 'Vedische und Sanskrit Syntax' in the Grundriss, §§ 85-90). In MIA., the number of these old particles as post-positions employed with nouns grew even more restricted. On the other hand, to make the sense clear, especially when in MIA. the case terminations were confused and were being lost, the IA. speech began to employ the accusative, dative, ablative or locative form of some suitable noun (with the sense of location, vicinity, direction, connexion, purpose, or power) along with the principal noun which retained its original inflexion. Classical Sanskrit, following the Prakrit vernaculars, took up this device (Speyer, § 91). This sort of auxiliary and post-positional use was later extended to some verbal formations—passive participles and present participles, and to the indeclinable conjunctive verb. Such post-positional or prepositional use of verb forms is not unknown to other IE. languages: *e.g.*, English *during, regarding, concerning*, German *während*, French *pendant*, Italian *mediante, durante*, etc. But this principle was utilised only to a very limited extent elsewhere outside India, whereas IA., from the MIA. stages downwards, fully employed it to form post-positionals. Classical Sanskrit already took up some passive participles and conjunctive indeclinables as post-positions governing oblique cases (Speyer, §§ 92, 93). In this matter, it seems that IA. was profoundly

influenced by Dravidian (*vide supra*, p. 172; cf. also K. V. Subbaya, 'A Comp. Gram. of Dravidian,' IAnt., 1910, pp. 145ff).

Some of these post-positional words—nouns and verb-forms—through phonetic decay became transformed into organic affixes in NIA., as has been seen before. The conjunctive and participle post-positions, however mostly retained their phrasal character, and in NIA. they remain distinct, as detached words. Bengali has a number of such verbal post-positions. Besides, some nouns (old *tbhs.*, as well as *tss.* or *stss.*), are used as separable post-positions in all NIA. Their establishment is apparently post-NIA., and independent in each language or dialect group.

Below are given the more important Separable Post-positions of Bengali.

(1) অপেক্ষা « apēkṣā » = *with regard to*: *ts.*, used either with the base or with the genitive to indicate comparison.

(2) আগে « āgē », locative of আগ « āgṛ » < « agra »: MB. আগত « āgātā » *before*. Used more commonly with the genitive, and occasionally with the=base: cf. ŚKK., p. 65, রাজা আগে করিবোঁ গোহারী « rājā āgē karibõ gõhārī » *shall make a plaint before the king*; p. 127, আম্হার আগত বীর নাহিঁ কোন জন « āmhārā āgātā bīrā nāhī kōṇā jānā » *before me* (*i.e.*, *greater than me*) *there is no hero*; etc.

(3) করিতে « karitē » > ক'রতে « kā'rtē, kōrtē » *doing*, present participle of কর « √kar » = « √kṛ » *to do* (instrumental or locative: « karitē < karantē < karantahi, karantahī » (see p. 676). Employed with the genitive for comparison, *e.g.*, রামের ক'রতে শ্যাম ভালো « Rāmēr kōrtē Śyām bhālō » *Ś. is better than R.* This is a form which is not common in the « sādhu-bhāsa ».

(4) করিয়া « kariyā » > ক'রে « kā'rē=kōrē » *having done*: added to the locative oblique in « -ē » to denote the instrumental (see *ante*, p. 747). Used with an adverbial force after adjectives and nouns (the commoner practice at the present day being to use it after the base and not after the « -ē » oblique): *e.g.*, জোর ক'রে « jōr kōrē » *forcibly*, lit. *doing force*; টান ক'রে « ṭān kōrē » *tightly*; ভালো ক'রে « bhālō kōrē » *well*, etc.; ŚKK., p. 14, একাজ সাধিব আম্হে করিআঁ যতনে « ē-kājā sādhibā āmhē kariā jatanē » *we shall*

*do this work carefully*; p. 250, তখন রাধা রোষ করিআঁ সত্বর গমনে জাএ « tākhanā Rādhā rōṣa kariā sātwarā gāmānē jāē » *angrily then R. goes with quick steps*; etc.

(5) কর্ত্তৃক « kārttṛkṣ » (generally pronounced [kottrik]): a *ts.* word, used as an instrumental post-position, either loosely compounded with the stem, or used with the genitive: 'having (the preceding noun or pronoun) as the doer': *e.g.*, বিদ্যাসাগর কর্ত্তৃক লিখিত « Bidyāsāgarṣ-kārttṛkṣ likhitā » *written by Vidyāsāgara*; তাঁহাকর্ত্তৃক দৃষ্ট « tāhā-kārttṛkṣ dṛṣṭā » *seen by him.* A learned form, which became established during the early 19th century.

(6) কাছে « kāchē » *near by, beside* = locative of কাছ « kāchṣ » *side, neighbourhood.* Like the other derivative from « kakṣa », viz. কাঁখ « kākhṣ » (<MIA. *kaṇkha=kakkha; cf. pp. 178-179), কাছ « kāchā » also meant *waist* in MB.: *e.g.*, ŚKK., p. 287, কাছের কলসী « kāchērā kālāsī »; p. 250, কাছের কলসিএ « kāchērā kālāsiē » *in the jar held on the waist*, beside কাখেত কলসী করি « kākhē-tā kālāsī kāri » *placing the jar on the waist* (p. 259). কাছে « kāchē » is used with the genitive to indicate the locative. The base কাছ « kāchṣ » (or its genitive কাছের « kāchērṣ »)+থাকিয়া, থেকে « thākiyā, thēkē » *having been*, or হইতে, হ'তে « hāitē, hōtē » *being*, verbal post-positionals for the ablative, are also used along with the genitive of the noun or pronoun to indicate its ablative.

(7) কারণ « kāraṇṣ » *cause*: used with the genitive, in an instrumental, dative as well as ablative sense: very common from eMB. downwards: *e.g.*, ŚKK., p. 1, কংসের কারণে হএ সৃষ্টির বিনাশে « Kaṁsērā kāraṇē hāē sṛṣṭirā bināśē » *through Kaṁsa takes place the destruction of the world.*

(8) ঘর, ঘরে « ghārā, ghārē » *house, in the house* (gṛha): used colloquially over a great part of Bengal to indicate the oblique cases in the plural. It is used with the genitive of the noun, and optionally with the « -ā » oblique of pronouns. In the employment of this post-position, there seems to have been some influence of the « -k-, -g- » genitive for the plural (pp. 756, 757). Variations are ঘোরে « ghōrē », গরে « gārē ». (Cf. the plural use of মহল « māhāl ṣ »: p. 733).

(9) চাহিতে « cāhitē », present participle locative of চাহ « √cāh » *look at, want*: used in comparison, generally with the genitive and occasionally

with the stem. The beginnings of the post-positional use of this present participle form go back to OB.: « cāhantē » already figures in the Caryās (*e.g.*, Caryā 31): but the old sense of *seeing* is still predominant in eMB. (ŚKK.)

(10) চাহিয়া, চেয়ে « cāhiyā > cēyē » *having looked at*, indeclinable conjunctive of চাহ « √cāh »: used in comparison, with the genitive. This use seems to be old. Cf. Early Eastern Hindī as in Tulasī-dāsa: « kahā dhanu kulisahu cāhi kaṭhōrā: kahā syāmala mṛdu-gāta kisōrā » *where is the bow, more tough than even the thunderbolt, and where the lad, darkish and soft of limb?*

(11) ছাড়া « chāṛā » *let loose* = passive participle of ছাড় « √chāṛ » *give up, loosen*: used with the stem in the sense of 'without,' *e.g.*, আমাছাড়া « āmā-chāṛā » *without me*, হুঁকাছাড়া « hūkā-chāṛā » *without the hookah*, etc.; or 'in addition to,' *e.g.*, তা ছাড়া « tā-chāṛā » *in addition to that* < *letting that alone.*

(12) জন্যে « jānyē » locative, beside the stem form জন্য « jānyā » = *for the sake of, because of, caused by*: a *ts.* word, employed with the genitive to express the dative relation.

(13) ঠাঁই « ṭhā̃i » *place* (< sthāma-): dative or locative post-position, used with the genitive of the noun. An old post-position in Bengali: *e.g.*, ŚKK., p. 142, কহ মোর ঠায়ি « kāhā mōrā ṭhāyi » *tell me*; p. 200, এবেঁ আহ্মাক পাঠায়িল তোর ঠাই « ēbē̃ āmhākā pāṭhāyilā tōrā ṭhāi » *now me he has sent before thee.* Cf. NB. সবঠাঁই মোর ঘর আছে « sābā-thā̃i mōrṣ̌ ghārṣ̌ āchē » *I have a home everywhere.* A locative of « thā̃i »—ঠাঁই-এ « thā̃i-(ẏ)ē » is also found: this ঠাঁইয়ে « ṭhā̃iyē » becomes in the Standard Colloquial ঠেঞে, ঠেঁয়ে « ṭhēñē, ṭhē̃ẏē », and in Calcutta « ṭhēñē » is changed to ঠেঙে « ṭhēŋē »—the change of « -ñ- » to « -ŋ- » here is curious ঠাঁই « ṭhā̃i » is found in dialectal Bengali as ঠে « ṭhē », ঠি « ṭhi ».

(14) তরে « tārē » *for, for the sake of*, from অন্তরে « āntār-ē », a genuine *tbh.* form, with regular MB. change « -nt- » to « -t- ». Used with the genitive of the noun, and the oblique of the pronouns of the first and second persons optionally. Found in OB. as « antarē »; *e.g.*, Caryā 10, « tōhōra antarē » *for thee, for thy sake.* In the ŚKK., the word occurs as

the regular form তরে « tārē » only twice, and as আন্তরে « āntārē » over a dozen times: (for « ā- », see *supra*, p. 314). The latter is apparently an archaic literary form.

(15) থাকিয়া > থেকে « thākiyā > thēkē » *having stopped at*: also dialectally *থেএ, থে « thēē, thē » (*thāiā): affixed direct to the stem (or to the locative oblique in « -ē » or « -tē ») of neuter nouns, and to the genitive of names of sentient beings, to indicate the ablative. Found in Early MB.: *e.g.*, ŚKK., p. 347, দূরথাকি « dūra thāki » *from a distance*. Gujarātī has the same conjunctive used similarly for the ablative, *viz.*, « thakī ».

(16) থানে, থানত « thānē, thānā-tā », locative of থান « thāna » (sthāna): used with the genitive to express the dative and locative relations. Examples are numerous in the ŚKK and other MB. works. In NB., it is mainly dialectal (in East and North Bengali, where it is found as থনে, তনে, থোন, তোন, থুন, তুন « thānē, tānē, thōn, tōn, thun, tun »).

(17) দিয়া, দিয়ে, দে « diyā > diyē > dē » *having given*. This conjunctive form is used ordinarily with the base of the noun (which is in accusative relation to it), but occasionally also with the genitive, to express instrumentality or intermediacy. Found from early times: *e.g.*, ŚKK., p. 22, হাথ দিঁআ দেখ « hāthā diā dēkhā » *feel with the hand*, etc.

(18) দ্বারা « dwārā »: *ts.*, instrumental of « dvār » *door*, = *through the instrumentality of*. Forms the instrumental, with the genitive (and also with the oblique base in « -ā » in the case of pronouns). This is in its origin a learned form, but it has become sufficiently popular to be used in familiar conversation in NB.

(19) নিমিত্তে « nimittē » (locative), নিমিত্ত « nimittā » (stem) = *mark, target, sign* > *objective*: a *ts.* word, forming the dative with the genitive of the noun.

(20) নীচে « nīcē » *below*: used with the genitive to express the locative.

(21) পর « pāṛ » from « upari » of Skt. = *above, upon*. The full form উপর « upāṛ » also occurs, as also the Bengali locatives পরে « pārē », উপরে « upārē », as if from a base « upara ». Occasionally also strengthened by তে « -tē », as পরেতে « pārē-tē », উপরেতে « upārē-tē ». Used with the genitive to form the locative. *E.g.*, ŚKK., p. 377, তনের উপর

« tânêrâ (*sts.* < stana) upârâ » ; pp. 388, 389, গাছের উপর « gâchêrâ upârâ » *on the tree.* But cf. ŚKK., p. 80, খোম্পাত উপর « khômpâ-tâ upârâ » *on the coiffure,* where « upârâ » is used along with the locative in « -tâ ».

(22) পাখে « pâkhê » *by the side of,* locative of « pâkhâ » (pakṣa) : found in North Bengal: used like পাশে « pâśê » below (See *supra,* p. 121.)

(23) পাছে, পিছে (পীছে) « pâchê, pichê (pîchê) » *after.* Used with the genitive (as in the corresponding Sanskrit expression). OIA. « paścā(t) » > MIA. « pacchā, pacchā » > NIA. « pâchâ », locative « pâchê ». The form « pîchê, pichê » has an anomalous « -i- », which is found also in the Hindî « pîchê ». Beames explains the « -i- » as follows: « *paścê > *pah(a)cê », on the analogy of « niścaya > nihacê » : « *pah(a)cê > *pahicê > pîcê », then « pîchê » with aspiration through influence of « pâchê » (Comp. Grammar, II, p. 297). But there is no need to postulate a *ts.* stage for this *tbh.* word: it is more likely that there was the influence of a word like « piccha » *feathers of the tail,* or « nîca » *below down* (also a post-position), or of « pṛṣṭha » > পিঠ « piṭhâ » *back* (cf. পিছমোড়া « pichâ-môṛâ » beside পিঠ-মোড়া « piṭhâ-môṛâ » *with arms pinioned behind the back*), in altering « -â- » to « -i- ». The « -i- » form might well be a borrowing from a Western dialect, and not native Bengali: and in the derived adjective and denominative verb in Bengali at least, the « -i- » is resultant, due to Umlaut and Vowel Harmony : *পাছ > পাছু, পাছুআ « pâchâ > pâchu, pâchuâ », adjective, > পেছো, পেছু « pêchô, pêchu » > পিছু « pichu » ; verb পাছুয়ান « pâchuânâ » > পেছোনো, পেছুনো, পিছুনো pêchônô, pêchunô, pichunô » *to fall back.*

(24) পানে « pânê » *at, towards, in the direction of* : *e.g.*, মুখ পানে « mukh(â)-pânê » *at the face, towards the face,* আমা(র) পানে « âmâ(ra)-pânê » *at me, towards me,* ঘর or ঘরের পানে « ghârâ (ghârêrâ) -pânê » *in the direction of the house.* This post-position occurs in Assamese as পনে « pânê ». The origin of it is obscure, but phonetically it can be from either OIA. « prajñā » *knowledge* (cf. p. 305, *supra*), or « panna » (√pad + na) *reached, arrived at.*

(25) পাশে « pâśê » : locative of পাশ « pâśâ » *side* (pârśva). Forms the locative of proximity with the genitive: ŚKK., p. 7, এহার পাশে « êhârâ pâśê » *by his side,* রাধার পাশে, কানহের পাশে « Râdhârâ pâśê, Kânhêrâ pâśê »

etc. We have also (in poetry especially) পাশ « pāśa », which is the old locative in « -i », = « *pāśi < pārśvē » (see p. 312).

(26) বই « bāï » *without, apart form, in addition to*: apparently from an OIA. « vyatītta ». Used with the base. In MB., this post-position is written বহি, বহী « bâhi, bâhī », as if from বহ « √bâh » *carry, bear, be carried away* (indeclinable conjunctive forms of which are বহি « bâhi » and বহিয়া « bâhiyā »). The « -h- » however is euphonic (see *supra*, p. 341), and the OIA. passive participle « vyatītta » is the source : if it were বহি, বহিয়া « bâhi, bâhiyā », the Standard Colloquial form would have been ব'য়ে « bōyē », which is not the case. This post-position occurred in eMB. : cf. ŚKK., pp. 192, 193, হাটে দান দেহ এ বাটে বহী « hāṭē dāna dēhâ ē bāṭē bâhī » *pay the tax in the market, apart from (the tax) on the road*, ভিন কি দিবোঁর এ বাট বহী « bhinâ ki dibō-rā ē bāṭa bâhī » *what else shall I give, in addition to (that on) the road.*

(27) বাহির « bāhirḍ », modern locative বাহিরে « bāhirē », Standard Coll. বার, বের « bārḍ, bērḍ », বাইরে « bāirē » = *outside* (MIA. *bāhiri, *bāhirē < bāhira : cf. OIA. bahiḥ, bāh-ya). Employed with the genitive.

(28) বিনা « binā », by Vowel Harmony বিনে « binē », also বিনি « bini »: from the OIA. « vinā » *without*. This word is found both as preposition (a rare thing in NIA.) and as post-position. Thus বিনা অনুমতি or অনুমতিতে « binā ânumâti, ânumâti-tē » or বিনা হুকু(ৎ)ম « binā hukum(ē) », beside অনুমতি or হুকুম বিনা « ânumâti, hukum binā » *without permission*; বিনা হাতা, হাতা বিনা « binā hātā, hātā binā » *without handle*; etc. বিনি « bini » is a rare form, now occurring only prepositionally in a few expressions like বিনি-সুতার হার « bini-sutārḍ hārḍ » *a necklet without a cord*, বিনি দুঃখে « bini duḥkhē » *without sorrow*. It is found both pre- and post-positionally in the ŚKK., *e.g.*, p. 212, বিনি যতনে « bini jâtânē » *without any trouble*, beside p. 215, কাহ্ন বিনী আভাগিনী গোপযুবতি « Kânhâ binī âbhāginī gōpâ-jubâtī » *without Kṛṣṇa, the milkmaid girls are unhappy*. বিনি « bini » may be a locative form, from a nominalised use « *bina » of the Skt. particle.

(29) বিহনে « bihânē », OB. « bihaṇi, bihunē » (Early Oṛiyā = bihuṇâ) *without, in the absence of*. It seems to be the Skt. « vihīna » in the locative, with influence of « √bhū > -hu- ». Caryā 13, « niṁda-bihunē suinā jaïsō »

*just as a dream* (suina=svapna) *without sleep*; 23, « jīvantē-bhēlā-bihaṇi maēla » *dead without even having been a living one*; 35, « cia-bihunnē pāpa na punna » *without mind, no sin, no merit*. In MB. and NB., this post-position is used with either the stem or the genitive: cf. ŚKK., p. 172, চুন বিহনে যেহ্ন তাম্বূল তিতা « cunâ bihânē jēnhâ tāmbūlâ titā » *just as the betel leaf is bitter without lime*; Kṛttivāsa, 'Ayōdhyā-kāṇḍa,' p. 9, তোমার বিহনে বাছা ছাড়িব জীবন « tōmār(â) bihânē bāchā chāṛibâ jībân(â) » *in thy absence, my son, I shall give up life*; etc.

(30) ভিত (ভীত), modern locative ভিতে (ভীতে) « bhitâ (bhītâ), bhitē (bhītē) » *in the wall, bank, side*: from « bhitti ». Used with the genitive, to indicate direction: *e.g.*, ŚKK., p. 388, যমুনার ভীতে « Jāmunārâ bhītē » *towards the Jumna*. Rare in the NB. « sādhu-bhāṣā ».

(31) ভিতর, ভিতরে « bhitâṛ, bhitârē » *within*, locatives (the first form < « *bhitari<*abhyantarē): used with the genitive.

(32) মাঝে « mājhē » *in the middle*, locative form (< madhya). Compounded with the stem, or used with the genitive: NB. বনমাঝে কি মনমাঝে « bânâ-mājhē ki mânâ-mājhē » *in the woods, or within the heart*; MB., ŚKK., বৃন্দাবন মাঝে « Bṛndābânâ-mājhē » *within Brindāban*, মথুরা পুরের মাঝে « Māthurā-purērâ mājhē » *within the city of Mathurā*, etc. This post-position is a characteristic one of Bengali, and is found from the OB. stage: *e.g.*, Caryā 2, « kōṛi-majhē (=mājhē) ēku-hiahī » *in one heart, in the midst of* (=*among*) *10 millions* (see *ante*, p. 746); 14, « Gaṇgā-Jaūnā-mājhērē bahaï nāī » *the boat floats in the Ganges and the Jumna*; 30, « uittā gaaṇa-mājhē adabhūā » *risen in the sky, wonderful*; etc.

The locative in মি « -mi » in Haijong, from *sts.* « *mahī, ma(d)dhī » = « madhyē », has been noted before (p. 751). Haijong has also the forms মিনি « -mini » and নি « -ni » which are difficult to explain: মিনি « mini » may be from « *mahī » with « hī » changed to « -ni », and « ni » would in that case appear to be a contracted form of « mini ». Or it may be the affix « -hī » as added to the noun—ঘরনি « ghârṛ-ni » < *gharanhi < « gharahī ». Or is it the locative of a help-word « karṇa » *edge, side* (« -kaṇṇahi >*(k)annaï > -ni »?), which is found for the genitive and accusative in W. Hindī, Panjābī, Rājasthānī, etc.?

(33) লাগিয়া > লেগে « lāgiyā > lēgē », poetical লাগি « lāgi » = *having come in touch with*: contracted dialectally to লাগে, লগে, লয়ে, লায়, লই, লে « lāgē, lāgē, lāyē, lāy, lāï, lē ». Used with the base, or the genitive, to indicate the dative of interest, 'for the sake of, with the object that.' This post-positional form has become rather rare in the NB. « sādhu-bhāṣā » and in the Standard Colloquial, but it is exceedingly common MB. and in the archaic poetical language: *e.g.*, সুখের লাগিয়া এ ঘর বাঁধিনু « sukhērā-lāgiyā ē ghāṛ bādhinu » *for the sake of happiness this house I built* (Caṇḍīdāsa); রূপ লাগি আঁখি ঝুরে « rūp-lāgi ākhi jhurē » *the eyes shed tears for* (*a sight of*) *the beauty* (c. 1590: VSP., p. 1324); এইক্ষণে তোমালাগি ছাড়িব পরাণ « ēi kṣaṇē tōmā-lāgi chāṛibā pārāṇ » *even at this moment for your sake I shall give up my life* (Kṛttivāsa, 'Ayōdhyā-kāṇḍa,' p. 9); etc., etc.

(34) সঙ্গে « sāṅgē »: instrumental or locative-oblique of the *ts.* « saṅga » *company*: used in MB. and NB. with the genitive, but in OB. with the stem, to mean 'along with': *e.g.*, Caryā 32, « dujjana-sāṅgē » *with a bad man*; ŚKK., p. 169, বড়ায়ির সঙ্গে « bāṛāyirā saṅgē » *with the old dame*; etc.

(35) সনে « sānē » *with*, instrumental of « samam, sama- ». In OB. the base « sama » (pronounced undoubtedly « sa৺a ») is used with the instrumental or oblique: *e.g.*, Caryā 10, « ā lō Ḍōmbī, tōē-sama karibe ma sāṅga » *O Ḍombī, with thee shall I have companionship*; Caryā 33, « śiālā śihē-sama jujhaï » *the jackal fights with the lion.* The instrumental or locative « *sama-hi = sa৺ē > sāñē, sāyē » seems to have been in use in OB., and even in Māgadhī Apabhraṁśa, as the Maithilī equivalent « sañē, sayē » would show. By the end of the 14th century, it became সনে « sānē »: *e.g.*, ŚKK., p. 19, দেবসনে « dēbā-sānē » *with a god*; p. 382, দসনের সনে « dāsānērā sānē » *with the teeth.* Dialectally in North Bengali, it occurs as সানে « sānē ». The earlier form সমে « sāmē » is also found in the ŚKK. (over a dozen times).

The W. Hindī « sō » and probably also « sē » *with, by* are from « sama ».

(36) সাথ, সাথে « sāthṛ, sāthē » *with*, from OIA. « sārtha » *having interest in.* Employed with the genitive, to denote association. This word is more commonly used in East Bengali, West Bengali (especially

the Standard Coll.) preferring সঙ্গে « sâṅgē ». Not found in the ŚKK., which is in Early West Bengali.

(37) শুদ্ধ, শুদ্ধা, শুদ্ধ(ঁ) « suddhâ, suddhā. (śuddhâ, -ā) » is used after the noun or pronoun put in the dative in কে « kē » or দের « -dēṛ̊ » to indicate the dative of inclusion: *e.g.*, তাকে শুদ্ধ ব'লতে হবে « tākē śuddhâ bōltē hâbē » *one must tell him also*, ছেলেদের(কে) শুদ্ধ নিয়ে « chēlēdēṛ̊ (-kē) śuddhâ niyē » *taking also the boys*, etc. It is compounded with nouns and pronouns as an inclusive affix: see *supra*, p. 706.

(38) হইতে (হৈতে) « hâitē » > হ'তে « hōtē » *being*. In MB., this is found also as হন্তে « hântē », beside হোন্তে « hōntē », হইতে « hâitē », হতো « hâtyē = hâItē », হোইতে « hōitē », হতে « hâtē », হনে « hanē ». With the base, it indicates the ablative. It is the present participle of √হ or অহ « √hâ, âh » *to be* = OIA. « √as »: « *as-ant- > *ahanta- > *ahenta- > *ahita- > hâita- », locative or oblique « *ahanatahi » > « *ahitē » > হইতে « hâitē », NB. হ'তে « hōtē ». There are phonological reasons for affiliating হইতে « hâitē » to « √as > *ahitē » and not to « √hō, hū > *hōitē »: (see *infra*, under Verb: 'Substantive and Defective Verbs.') The MB. dialectal form হনে « hânē » shows change of « -nt- > -t- » to « -n- » on the analogy of « karanti > করেন kârēṇ̊ » *does, do* (honorific): and possibly there is some influence of সনে « sânē » (No. 35, above). Equivalents of হইতে « hâitē » are apparently the Magahī « -satī » and Bhōjpuriyā « -santē » = *from, by* (Hoernle, Gauḍian Grammar, pp. 228, 328), where the sibilant has been preserved.

The use of « -santa- » as a genitival post-position is very old, and has been found, at least in MIA. of the South-west, as early as the Transitional MIA. period (see *supra*, p. 753). At the present day, this employ of « -sant-, -hant- » obtains in the Western languages, Sindhī and Rājasthānī (« -sand- » in Sindhī, and « -handō, -handī » in Western Rājasthānī), and in the Dardic speech of Kashmir (« -hond$^{u}$ », beside « -sond$^{u}$ < -s handu » with « -s » from the genitive base to which it is affixed: cf. Grierson in 'Lallā-vākyāni,' London, 1920, p. 139). It has been also suggested that the Panjābī genitive post-position « -dā, -dī » has developed out of the same present participle « -handa » (Beames, II, p. 291), but that is exceedingly problematic, and is not at all attested, and it seems that here we have another

post-positional form, in all probability a derivative from OIA. «√dā» *to give* (see *supra*, p. 164). This genitival use is not met with in the Eastern languages. Early Assamese, like Bengali, uses the locative oblique হন্তে «hāntē», beside the base form হন্ত «hāntā» (not found in Bengali), as an ablative affix, either with the noun base, or with the locative in ত «-tā» *e.g.*, দুই-হন্তে «dui-hāntē» *from two*, মন-হন্তে «mānā-hāntē» *from the mind*, নগরী-হন্তে «nāgarī-hāntē» *from the city*, beside মোত-হন্তে «mō-tā-hāntē» *from me*, ললাটত-হন্তে «lālāṭā-tā-hāntē» *from the forehead*, etc. In later Assamese, however, হন্তে, হন্ত «hāntē, hāntā» no longer feature for the ablative. But we have a form হাত «hātṛ», certainly from this «hāntā», as a plural affix for rational nouns, to indicate only members of a trade, caste or group (Hēma-candra Baruā, 'Asamīyā Vyākaraṇa,' p. 18): *e.g.*, ছাতাৰহাত «chātārṛ-hātṛ» *students*, কাহাৰ-হাত «kāhārṛ-hātṛ» *bell-metal workers*, ডোমহাত «ḍōmṛ-hātṛ» *people of the Ḍōm caste*, etc. (see *supra*, p. 739). The use of হাত «hātṛ» for the plural is possibly based on an earlier use of হন্ত «hāntā» as a genitive post-position (as in Sindhī, Rājasthānī, and Kaśmīrī) in addition to an ablative one, in the Eastern languages: which, in that case, would parallel the development of the Bengali ৰা, এৰা «-rā, -erā» as a plural affix from the genitive ৰ, এৰ «-rā, -erā».

In the form হইতে «hāitē» there also has been the influence of the present participle of √হো «√hō» (< bhū), as both these substantive roots, «as» and «bhū», have merged into one form in Bengali. The present participle of «√bhū»=«bhavant->honta», is found to be employed as an ablative elsewhere in IA.—*e.g.*, in Western Rājasthānī and Gujarātī as «hūtau, taũ, tu, thāũ, thī» (cf. Tessitori, 'Notes on the Grammar of OWR.,' § 72), and in Khas-kurā, where it occurs as «bhandā». In Western Apabhraṁśa «*bhavantaũ, hontaũ» (<√bhū) were undoubtedly in use as ablative-forming post-positions, like «ahanta-, asanta-» (<√as) in Māgadhī Apabhraṁśa.

These post-positional present participles of Late MIA. are certainly distinct from the Second MIA. ablative affixes «-hiṁ-tō, -suṁ-tō», which look like compounds formed of the OIA. inflexions («-hiṁ»=instrumental plural, and locative singular; or «-suṁ»=locative plural; *plus* «-tō < OIA.

-taḥ, -āt+-taḥ » ablative affixes), although the suffixes « -hiṃtō, -suṃtō » and the Apabhraṅśa present participles « hontaü, *santaü » have been sought to be connected with each other (cf. Hoernle, Gauḍian Grammar, § 376).

(39) হইলে, হ'লে « hâilē > hōlē » *on having been*, conditional conjunctive of the substantive verb, is used with the base or the dative in « -kē » to mean 'in that case,' 'on such-and-such or so-and-so remaining.' The negative form নহিলে, নইলে, ন'লে « nâhilē, nâilē, nōlē » is used also with the base or the dative in « -kē » as a post-position meaning *without*.

A number of *tss.* are also used as post-positions: *e.g.*, « anusāra, anukrama, anuyāyī [onuʃ͡ʃai], bhinna, viṣaya, vyatīta, vyatirēka » etc., which are mostly put in the locative or oblique and used with the genitive or the mere base.

The Perso-Arabic form সেওয়ায়, সওয়ায়, সহায়, সওয়া, সহা « sēwāy, sâwāy, sâhāy, sâwā, sâhā » *besides, other than, over and above*, is used in Bengali with the base or the genitive, generally with the demonstrative pronouns, rather rarely with nouns. It has been borrowed from the Hindōstānī, where it is both a preposition and a post-position (Hind. sawā, siwā, siwā-e, sawā-e, < Persian < Arabic siwā [swy]=*extra, additional*). The word বেগর « bēgâr » *without* (Perso-Arabic ba-ġair) is sometimes found, either as a preposition or as a post-position, exactly like বিনা « binā » (p. 772)

### [E] Enclitic Definitives or Numeratives.

**510.** Bengali like most NIA. languages possesses some post-positional affixes or words which are added to nouns or numerals to define the nature of the object or article referred to. Pronouns other than those of the first and second persons also take these post-positions, which are attached to the words and practically become a part of them, the case-affixes coming after them. These post-positional words, full or attenuated, are commonly described as *articles*. When a noun (or pronoun) is in the singular, the article or definitive comes after it; when in the plural (and pronouns are not used in the plural here), it must be qualified by a numeral, with which the post-positional is combined: where the number is vague or unknown, the definitive is not used. Where the numeral-*cum*-enclitic

precedes the noun, it becomes an attributive adjective, and does not take the case affixes, which are added to the noun: but where numeral-*cum*-enclitic follows the noun, it is loosely compounded with the latter, and the affixes are attached at the end of the entire group. Thus, মানুষ « mānuṣ্ » *man*: একজন মানুষ « ēk্-jāṇ্ mānuṣ্ » *one-person man = a man*; একটা or একটী মানুষ « ēk্-ṭā, ēk্-ṭī mānuṣ্ » *a* or *one man*; একজন মানুষের « ēk্-jāṇ্ mānuṣērr্ » *of a man*, একজন মানুষকে « ēk্-jāṇ্ mānuṣ্-kē » *to a man*; but মানুষটা, মানুষটী « mānuṣ্-ṭā, mānuṣ্-ṭī » *the man*, মানুষটার, মানুষটীর « mānuṣ্-ṭā-rr্, mānuṣ্-ṭī-rr্ » *of the man*, মানুষটাকে, মানুষটীকে « mānuṣ্-ṭā-kē, mānuṣ্-ṭī-kē » *to the man*; দুটা, দুটী or দুজন মানুষ « du-ṭā, du-ṭī, du-jāṇ্ mānuṣ্ » *two men*, genitive দুটা, দুটী or দুজন মানুষের « du-ṭā, du-ṭī, du-jāṇ্ mānuṣērr্ », but মানুষ দুজনের « mānuṣ্-du-janērr্ » *of the two men*, মানুষ-দুটীকে, « mānuṣ্-du-ṭī-kē » *to the two men*; etc.,

The definitives are used with nouns in the qualifying genitive, *e.g.*, নীচের টার « nīchērr্-ṭā-rr্ » *of the one below*, উপরের খানা থেকে « upārērr্-khānā-thēkē » *from the piece at the top*, পাশের জনকে « pāśērr্-jāṇ্-kē » *to the one beside*, etc. When the definitive is placed *before* the numeral, which qualifies the noun, instead of *after* it, the sense becomes, on the contrary, vague and indefinite as to the number: *e.g.*, জনদুই মানুষ « jāṇ্-dui mānuṣ্ », or মানুষ জনদুই « mānuṣ্-jāṇ্-dui » *about* or *some two men*, gen. জনদুই মানুষের or মানুষ জনদুইয়ের « mānuṣ্-jāṇ্-duiērr্, jāṇ্-dui mānuṣērr্ ». This usage is certainly old in the language: it is found in the Early Maithilī of the 'Varṇa-ratnākara' (*supra*, pp. 102-103). The enclitics টা (টো, টে), টী « -ṭā (-ṭō, -ṭē), -ṭī » are not used in this way to precede the numeral, as it is not an entire word any longer. To emphasise the vagueness, the indefinite forms of the numerals (with এক « -ēk ») are also used: *e.g.*, জন দুই or জনদুইয়েক « jāṇ্-dui, -dui-ẏ-ēk », খান-দশ or দশেক « khāṇ্-dāś্, -dāś-ēk্ ».

The employment of these enclitic words or fragments of words lacks the range and variety of the numerative or qualifying words of many other languages, *e.g.*, Chinese (cf. R. K. Douglas, 'Chinese Manual,' London, 1889, pp. 64-66), and Japanese (*e.g.*, H. J. Weintz, 'Japanese Grammar Self-Taught,' London, 1904, pp. 32-34), although there is some resemblance in the general principle.

Common Numeratives of Bengali, and their Origin:

(1) খান, খানা « khāṇa, khāṇā », diminutive খানী, খানি « khāṇī, khāṇi » (originally feminine: see pp. 672-673) = *a piece* (< « khaṇḍa »: see p. 365). In NB., it is used by preference to specialise objects of rectangular or flat form, or objects which have a frame-work. But in the ŚKK., it is used in an expression like নাতিনী খানী « nātinī-khāṇī » *the (little) granddaughter* (p. 11: cf. also note at p. 433 of the ŚKK., where is quoted from Early Assamese কন্যাখানি « kanyā-khāni » *the little daughter*). This numerative was thus established in Bengali by the eMB. period at least. Cf. also বেঢ়িল কুঢ়িআ (=কুঁড়িয়া>কুঁড়ে) খা ন « bēṛhilā kuṛ(h)iā-khāni » *surrounded the cottage* (Kṛttivāsa, 'Uttara-kaṇḍa,' p. 58), সাঁতারিয়া আনে ভৃগু অর্জুনের শরীর-খান « sātāriyā ānē Bhṛgu Arjunēr śarīr-khāṇ » *B. swims and brings the body of A.* (ibid, p. 65), দুইখান হাত « dui-khāṇ hāt » *the two hands* (ibid, p. 92); etc.

(2) গাছ, গাছা « gāchа, gāchā », diminutive গাছী, গাছি « gāchī, gāchi » = *a long piece, a 'stick,' a 'tree'* (MIA. « gaccha »: see p. 472): used with reference to thin and long aritieles. This is not found in eMB., and seems to have been established in its numerative function during the lMB. period.

(3) গোটা « gōṭā », diminutive গুটী, গুটি « guṭī, guṭi » = *one piece, one whole, one round object.* It occurs also as গোট « gōṭa », and is found in Hindōstānī as an independent word meaning *a pebble or stone, a round object, a piece, a man (as in a game).* The word is of uncertain origin, but doubtless the Skt. « guṭikā », Bengali গুটী « guṭī » *a small globe or ball, a pill, a pearl, a pustule, the cocoon of the silk-worm* is the same word. The source of it may be the Skt. root « gṛ » *to sprinkle, moisten,* which figures in the 'Dhātu-pāṭhas': a form like « *gṛ-ta » to mean *a drop* could well have given « *gurta », whence « *guṭṭa, *gŏṭṭa », whence the NIA. forms, as well as the Skt. « guṭikā ». The Skt. word has been also sought to be connected with « gōla » *round* and « guḍa » *molasses.* The word গোটা « gōṭā » was derived from « gōṣṭha-ka » by Hoernle (Gauḍian Grammar, p. 273), but that should give an aspirate in NIA., *e.g.*, « *gōṭhā », whereas all the actual NIA. forms—Western and Eastern Hindī, Bihārī, Bengali, Oṛiyā and Assamese,

have « -ṭ- » and not « -ṭh- ». The form « gōṭā » figures as a post-positional numerative in Bihārī; *e.g.*, in Maithilī « duhū-gōṭā » *the two pieces*; also in Oṛiyā, in Bengali, and in Assamese; and consequently it is likely that the numerative employ of this word goes back to Māg. Ap. We have it in Early Maithilī, and it is extremely common in Early Bengali: *e.g.*, ŚKK. বাঁশী গুটি « bāśī-guṭi » *the flute*, several times, and Kṛttivāsa, 'Ayōdhyā-kāṇḍa,' বাণ গোটা « bāṇa-gōṭā » *the arrow* (p. 28). In NB. গোটা « gōṭā » is quite common as a noun meaning *whole*; its numerative use, however, has become considerably curtailed.

(4) জন « jāṇa » *person*, which can be either *tbh.* or *ts.*, is used to indicate men and women. The use of this word is found in eMB., and in all likelihood it goes earlier: *e.g.*, Kṛttivāsa, 'Ayōdhyā-kāṇḍa,' p. 2, ভাই দুইজনে « bhāi dui-jānē » *the two brothers*, lit. *brother(s) two-persons*; 'Uttara-kaṇḍa,' p. 66, মাতাপিতা দুইজনে « mātā-pitā dui-jānē » *the two parents* (or *mother and father both*); etc.

(5) টা « -ṭā » (by Vowel Harmony টো « -ṭō » and টে « -ṭē »: p. 401), diminutive টি, টি « -ṭi, -ṭī, -ṭi »: used as the post-positional 'Definite Article,' meaning *an object, a whole*. For derivation and use, see *supra*, p. 686. The dialectal forms « -ḍā, -ḍī » have been noted before. In the Haijong (Maimansing) dialect, apprently it is this « -ṭā > -ḍa > -rā » that figures in forms like রাজারা « rājā-rā » *the king*, মাগুরা « māgu-rā » *the wife*, কথারা « kathā-rā » *the word*, etc. (LSI., V, I, pp. 216 ff).

টা, টী « -ṭā, -ṭī » are the most important definitives of Bengali. The employ of these is already well-established in the Early MB. period: *e.g.*, ŚKK., p. 75 সোনার কটুয়া দুটি মানিকে পুরাঞা « sōnārā kāṭuā du-ṭi māṇikē purāẏā » *causing the two (round) boxes of gold to be filled with gems*; Kṛttivāsa, 'Ayōdhyā-kāṇḍa,' p. 28, চক্ষুটা « cākṣu-ṭā » *the eye*; ibid., p. 1, দুইটী ব্রাহ্মণ « dui-ṭī Brāhmaṇa » (*the*) *two Brāhmans*, দুটী হাত « duṭī hāta » *the two hands* etc., etc.

The « -ṭā » affix is found as টু « -ṭu » after the numeral এক « ēka » *one* (= -ṭ- + -u < -ū: p. 677); and when used post-positionally after a noun, « -ṭu » is extended to টু-ক « -ṭu-ka », and further strengthened to টুক « -ṭu-k-u »: « -ṭu, -ṭuka, -ṭuku » are all used to denote 'a small quantity

of any thing,' generally of fluids and of substances which are already in small fragments: *e.g.*, একটু জল « ēkṭ-ṭu jàlṭ » *a little water*, but জলটুকু, টুকু « jàlṭ-ṭukṭ, jàlṭ-ṭuku » *the little water*; একটু নুন « ēkṭ-ṭu nunṭ » *a little salt, a pinch of salt*, নুনটুকু « nunṭ-ṭuk(u) » *that pinch of salt*. The « -k- » in « -ṭukṭ, -ṭuku » looks like being the nominal or pleonastic affix (see *ante*, pp. 679 ff), but it may be from « ēkṭ » *one*, as in the dialectal word টুক, টুয়েক « ṭukṭ, ṭuyēkṭ » *a little* (*e.g.*, টুক, টুয়েক বাদে « ṭukṭ or ṭuyēkṭ bādē » *a little later*, as in West Rāḍha Bengali: =« -ṭu » diminutive + « ēkṭ »).

(6) থান « thānṭ » *flat piece, round or rectangular piece* (< sthāna): *e.g.*, কাপড় দুখান « kāpāṛṭ du-thānṭ » *the two pieces of stuff*, etc. Rather restricted in employ.

A few other words are similarly used as definitives. *E.g.*, the Persian words তা « tā » *sheet* (« tah, tāh » *fold, plait*: দুতা কাগজ « du-tā kāgājṭ » *two sheets of paper*), and কেতা « kētā » *piece* (Ar. « qiṭāʿ » *cutting*: নোট দু-কেতা « nōṭṭ du-kētā » *two bank-notes*). But they partake rather of the nature of English words like *head* ('five head of cattle'), *sail* ('ten sail of ships') than of enclitic definitives like the above.

## CHAPTER III

### THE NUMERALS

**511.** The numerals present one of the difficult phonetic problems of NIA. Their forms show a remarkable uniformity all over the NIA. area, a uniformity which is not in keeping with the several phonetic histories of the various NIA. speeches. The names for the cardinals in the different NIA. languages, instead of going through their proper MIA. forms back to OIA. (i.e., with each group showing independent and distinct forms with characteristic dialectal phonetic history, in general agreement with the phonology of the mass of words in the language), appear rather to be based on some standardised MIA. forms. These standardised forms originally belonged to some particular dialect of MIA., but they were early adopted in a standard dialect, a sort of Hindōstānī of ancient times (when they did not originally belong to it), whence they were imposed upon the vernacular speeches in the different tracts of the country; and the proper native forms in these latter vernaculars were generally superseded, although in some cases they have maintained themselves (*e.g.*, Gujarātī « bē » Sindhī « b'ē » Marāthī « dōn » Bengali দুই « dui » *two*, Panjābī « wīh » *twenty*). From the very close resemblance between the common NIA. cardinals and those of Pali, the latter may be taken to represent the basis or source of the former. Pali is based on the speech of the Midland, with influences from the East as well as the North-West and the South-West: one Pali form for *twelve* is « bārasa », with « b- » for OIA. « dv- », which does not seem to be a proper Midland treatment of this group of consonants: the native Midland form was certainly « d(u)vādasa », also found in Pali, but we do not know when « bārasa » or an earlier « *bāḍasa < dvādaśa » from an outside dialect imposed itself in Pali, side by side with the native form in « d(u)vā- ». (Cf. p. 58, *supra*.) The form « bārasa », however, became established in the standard form of the Midland speech, and thence passed on to the other dialects, Ardha-māgadhī and Māgadhī included; although these latter continued to use their

proper forms « duvālasa, *duvāḍasa » side by side with « bārasa », at least as a literary survival down to Second MIA. times. Even though the Pali forms give a sufficiently satisfactory ground work for those of NIA., there are certain irregularities in the development of the latter, which cannot be properly explained. Thus, intervocalic « -s- » became « -h- » in all the forms except those of the 9th decade in Western Panjābī and Sindhī: *e.g.*, W. Panjābī « yārā̃(h), bārā̃(h) » =*11, 12*; « wīh, ikkī(h), bāī(h) » =*20, 21, 22*; « trīh, battīh » =*30, 32*; « cāḷī(h), cutāḷī(h) » = *40, 44*; « pañjāh, aṭhwañjā(h) » =*50, 58*; « bāhṭh, chēāhṭh » =*62, 66*; « ihattar, pañjhattar » = *71, 75*; but « assī, ikāsī » =*80, 81*, where the sibilant is retained. In the other NIA. languages, in Marāṭhī, Gujarātī, W. Hindī, E. Hindī, Bihārī and Bengali for instance, we find « -h- » for « -s- » regularly only in the 2nd and 8th decades, but irregularly in other cases (*e.g.*, Hindī « bārah » =*12*, « bāhāttar » =*72* but « pacās » =*50*, « aṭhwan » =*58*); while the « -s- » remains in the third, fourth, fifth and ninth decades (*e.g.*, Hindī « bāïs » =*22*, « aṛtīs » =*38*, « byāllis » =*42*, « pacāsī » =*85*): and Oṛiyā and Assamese preserve the « -s- » in the eighth decade as well (the « s » in Assamese has become [x]). The Pali forms cannot explain all these anomalies among the NIA. speeches, because Pali represents an earlier state of things in MIA. when « -s- » remained a sibilant. The later Prakrits show a mix-up of « -s- » and « -h- » forms which it is now impossible to refer to local dialects of the Second MIA. stage. Forms like those that we find in Pali would seem to have been adopted in most MIA. dialects by the Second MIA. stage: then after the « -s- > -h- » change took place in one area (probably in N.-W. India: see *supra*, p. 549), that phonetic development also partially insinuated itself into the forms of the standard speech (some form of Śaurasēnī, in all likelihood), and thence also to the other dialects, but not uniformly.

The origin of the NIA. words for the numerals has been discussed by Bloch (cf. 'Langue Marathe,' pp. 214-223). The question is studied here from the point of view of Bengali.

**512.** *One* = এক « ēkạ » [æ:k]: from eMB. [ɛ:kɔ], OB. [e:kɒ] < MIA « ĕkka », a MIA. *ts.* or *sts.* form, occurring side by side with the *tbh*

« ēga, ēa » which occur in Prakrit but which are not so common (Jaina Ardha-māgadhī prefers « ēga », however). The Assamese এ « ē » = *one*, as in এজন « ē-zānṛ » *one person*, এটা « ē-ṭā » *one*, এহেজাৰ « ē-hēzārṛ » *one thousand* (= Bengali একজন, একটা, একহাজার « ēkṛ-jānṛ, ēkṛ-ṭā, ēkṛ-hājārṛ »), shows that the *tbh.* « ēa » was as much a living form in Second and Third MIA. as the *sts.* « ĕkka ». A common and exceedingly important word, for the numeral *one*, it could not remain as the colourless « ēa », and hence the *ts.* form could easily come in to meet the necessity of a distinctive vocable.

In composition, « ēkṛ » remains unmodified (*e.g.*, একুশ ekuśṛ < ēkuiśṛ, ēkāiśṛ = *21*; একত্রিশ, তিৰিশ ēkṛ-t(i)risṛ, ēkāttriśṛ = *31*; একচাল্লিশ ēkṛ-cālliśṛ = *41*; একান্ন ēkānnā = *51*; একষট্টি ēkṛ-ṣaṭṭi = *61*; একাত্তর ēkāttārṛ = *71*; একান(ব্ব)ই ekānāi, ēkānābbāi = *91*), except in এগার « ēgārā » = *11*. Here the voicing difficult is to account for. It seems to be NIA., from a Late MIA. « *ēkāraha », a standard form, < earlier « ĕkkārāha » which supplanted the *tbh.* « ēāraha ». The « -k- < MIA. -kk- » is preserved in Marāṭhī « akrā »; and Panjābī « yārā » represents the normal MIA. *tbh.* « ēāraha- ». The Ardha-māgadhī « ēga » would only be confined to literature, and cannot be regarded as being responsible for the NIA. « ēgārā, igārah » etc. The 'Prākṛta-Paiṅgala' form « ĕggāraha » seems only to be a Prakritisation of the NIA. word. In forms like « ēk-uśṛ, ēkṛ-t(i)risṛ » etc., an analysis into « ēkṛ + bisṛ (visṛ), ēkṛ + t(i)risṛ » was easy, and this analysis seems to have helped to bring in or retain the « -k- »; but there was not much scope for this analysis when « -daśa » became « -raha » in the MIA. « ĕkkāraha, *ēkāraha, ēāraha » in the dialects, which mostly now have « -g- » or zero for the original « -k- ». In Gujarātī « ōgṛṇis » = *91*, « ōgaṇtīs » = *29*, « ōgaṇcāḷīs » = *39*, « agṇō-ēśī, ōgaṇyāśī » = *79*, however, it is not a case of voicing : « ōgaṇ- » is not from OIA. « ēkôna- », but is rather from a Skt. « *apaguṇa (-viṅśati) », etc. (Pischel, § 444).

In Chittagong Bengali, there is the voicing of « -k- » which characterises this dialect : « ēgṛ < ēkṛ »; also « ēkuā, ēkā > ēguā, ēgā, eggā, oggā »; (this « eguā, eggā » gives in Chittagong Bengali the numerative enclitic « -ggā » or « -gōā » : *e.g.*, « du-ggā » = *two pieces*, « tsāir-gōā » = *four pieces*,

etc., which corresponds to « dui-gō, cār-gō » etc., of the Bihārī dialects); « ēgāiś, ēgōiś = ēkuś, ēkāiś »; etc.

In other compound forms in Bengali, « -k- » of « ēk » is preserved: *e.g.*, একুইতি « ēkuiti » (= ēka-putrikā). The « -k- » is lengthened or doubled in Bengali for emphasis, as in the case of the other consonants: *e.g.*, একেকালে, একেবারে « ekkē-kālē, ekkē-bāre » *all at once* or *all at the same time*, etc. (see above, p. 448).

513. *Two* = দুই « dui », from MIA. « duvē », properly the neuter form = « dvē » of OIA., which is already established in the eastern dialect of Aśōka for the masculine as well (*e.g.*, Rock Edict I. Jaugada = « duvē majulā = dvāu mayūrāu »). দুই « dui » is a genuine Prācya and Māgadhī form as preserved in Bengali. It is found in the other Magadhan speeches as well. Other typical NIA. forms, differing from that of the Eastern tracts, are « dō » (W. Hindī and Panjābī), « dōn » (Marāṭhī), « bē » (Gujarātī), « b'ē » (Sindhī) and « dē-ka » (Sinhalese).

In composition with nouns, the equivalent was « dō- » in MIA. In the Caryās, « dō » also occurs (beside « dui ») as an independent or qualifying form: *e.g.*, « dui gharē » (Caryā 2), « dui māra (= mārga: Caryā 26), and « dō bāṭā » (= vartma: Caryā 15). We have also a definitive « duā » as in « phīṭaü duā » *let the two be split* or *destroyed*. In genuine Bengali compounds, the form « dō » becomes « du » when followed by a high vowel (see under 'Vowel Harmony,' *supra*, pp. 397-398): thus, দুমুখো « du-mukhō < dō-mukh-ā » *two-faced*, দুচুট « du-chuṭ » < দোছুট « dō-chuṭ » (see p. 472), দুপুর « dupur » < দোপহর « dō-pāhar » (dvi-prahara); but দোপাটি « dō-pāṭī » *a flower*, দোআঁশলা « dō-āślā » *of mixed breed* (dvi + aṁśa + la-), দোভাষী « dō-bhāṣī » *interpreter*, etc. A common contraction of the adjectival দুই « dui » is দু' « du »: *e.g.*, দু(ই)টা > দুটো « du(i)-ṭā > du-ṭō » *two pieces*, দু(ই)জন « du(i)-jaṇ » *two persons*. In such forms, দু « du » is regarded as forming compounds, and this fact influences the original « dō- » in many compounds to be changed to « du- »: *e.g.*, দুহাতা > দুহাত্তা « du-hātā > du-hāttā », beside দোহাত্তা « dō-hāttā » *with both hands* (= *to one's best advantage*), দুধারী « du-dhārī » beside দোধারী « dō-dhārī » *two-edged*, etc.

In MB. there is the form দোহ « dōhă » *two* (as in দোহেঁ « dōhē » nominative and oblique, দোহার, দোহাকার « dōhā-rṛ, dōhā-kārṛ » genitive, দোহাকে « dōhā-kē » dative) which represents an Apabhraṁśa genitive « *doṇhă, dŏṇṇaṁ ». Variants of this form, with the nasal from the genitive plural of the noun, are দুইঁ « duihā » (as in the ŚKK.), and দুহান « duhānă » (as in the Early Assamese দুহানো « duhānō »).

In compound numerals, we find the forms বা « bā- » and ব, বি, বে « bă-, bi-, bē- » representing the OIA. « dvā-, dvi- »: thus বাইশ « bāiśṛ » (dvā-viṁśati), বত্রিশ, বত্তিশ « bătt(i)riśṛ » (dvā-triṁśat), বিয়াল্লিশ, বেয়াল্লিশ, ব্যাল্লিশ « biẏālliśṛ, bēẏā-, byā- » (dvi-catvāriṁśat), বিয়াশি « birāśi » (dvy-aśīti). The change « dv- > b- », as has been noted before (see *supra*, pp. 508, 782) is non-Māgadhī: native Māgadhī would have shown « *dōā-, *dui ».

Bengali দোকা « dōkā » *twain, with a second* is an analogical formation after একা « ēkā » *alone*.

In the OB. of the Caryās we have the word « bēṇi » to mean *two* (Caryās 1, 4, 5). The word in this sense is extremely common in Early Oṛiyā (bēṇi). It is the *ts.* word « vēṇī » *plait, plait of two bands of hair*, and the Sanskrit word itself would seem to be based on a MIA. formation from « dvi », with « v- < b- » from « dv- ».

514. *Three* = তিন « tinṛ », properly তীন « tīnṛ » < OB. « tini, tiṇi = tīni » (cf. Caryā 13, « tiṇi bhuaṇa » *the three worlds*; also Caryās 7 and 16); Oṛiyā, Assamese and Maithilī = « tīni ». This form is found in most NIA., excepting in the Western Languages—Panjābī and Lahndī, Sindhī and Gujarātī—which have forms in « -r- » (Panj. and Lahndī « trai », Sindhī « ṭrē », Gujarātī « traṇ ») through Dardic influence. The NIA. « tīni » comes from the OIA. neuter « trīṇi », which was generalised in the East for all genders (and, it seems, also in the Midland: cf. W. Hindī « tīn(i) »). This can be seen from Aśōkan inscriptions: thus « tiṇṇi pāṇāni » in Dhaulī and Jaugada I, = « tiṇṇi, tini pāṇāni » in Kalsi, for which Girnar has « tī, trī prāṇā » and Shahbāzgarhi « tra(yo) praṇa, praṇa-trayo ». OIA. « trīṇi » seems to have passed through a stage « *tīrṇi » to give Early MIA. « tinni, *tiṇṇi ». An expected Māgadhī form from « tīṇi », without the intermediate stage « *tīrṇi » postulated here, would be « *ṭīni », and also

« *ṭi-=tri- »: cf. Hindōstānī « ṭi-kaṭhī » =tri-kāṣṭhikā » *wooden triangular frame to which offenders are tied to be flogged* (=Bengali টিকটিকি « ṭikaṭiki <*ṭi-kāṭh-ikī » with confusion with the onomatopoetic word টিকটিকি « ṭikṭiki » *house lizard*) in which « tr- > ṭ- » seems to be a Māgadhism which has survived.

In compound numerals we find তে, তি « tē-, ti- » (< traya-, tri-): তের « tērā » (trayōdaśa, *tridaśa), তেইশ « tēiśa » (trayōviṅśati), তেত্রিশ « tēttriśa » (trayastriṅśat), etc., etc. In compounds generally we have তে « tē- », changed to তি « ti- » by Vowel Harmony: *e.g.*, তেভাগ « tēbhāi » *third part* (tri-bhāgikā), তেপায়া « tēpāyā » *tripod*, MB. তেওড়ী, তিউড়ী « tēōṛī, tiuṛī » *oven* (tri-vṛt), etc. OB. however has « ti-śaraṇa » (Caryā 13) and « tia-dhāu » (< tri-ka-+dhātu: Caryās 28, 29).

515. *Four*=চার<চৌর, চাইর, চারি « cār < cāIr, cāir, cāri ». This is the form which is found in almost all NIA., except Sinhalese, which has « satara, hatara ». The NIA. « cāri, cār » is apparently to be connected with the OIA. neuter form « catvāri ». In the Aśokan Kalsi dialect, « cat(t)āli », occurs already for the masculine; but Aśōkan of Girnar shows for masculine « catpārō » (catvāraḥ). (This, if it had survived, would have given in NIA., Gujarātī, a form « *cāpar », through a Second MIA. « *capṛārō »). Pali has « cattāro » (accusative « caturō »), « catassō » and « cattāri » for the masculine, feminine and neuter respectively. From Second MIA. « catṭāri », we come to the Apabhraṅśa « cāri » and the Early NIA. « ciāri »: and the apparent loss of « -tt- » in these later forms is not easy to explain (see *supra*, pp. 254-255). The loss of the « -tt- » may have been due to the form taken by this numeral word in compounds —« caü < catuḥ- »; and as Pischel notes (Gramm. der Pkt.-Spr., § 439, p. 313), « cāri » occurs in Apabhraṅśa in compounds (« catuṣpāda > *caüppāa+*cattāri-pāa » giving « cāri-pāa »?).

The form « ciāri » is attested from Early Oṛiyā, from Marāṭhī, and from other NIA. languages (see *ante*, p. 106). It can also be well assumed that Bengali also possessed this « ciāri », at least side by side with « cāri ». The form « ciāri » appears to be late, and NIA. There is no proper

explanation of the intrusive (?) « -i- », but an Iranian influence here does not seem to be an impossibility (see *supra*, p. 255; also see *infra*, under *Six*).

In compounds, the numeral occurs as চৌ « cāu » = MIA. « caü », OIA. « catuḥ, catu-, catur ». The diphthongal form occurs already in OB.: eg. « cau-dīsa » (Caryā 6), « cau-koṭṭi » (Caryā 37). In the numerals, « cau » has become contracted to « cō-, cu- »: thus চোদ্দ « cōddā » (« caturdaśa »: the « sādhu-bhāsā » form চৌদ্দ « cāuddā » is archaic), চোব্বিশ « cōbbiśa » (caturviṅśati), চুয়াল্লিশ « cuālliśa » (catuścatvārinśat), চুয়ান্ন « cuānnā » (catuḥpañcāśat), চুয়াত্তর « cuāttāra » (catussaptati), চুরাশী « curāsī » (caturaśīti), চুরান(ব্ব)ই « curā-nā(bbā)i » (caturnavati). The forms চৌত্রিশ « cāu-triśa » (catustriṅśat) and চৌষট্টি « cāu-ṣaṭṭi » (OB. « caüśaṭhi, caüṣaṭṭhi, cauṣaṭṭhī » as in Caryās 8, 12 and 10 respectively: = « catuṣ-ṣaṣṭi ») preserve « cāu »: but they are not the normal Bengali forms as expected—the first has *ts.* influence, and the second seems to have been influenced by literary Prakrit from the OB. period. In MB. and dialectal NB., through the common change of « āu » to « āi », we have চৈপর, চোপর « cāipāra, cōpāra » < চৌপর « cāupārā » (caü-pahara, catuṣprahara), চৈদ্দ « cāiddā » (= Assamese চৈদ্দা « cāidhyā ») beside চৌদ্দ « cāuddā », etc. (see *supra*, p. 385). Compounds like চৌকাঠ « cāu-kāṭha » *door-frame*, চৌঘুড়ী « cāu-ghuṛī » *four-in-hand*, চৌদোল « cāu-dōla » *litter, palanquin of state*, চৌধুরী, *চৌধরী « Caudhurī < *Caudhārī » *a title or surname* < *chief* (= catur + dhara + -ika), চৌমাথা « cāu-māthā » *carrefour, crossing*, are archaic in type, and « cāu » is an atrophied form; and in MB. and NB., compositions with the Bengali চারি, চার « cār(i) » are more common: *e.g.*, চার-পেয়ে < চারি-পাইয়া « cāṛi-pāyē < cāri-pāiyā » *four-footed*, চার-কেলে < চারি-কালিয়া « cāṛi-kēlē < cāri-kāliyā » *of the four ages*, etc.

**516.** *Five* = পাঁচ « pāca » (OIA. pañca). All NIA. speeches agree in retaining the nasal, except Sinhalese, which has the form « paha < pasa < *paca ». In compounds with nouns, « pāca » remains unchanged in Bengali: *e.g.*, পাঁচমুড়া « pāca-muṛā » *five-crested*, পাঁচ-হাতী « pāca-hāt-ī » *five cubits long*, etc. In the compound numerals, however, the word occurs in four forms in Bengali, as below:

(1) পাঁচ « pāc- » as in পঁচিশ « pāciś$ » (pañca-viṅśati), পঁচাত্তর « pācāttār$ » (pañca-saptati), পঁচাশী « pācāśī » (pañcāśīti), পঁচান(ব্ব)ই « pācānā(bbā)i » (pañca-navati);

(2) পঞ্চ « pañc- » as in পঞ্চাশ « pañcāś$ » (pancāśat), পঞ্চান্ন pañcānnā » (« pañcā-pañcāśat » : there is a dialectal পাঁচপন « pāc$-pan$ »), and ঊনপঞ্চাশ « unā-pāñcāś$ »; also contracted to « -āñc- » as in ‡ ঊনকাশ « unāñcāś$ » *49*;

(3) পঁয় « pāy$- » as in পঁয়ত্রিশ « pāy$-triś$ » (pañca-triṅśat), পঁয়তাল্লিশ « pāy$-tālliś$ » (pañca-catvāriṅśat), and পঁয়ষট্টি « pāy$-ṣaṭṭi » (pañca-ṣaṣṭi);

(4) পন, পান্ন, আন্ন « pan$-, -pānnā -ānnā » as in পনের « panērā » (pañca-daśa), and in the fifties—একান্ন, বাহান্ন, তিপ্পান্ন, চুয়ান্ন, পঞ্চান্ন, ছাপ্পান্ন, সাতান্ন, আটান্ন, « ekānnā, bāhānnā, tippānnā, cuānnā, pañcānnā, chāppānnā, sātānnā, āṭānnā ».

Of the above, « pāc$ < pāc$ », with short « -ā- » through absence of stress in the word in the formative period of Bengali, seems to be the native Bengali form : and « pañc- » in পঞ্চাশ « pañcāś$ » etc., has a restored « -ñ- », apparently through *ts.* influence : the expected native Bengali form would be « *pācāś$ » : cf. Hind. « pacās ». The forms « pāy$ (=paña) » and « pan$, pānnā, -ānnā » are respectively from MIA « paññā » and « panna (paṇṇa) », from « *pañja < pañca ». The change « ñj > ñ̃, ñ̃ » is found in Maithilī in one or two forms (see *supra*, p. 364), but it does not characterise Bengali; and « -ñc->-ñj- > -nn-, -n- » is equally foreign to Bengali. We find the latter change in the Midland and Eastern inscriptions of Aśōka : *e.g.*, « paṅna-ḍasa » (=panna-ḍasa < pañca-daśa) and « paṅna-vīsati » (=panna-vīsati < pañca-viṅśati) in the Delhi-Siwalik pillar, for instance, and « sa-paṅnā » (=*sappannā[h] <saṭ-pañcāśat) at Sahasram : where it can well be an imposition from an « -ñc—>-ñj->nn » (and « -s- > -h- ») dialect, presumably of the North-West (cf. Jules Bloch, JA., 1912, I, pp. 332 ff.).

**517.** *Six* = ছয়, ছ « chày$, chà », Assamese « chày » [sɔ̆], Oṛiyā « chāà ». MIA. has the form « cha ». The Bengali, Assamese and Oṛiyā forms, as well as the Panjābī « chē », Marāṭhī « sahā », and the forms « chē, chēy-, chiy- » as in the decades (as compared with Hindī and Gujarātī

« cha- ») are apparently based on a fuller form in MIA. than simple « cha ». The word cannot have originated from « ṣaṭ » of OIA.: « ṣ- > ch- » would be an inexplicable change in Early MIA., and we should expect the sibilant to remain either as « s- » or as « ś- », as in « ṣōḍaśa, ṣaṣṭi » > NIA. sōlah, sāṭh »: and as a matter of fact the word for *six* does occur with « s- », in Aśōkan Prakrit.

The Indo-European word for *six* was « *seks, *sweks ». In Indo-Iranian, it became « *saśs, *swaśs », the expected OIA. equivalent of which would be « *sakṣ, *swakṣ > *sak, *swak », which could change only to « *saṭ, *svaṭ » by analogy (Uhlenbeck, 'Manual of Sanskrit Phonetics', p. 88; Wackernagel, I, p 174): normally it could not certainly be « ṣaṭ », such as we actually find in OIA. In the form « ṣaṣ- » (as in « ṣaṣ-ṭha, ṣaṣ-ṭi), the second « -ṣ- » is quite regular (< Indo-Iranian « *s[w]aštha, *s[w]ašti » = IE *s[w]eks-tho, *s[w]eks-ti: cf. Wackernagal, I, § 201, d). This « -š- > -ṣ- » in the interior of the word may have influenced the initial « *s- » to « š-, ṣ- » (Indo-Iranian « *s[w]aštha, *s[w]ašti > *š[w]aštha, *š[w]ašti > OIA. ṣaṣ-, Prim. Iran. *š[w]aš-»: cf. H. Reichelt, 'Awestisches Elementarbuch,' § 160). The Avestan equivalent of Vedic « ṣaṭ, ṣaṣ » is « xšvaš », which represents the Iran. « *šwaš » (with the « -w- » of IE. « *sweks ») : the prothetic « x- » in « x-švaš » is regular in Avestan before initial « š- » *plus* consonant (Reichelt, ibid., § 174). The forms « ṣaṣ (šaš), xšvaš » beside « *ṣvaṣ (*šwaš) » occurred in the various ancient dialects of Indo-Iranian, as we can see from Sanskrit, from Avestan, and from the various present-day speeches of the Indo-Iranian borderland—Iranian and Dardic: *e.g.*, Bašgalī « šō », Kalaša « šōh », Vērōn « ušu » and Šiṇā of Jalkot « šva (ṣva) », as well as Paštō « špaž, špēž, špag », would seem to be based on a form « *šwaš » or « *ṣvaṣ »; Šiṇā « šah, ša (ṣah, ṣa) » and Kaśmirī « šōh » on « šaš (ṣaṣ) », like the New Persian « šaš », : and the Central Asian Ghalcha forms—Yūdghā « uxšo » and Munjānī « axše » would appear to be based on a form agreeing with the Avestan « xšvaš ». But « ṣaṣ, *ṣvaṣ » cannot explain the MIA. and NIA. « cha- », and the Khō-wār (Dardic) « choi ». Could the typically Iranian « xšvaš » have been borrowed, or blended with the Indian « ṣaṣ », in an old Indo-Aryan frontier dialect, in the

form «*kṣaṣ, *kṣak»? This form in «kṣ-» could well be extended to «*kṣaka», to make it a disyllabic word like «pañca, sapta» etc.: and «*kṣaṣ, *kṣaka» could very well be the source of «cha, chaa», with the North-western or Western MIA. alteration of «kṣ» to «ch» (cf. *supra*, p. 469).

Tokharian of Central Asia (*supra* p. 5) shows some peculiar forms for *six* and *sixth*, which may be noted. In Dialect A, it is «ṣak», ordinal «ṣkaṣt» and in Dialect B the forms are «ṣkas, ṣkaste», cardial and ordinal. The derivation «IE. *seks > *ṣaks > *ṣakas > ṣak, ṣkas» has been proposed (cf. A. Meillet, MSL., XVII, 1912, p. 287). But in this connexion, can an Indo-European «*skes» (or «*skwes»), as occurring side by side with «*seks, *sweks», be postulated? In that case, this «*sk-» of Indo-European can regularly give the «ch-» of Indo-Aryan.

In the Aśōkan inscriptions, the words for *six* are «cha» (Rūpnāth: «cha-vacharē»), «sa-» (Sahasram: «sa-vachalē, sa-paṅnā»), «ṣa-» (North-West and Kalsi), and «saḍu-» (Dehli-Siwalik and-Meerut «saḍu-vīsati»). The occurrence of «cha» and «sa-, ṣa-, saḍ-» side by side is a certain indication that the first is a form independent of the other ones.

The «-h-» in Western Apabhraṅśa «chaha», Marāṭhī «sahā», Sinhalese «saha» is obscure. It may represent the second sibilant in the base form «ṣaṣ», which is seen to occur in Dardic. The forms «chē, chēy-, chiy-» in the compound numerals are easily explained as being from a MIA. «chaa, chaya». The Maithilī «chau», earlier «chaō, chahu» (as in the 'Varṇa-ratnākara,' *supra* pp. 102-103; also in the same work, «āṭhahu = āṭha» *8*, «caubīsaō» = «caubīsa» *24*, etc.), has the affix «-hu» which would seem to be only an emphatic particle.

The words for *16*, and the *sixties*, are based on the OIA. (Sanskrit) forms with «ṣ-».

**518.** *Seven* = সাত «sāṭ» : regularly derived from OIA. «sapta», and found in all the IA. speeches (Hindī etc. «sāt», Panjābī «satt», Sindhī «sata», Sinhalese «hata, sata»).

In the compound numerals, except in সতের «sātērā» *17*, and সাইত্রিশ «sāitriś» *37*, «sāṭ» is unchanged. In Early Bengali, it is likely that the

compounded form was « *sâtâ », with weakening of « -ā- » to « -â- » through absence of stress: cf. Oṛiyā « sâtāïśa, sâtâ-cāḷïśâ » *27, 47,* Hindī « satāīs, sat-hattar » *27, 77,* etc. The « -ā- » is due to initial stress, no doubt; but curiously enough, we have সতের « sâtēra » and not « *sâtâra » which would be the expected or normal form for Bengali. In সাঁইত্রিশ « sâitriśʻ » (or সাঁয়ত্রিশ « sâyʻtriśʻ ») there was certainly the influence of « pāyʻ <paññā » of পঁয়ত্রিশ « pāyʻtriśʻ » *35*: cf. similar nasalisation in Bengali চৌত্রিশ « cāutriśʻ » (beside চৌত্রিশ « câutriśʻ ») *34,* and Maithilī and Hindī « tẽtīs, cāutīs, tẽtālīs ». Other Magadhan speeches have « sāī- » or « sāy- »; *e.g.*, Maithilī « sāītīs, sāītālīs »; except Assamese, which has a borrowed and modified form « sāttric » [xa*tt*ris]. The analogical « sāī-, sāyʻ- » we find also in Hindī « sāītīs, sāītālīs », and Panjābī « sāit(r)ī, sāitāḷī » *37, 47.* The form of this numeral as « saṭ > saḍ, saṛ, sar, sāḍ », as in Hindī « sar-saṭh » *66,* Gujarātī « sāḍ-trīs » *37,* which is due to the influence of « aṭh-, aḍ- » *8,* is not found in Bengali.

519. *Eight*=আট « āṭʻ », আঠ « āṭhâ » in eMB. and OB. (< aṣṭa-). This word remains unchanged in compounds as « āṭʻ », except in আঠার « āṭhārâ » *18,* where the old aspiration is preserved. The *ts.* আট, অট « âṣṭâ, âṣṭâ » is also common, by itself and also in the forms অষ্টাশী « âṣṭʻ-āśī » *88* and অষ্টান(ব্ব)ই « âṣṭâ-nâ(bbâ)i » *98,* beside the regular *tbks.* আটাশী « āṭāśī » and আটান(ব্ব)ই « āṭā-nâ(bbâ)i ».

520. *Nine*=নয় « nâyʻ », from OB. « *naẏa », and ন « nâ, nâ » = OB. « naẁa » mainly in compounds (OIA. nava). Oṛiyā has « nââ ». The numeral নয় « nâyʻ » does not occur in the decades, the nines being formed, as in OIA., by prefixing « ūna- » (in Bengali ঊন « ŭnâ- ». Oṛiyā « uṇâ-, âṇâ- ») *less* to the next ten: *e.g.*, ঊনিশ « un-iśʻ » *19,* ঊনসত্তর « unâ-sāttâr » *69,* etc. Cf. « ōgaṇ- » in Gujarātī, p. 784. An exception is নিরান(ব্ব)ই « ni-r-ā-nâ(bbâ)i » *99,* with altered vowel and intrusive « -r- ». Most NIA. languages agree in having a corresponding compounding of *nine* and *ninety*, Oṛiyā, however, has « ânē-śâtâ » (with irregular dental « -n- »).

521. *Ten*=দশ « dâśʻ ». The sibilant is preserved in most NIA. except in the Western languages—Lahndī « dāh » beside « das », Sindhī « ḍ'ahª », dialectal Gujarātī « dah », and Marāṭhī « dahā »; and Sinhalese

also has « daha(ya) » beside « dasa(ya) ». In the OB. of the Caryās, we find « daśa » side by side with « daha », of which the former alone would seem to be native Māgadhī.

**522.** *The Tens.*

The phonology is peculiar for Bengali in two ways—by change of OIA. « -ś- » to « -h- » (which is dropped in MB.), and by that of « -d- » to « -r- »: « -daśa > *-ḍaśa, -ḍasa (cf. Aśokan duvāḍasa, paṅnaḍasa) > -ḷasa, -lasa (cf. Jaina Ardha-māgadhī duvūlasa), -rasa (as in Pali) > -raha (as in Second MIA.) ». The change of « -d- » to « -ḍ- », which could easily alter to « -ḷ-, -l- » and then « -r- », has not been satisfactorily explained. It certainly occurred in a cerebralising dialect *after* the « ḍ » in « ṣōḍaśa » altered to « ḷ, l », as this « ḍ > l » did not participate in the general change of « d > ḍ > ḷ » to « r » of « ēkādasa » and the rest. (Cf. Jules Bloch, 'Langue Marathe,' § 221; see *supra*, p. 488, for the cerebralisation; also p. 549 for « -ś- » > « -h- ».)

The final group « -aha » became « -å » and then « -ā » in Bengali, Oṛiyā and Assamese: and this final « -ā » is also written and pronounced ও « -ō » in Bengali (*supra*, p. 347); but « -ahṛ » is retained in Bihārī and in Hindī. In Panjābī, it occurs as « -ā » (yārā, bārā etc.) where it is an oblique plural form used absolutely: so in Sindhī « -an » (yārahan, b'ārahan). Marāṭhī has « -ā » (akrā, bārā), which also is apparently a plural form with dropping of intervocal « -h- » (< *ĕkkārahā, *bārahā ?). In Gujarātī, the group « -aha », found in Northern India, is dropped (*e.g.*, bār, tēr, caud, pandar, sōḷ, satar, aḍhār): this apparent dropping of two syllables of MIA. is strange, but it is possible that the Second MIA. source-forms of the Gujarātī tens were, not « bārasa, tērasa, caüddasa » (or « bāraha, tēraha, caüddaha ») etc., but rather « *bāras (*bārah), *tēras (*tērah), *caüddas (caüddah) » etc., with the final vowel already dropped, through an intermediate stage of « *bārasə, *tērasə, *caüddasə » (or « *bārahə, *tērahə, *caüddahə ») etc. (See *supra*, p. 752, on the probable pronunciation of genitival « -asya > -assa » as « -asə, -as » in the Malwa country in the Transitional MIA. period.) Sinhalese preserves rather archaic forms, « ekoḷosa, doḷosa, teḷesa, pahaḷosa,

so|osa, sata|osa, aṭa|osa », where the « -|- » occurs in all the numbers, and not in the form for *16* alone, as in Northern India.

In NIA. « cau(d)dah », the « -d- » is preserved by the preceding « -r- »: MIA. « caüddaha » is palpably an uncerebralised, non-Māgadhī form. The MIA. doubling is kept up in NB. চৌদ্দ, চোদ্দ « cāuddā, coddā », Standard Coll. [cɔ̄oddo], although we find চৌদ « cāudā » with one « -d- », (beside চৌদ্দ « cāuddā ») in the ŚKK. In Assamese চৈধ্য « caidhyā » there has been metathesis of the « -h- », aspirating the « -d- »: the « -y- » indicates only doubling.

**523.** *The Twenties.*

The common Bengali word for *twenty* is কুড়ি « kuṛi » = Assamese « kuri », Oṛiyā « kōṛiĕ », meaning *score*. Cf. Bengali এক কুড়ি « ĕkṭ kuṛi » *one score*, but never এক বিশ « ĕkṭ bisṭ ». In Western Hindī the word also occurs in the form « kōṛī », which is the earlier form (see *supra*, pp. 395-396). Gujarātī has it as « kōṭī, kuṇṭī ». Computation is, or normally used to be, by twenties in Bengal: at the present day, this is still the old-fashioned way: thus *25* = এক কুড়ি পাঁচ « ĕkṭ kuṛi pācṭ » *one score and five*, *38* = এক কুড়ি আঠারো « ĕkṭ kuṛi āṭhārō » *one score and eighteen*, *62* = তিন কুড়ি দুই « tinṭ kuṛi dui », *85* = চার কুড়ি পাঁচ « cārṭ kuṛi pācṭ », *100* = পাঁচ কুড়ি « pācṭ kuṛi », etc. Counting by twenties is also common in Assam: and the fact that the numerals for the third decade in Assamese show in their spelling ছ « c » indicating the [s] pronunciation, rather than শ or স « ś, s » which would be the expected form (with normal change in pronunciation of the original sibilant to the guttural spirant [x]: একইছ, বাইছ, তেইছ, চৌবিছ, পঁচিছ, ছাব্বিছ, সাতাইছ আঠাইছ, also ঊনইছ « ĕkâicṭ, [ekois], bāicṭ [bois], tēicṭ, cāubicṭ, pācicṭ, chābbicṭ [sobbis], sātāicṭ, [xotois], unâicṭ » *21, 22, 23, 24, 25, 26, 27, 28, 19*, rather than *একইশ, *বাইশ « *ĕkaiśṭ, *bāiśṭ » [ekoix, boix] etc.) indicates that the forms in « -icṭ = -vīsa » were borrowed from some Western dialect, Maithilī or Hindī, into Assamese. In Bengali, the word বিশ « bisṭ » *20* is by no means common: it occurs only in a few expressions like ঊনিশ-বিশ « uniśṭ-biśṭ » *19 and 20* = *minute distinction*. Counting by twenties is also found in Bihar, and also further west in Hindustan.

It is to be noted that the highest unit for counting among the Kōls is twenty (Santali « isi », Muṇḍārī « hīsī, isī », Kurku « isā » : the IA. « bīs », and « kōṛi » also are used : *hundred* is $5 \times 20 =$ [mōṛ isi:] in Santali, [mōṛ hisi] in Muṇḍārī, « mono isā » in Kurku, « molloi koḍi » in Savara : borrowings of the NIA. word « sai, sau < śatam » are also found). Vigesimal counting is found in many languages—*e.g.*, in Dardic (cf. Grierson, 'Piśāca Languages,' p. 37), in French. But it seems that in the case of Bengal, Bihar and the Upper Gangetic plain, probably also in the North-Western frontier (the Dardic tract), Kōl influence was responsible for this habit of computation, rather than that counting by twenties characterised some form of OIA. The word « kōṛi, kuṛi » occurs in Tamil as « kōḍi ». Although any cognate form has not been found in the Kōl speeches, it is still exceedingly likely that « kōṛi, kuṛi » in its origin is a Kōl word, and not Dravidian or Aryan.

The OIA. « viṅśati » gave MIA. « vīsati (Aśōkan and Pali), vi(ṅ)saï, vīsaī, vīsaïṁ (Second MIA.) ». The Pali « vīsā, vīsa », lMIA. « vīsa » are from an OIA. « *viṅśāt » on the analogy of « triṅśāt, catvāriṅśāt, pañcāśāt » In the compounded forms, the labial « -v- » (where not doubled to « -bb- ») has been vocalised in Bengali and other Magadhan ; and besides, the vowel « -i- » has been dropped wherever suitable in Standard Bengali, but it is preserved in dialectal Bengali (as in Chittagong), in Oṛiyā, in other NIA. generally : *e.g.*, ঊনিশ « uniś্ » < « *unōiś্, unāiś্ » *19*, একুশ « ēkuś্ » < « ēkāiś্, *ēkavīśa » *21*, সাতাশ « sātāś্ » < « sātāïś্, *satāvīsa » *27*, etc. চব্বিশ « cābbiś্ » properly for চোব্বিশ « cōbbiś্ » (caübbīsa, caturviṅśati) and ছাব্বিশ « chābbiś্ » (< ṣaḍviṅśati », with « ch- » from the numeral for *six*) are archaic forms, influenced by Prakrit, which retain the group « -bb- » (under normal conditions expected to change to a single « -b- ».)

**524.** *The Thirties.*

The native *tbk.* form *ত্রীশ *ত্রিশ « *trīś্ » has been supplanted in Eastern Magadhan (Bengali, Assamese, Oṛiyā) by the *sts.* ত্রিশ « triś্ » or তিরিশ « tiriś্ » ; in Assamese, as the spelling in ৬, ত্রিচ « tric্ » = [*t*ris] shows, this supplanting has been recent. In the compound numerals for the fourth decade, the *tbk.* « *trīś্ » is frequently *heard* in

Bengali : *e.g.*, বত্তীস « bàttīsạ́ » *32*, ছত্তীস « chàttīsạ́ » *36*, etc. (beside the more common বত্রিশ « bàtriśạ́ », ছত্রিশ « chàtriśạ́ » etc.) : cf. OB. « batiśa, batisa » (Caryās 17, 27), MB. চৌতিশা « cȧutiśā » (see *supra*, p. 228); Assamese « bàtisā » = [bo*t*ixa] ; and Oṛiyā preserves in the *tbh.* « -tiśā » side by side with the *sts.* « -tiriśā » in the fourth decade.

The « -r- » forms of Gujarātī (trīs, trīś) and Panjābī (trī, trīh) may be due to the numeral for *three* (traṇ, trai). Sindhī has « ṭīhᵃ ». Other NIA., *e.g.*, Hindī, Marāṭhī, keep to the *tbh.* « tīs » (Sinhalese « tiha, tisa »).

**525.** *The Forties.*

*Forty* is চল্লিশ or চাল্লিশ « càlliśạ́, cālliśạ́ », sometimes চালিশ « cāliśạ́ » = « catvāriṅśat ». The last form with one « -l- » is the genuine *tbh.* form : this single « -l- » is found as the cerebral « -ḷ- » in other NIA. The doubling of the « -l- » is quite optional even now, and is apparently recent in Bengali, absent as it is in Assamese, in Oṛiyā, and in other NIA. The change of « -r- » to « -ḷ-, -l- » in this word shows that it is Prācya or eastern in origin ( < cattālīsa), but it spread all over the NIA. area. The group « -tvā- » > Early MIA. « -ttā- » has been dropped as in « cāri » *4*, but Sinhalese preserves the dental ( « hataḷiha = sataḷisa < MIA. cattālīsa » : there is also « sāḷisa », which is late). The dropping of the « -tt- » is already found in Second MIA., in Jaina Ardha-māgadhī. In the compound forms for the fifth decade, « -c- » remains in একচালিশ or চাল্লিশ or চল্লিশ « ēkạ́-cāl(l)iśạ́, -càlliśạ́ » *41*, (ে)ছচল্লিশ « chēcàlliśạ́, chà- » *46*, সাতচল্লিশ « sātạ́-càlliśạ́ » *47*, and আটচল্লিশ « āṭạ́-càlliśạ́ » *48* ; it is dropped in বিয়াল্লিশ « biyālliśạ́ » *49* (< « *bàyālīśạ́ » etc. : cf. Oṛiyā « bàyāḷiśạ́ » ) and চুয়াল্লিশ « cuālliśạ́ » *44* ( < « *cō-āliśạ́, *cau-ālīśa) ; and it is altered to « -t- » in তেতাল্লিশ « tē-tālliśạ́ » *43* and পঁয়তাল্লিশ « pāyạ́-tālliśạ́ » *45*. In Māgadhī, we would expect the « -c- » to remain (see *supra*, p. 468). The form « -tālīsạ́ » is found in other NIA., and it is obscure : can it be due to some dialectal shortening of « cattālīsa », through loss of the initial syllable ?

**526.** *The Fifties.*

For *49* and *50*, we have পঞ্চাশ and উনপঞ্চাশ, ‡ উনঞ্চাশ « pàñcāśạ́, unà(pà)ñcāśạ́ », where the full « ñ » is due to *ts.* influence ( see p. 789). In the compound forms OIA. « -pañcāśat » occurs as পন্ন পান্ন, অন্ন আন্ন « -pànnà

> -pānnā, -ānnā, -ānnā », dialectally পন « -pānṛ », with one « -n- », in Bengali. The forms of dialectal Bengali, of Oṛiyā (*e.g.*, « ēkābānā, bābānā, tēpānā, chāppānā » etc.), of Assamese (*e.g.*, « bāuwān ; cāuwan ; sātāwān » etc. beside « bāuwānnā, cāuwānnā, sātānnā »), of Maithilī (ekāwan, bāwan, tirpan, cāuwan, pacpan » etc.), of Hindōstānī, and of other NIA. speeches would show that the double « -nn- » is a late development within Standard Bengali itself. OIA. « pañcāśat » in the form « *pannāsa > *pannāha > pannā », already found in the Eastern speech of Aśōkan, became established in some standard form of Early MIA. In Second MIA., it occurs as « paṇṇāsaṁ, paṇṇāsā, pannā, -paṇṇaṁ, -vaṇṇaṁ » (in Jaina Ardha-māgadhī. The contraction of « -āśat » to « -āsa, * āha > -ā, -aṁ » thus occurred already fairly early in Prācya (Western Prācya) : although the change « -ñc- > -nn- » is inexplicable for this dialect. The change seems to have been through « *pañjāśat, pannāha » (see *supra*, p. 789), and not through « *pañcāśát, *pañcesat, *pañcat », as Pischel suggests ('Grammatik der Pkt.-Sprachen,' § 445, p. 317). The NIA. « -pan, -wan » in composition comes from this contracted MIA. « -pannaṁ, -wannaṁ », Aśōkan « -pannā » : the uncontracted form of MIA., *viz.* « -pannāsa, *-pannāha » would have given NIA. « *panā », in composition « *-wanā », which is not found.

In Bengali বাহান্ন « bāhānnā » *52* we have euphonic « h » (p. 341 ; for « *bāwānṛ, bāwānā », cf. Oṛiyā « bābānā » ). In তিপ্পান্ন « tippānnā » *53* the doubling is due either to the influence of ছাপ্পান্ন « chāppānnā », or to the Hindōstānī *sts.*, with « r » — « tirpan », by assimilation in Bengali of the « -r- » with the following consonant (see *supra*, p. 541) : the native Bengali form, now obsolete, seems to have been like the Oṛiyā « tēpānā ». A form তিয়ান্ন or তেয়ান্ন « tiyānnā, tēyānnā », also native Bengali, occurs. চুয়ান্ন « cuānnā » *54* is for « *cō-ānṛ, *cāu-ānṛ » : cf. Assamese « cāu-wān ». The dialectal পাঁচপন « pāṁc-pānṛ » (Central and East Bengal) represents the genuine Bengali form, and not the Standard পঞ্চান্ন « pāñcānnā ». The other numerals show no anomaly, except the doubling of the « -n- ».

**527.** *The Sixties.*

The word for *sixty* is ষাট = « ṣāṭṛ » in Standard Bengali, ষাইট « ṣāiṭṛ » ষোট « ṣāĩṭ » in Eastern and other dialectal Bengali, = Assamese « ṣāṭhi »,

Oṛiyā « ṣāṭhiĕ », and it is regularly derived from OIA. « ṣaṣṭi ». The form with ঠ, ষাঠ « ṣāṭhṛ » is also found. In the compound numerals, in Bengali the ট « -ṭ- » is doubled: একষট্টি « ēkṛ-ṣāṭṭi » *61*, বাষট্টি « bā-ṣāṭṭi » *62*, পঁয়ষট্টি « pāyṛ-ṣāṭṭi » *65* etc. Oṛiyā has the *tbl.* form « -ṣaṭhi ». The final « -i » in the compound forms, again, is anomalous: contrast উনষাট « unā-sāṭṛ » *59*, with proper loss of final « -i » ( see *supra*, pp. 307 ff).

**528.** *The Seventies.*

OIA. « saptati » certainly first changed to « *saptaṭi » by spontaneous ceberalisation, and then in MIA. (as the source of the NIA. forms) to « *sattaṭi, *sattaḍi, sattari » quite early. In Pali occur both « sattati » and « sattari ». It is very likely that there was the influence of « sattaraha » = « sapta-daśa » in bringing about the change of the « -t- > -ṭ- > -ḷ- » to « -r- ». The double « -tt- » is anomalous for Bengali; it is found also in Bihārī, in Hindī, in Marāṭhī. It is quite normal in Panjābī, and the double « -tt- » may have been imposed from the Panjab dialects on Hindī and on the rest. Gujarātī has one « -t- » (agṇōtēr = *69*, sītēr = *70*, ikōtēr = *71*, b[ō]hōtēr = *72*, etc.). It would seem from the Oṛiyā and Assamese forms that in East Magadhan at least, the normal NIA. form with one « -t- » was the rule. But Bengali (in common with the Bihārī dialects) seems to have adopted the Western forms in « -tt- ». In compound forms, « sattari » changes to « -hattari » in most NIA. This, again, seems not to have characterised Magadhan, at least East Magadhan: the sibilant is preserved as a sibilant in Oṛiyā (uṇā-stōri, ēkā-stōri, bā-stōri, etc.), and undergoes the normal change to [x] in Assamese, although written শ « s » (bā-sātār, tē-sātār, cāu-sātār etc.): cf. also Bengali উনসত্তর « unā-sāttāṛṛ » *69*, with the sibilant and not « *unā(-h)āttāṛṛ ». Bengali thus in all likelihood agreed with its immediate sisters Assamese and Oṛiyā in having « -s- » and single « -t- » throughout in the eighth decade. The « -h- » (in what may be called the Western, non-Māgadhī or 'new forms' for the eighth decade of Bengali) is preserved in dialectal Bengali, *e.g.*, ‡ « ēkṛ-hāttāṛṛ, pāṅcṛ-hāttāṛṛ, sātṛ-hāttāṛṛ, āṭṛ-hāttāṛṛ », but in the Standard Colloquial it is dropped as an intervocal sound, except in বাহাত্তর « bāhāttāṛṛ » *72*.

**529.** *The Eighties.*

The OIA. « aśīti » quite regularly gives আশী « āśī » in Bengali, with change of initial « ă- » to « ā- » (see *supra* p. 314). The doubling of the « -s- » in Panjābī and Hindōstānī « assī » is peculiar, and seems to have originated in the Panjab: it was this doubling which possibly preserved it from changing to « -h- » in the Panjab dialects (cf. OIA. « kṛtá, *ditá, pītá » > « *kitta-, *ditta-, *pitta- » > Panjābī « kittā, dittā, pītā »). The Sinhalese « asū, asūva », with intervocal sibilant preserved, would seem to be based on a MIA. « *ass- » rather than on « as- » (cf. W. Geiger, 'Litteratur und Sprache der Singhalesen,' § 21, 22). The Sindhī « ăsī » would equally be based on an earlier « *assī ». It seems that a form with doubled « -s- » characterised the IA. speeches of the North-West and the South-West from MIA. times: « *assī(m̐) »; and it is also extremely likely that there was a nasalised form of it, « *aṅsī(m̐) » (through spontaneous nasalisation: see *supra*, pp. 368 ff.), which gave by epenthesis the Marāṭhī « aiśī, ẽśī » and Gujarātī « ẽśī, hẽśī » (cf. Old Western Rājasthānī « aïsi »: L. P. Tessitori, 'Notes on the Grammar of OWR.,' § 80).

In the compound forms, Panjābī and Hindōstānī show an intrusive « -r- » in « ti-r-āsī », which is apparently due to the analogy of « curāsī », where it is original ( = catur-aśīti). Bengali has this « -r- » form, তিরাশী (by Vowel Harmony তিরেশী, ‡ তিরিশি ) « tirāśī, tirēśī, ‡ tiriśi »; and the « -r- » has been further extended to বিরাশী, বিরেশী, ‡ বিরিশি, « birāśī > birēśī, ‡ biriśi ». Maithilī also has « bĕrāśī » beside « bĕāsī ». The « -r- » forms for *82, 83* do not seem to be proper for Māgadhī, but rather due to Western influence: cf. Oṛiyā « bâyāśī, tẽyāśī », but চুরাশী « curāṣi » *84* is quite proper (« cōrāśī < *caür-āsī » ). For *89*, Bengali has a contracted উনাশী « unāśī » beside a fuller উনআশী « unâ-āśī ».

**530.** *The Nineties.*

The word for *ninety* has two forms: নই « nâi », and নব্বই, নব্বুই « nâbbâi, nâbbui ». The former is the native Māgadhī form: OIA. « navati > *navaï > *naaï > *nawaï > nâi > nâi », Assamese « nâi ». The second one with geminated « -bb- » is not genuine Bengali: cf. Hindī « nawē, nawwē », Panjābī « nabbē, nawwē », Sindhī « navē <

*navvaï », Marāṭhī « navvad » with MIA. « -d- » preserved (< *navvaddi ?). Bihārī « nabbāi », Oṛiyā « nābē < *nabbaï » are similar Western forms. In Pali, the form is « navuti »; and the Ardha-māgadhī « naüiṁ » and Jaina Mahārāṣṭrī « naüī » are based on an Early MIA. form with « -u- » like the Pali one. Gujarātī « nēvū » and Sinhalese « anū(va) » alone represent these attested MIA. forms in « -u- ».

As in the case of the *Eighties*, we find the intrusive « -r- » in বিরান(ব্ব)ই « bi-r-ā-nā(bbā)i » *92*, তিরান(ব্ব)ই « ti-r-ā-nā(bb)āi » *93*, নিরান(ব্ব)ই « ni-r-ā-nā(bbā)i » *99*, on the model apparently of চুরান(ব্ব)ই « curā-nā(bbā)i » *94* (caturnavati). On the analogy of the « -ā- » in the *Eighties* (ēkāśī < ēkāśīti, pācāśī < pañcāśīti, sātāśī < saptāśīti, āṭāśī < aṣṭāśīti), the *Nineties* all over the NIA. area show an intrusive « -ā- »: একান(ব্ব)ই « ēk-ā-nā(bbā)i » Marāṭhī « ekyāṇṇav » *91*, Hindī « nawānawē » Gujarātī « nayāṇū » *99*, etc.

**531.** *Hundred* is শ' « śā, sō », in combination generally pronounced « sō » (*e.g.*, একশ [ækʃo], সওয়াশো [ʃoðaʃo] = *125*, দুশো [duʃo], পাঁচশ [pãʃʃo] etc.): a regular development out of OIA. « śata- » (śaa, OB. *śawa, MB. *śā). Oṛiyā is also « śā », and Assamese [xɔ:]. The diphthongal forms « sai, sau » ( < saya, sawa) as in Biharī, Hindī and Panjābī are now unknown to Bengali, as also the nasalised forms as in Marāṭhī (śē) and Gujarātī (sō), preserving the « anusvāra » of MIA. (pp. 358-359, *supra*). The form শয় « śāyṛ » = « sai » of Hindī etc., however, occurred in Early Bengali: thus in the proverbial lines—

নরা গজা বিশে শয়। তার অর্দ্ধেক বাঁচে হয় ॥
বাইশ বলদা, তের ছাগলা। গুণে গেছে বরা পাগলা ॥

« nārā gājā biśē śāyṛ, tārṛ ārdhēkṛ bācē hāyṛ;
bāīśṛ bāḷḍā, tērā chāgḍlā: guṇē gēchē Bārā pāgḍlā »

*A man, and an elephant, hundred and twenty; half of that lives a horse;*
*An ox twenty-two, a goat thirteen: so has computed the mad-cap Barā ( = Varāha-mihira ),*

where বিশে শয় « biśē śāyṛ » = *hundred with twenty* (« biśē » = either « biś-ā » by Vowel-Harmony, or « biś-iyā », adjective from « biśṛ » *20*, with « -ā »

affix, p. 658 *supra*, or « -iyā » affix, p. 674), is an idiom corresponding to the Hindōstānī « bīsā sau » (J. T. Platts, 'Hindustani Grammar,' p. 53). The form « sau » also occurred in OB : cf. Mayang (of Manipur) « āk-hau-gō » *hundred*, where « hau » < « sau ».

**532.** The word for *thousand* is a Persian borrowing, হাজার « hājār » (< hazār, Avestan hazaŋra), in Assamese « hēzār », which has superseded the native word (from OIA. « sahasra ») in all NIA. Was it because the native IA. word had fallen into disuse in the spoken forms of Late MIA. and Early NIA. when the Persian language came into India with the Turkī and Tājīk invaders? It is not unlikely that a composition like « daśa-śata » had restricted or made obsolete the single word « sahasrā > sahassa, śahaśśa » etc. in IA., making it possible for the Persian « hazār » to meet the want of a single term in the popular language. The Sinhalese « dahasa » *1,000*, which seems to be better explained as a composition of « daśa + śata » rather than as a modification of « sahasa = sahasra » (Jules Bloch, 'Langue Marathe,' p. 222), and the use of « das sau » for *1,000*, etc. in Hindōstānī (cf. Platts, 'Hindustani Grammar,' p. 53) and in other NIA. would support this assumption. The native Indian (*tbh.*) word seems to be present in a few compounds, *e.g.*, শাশমল « śāśa-mālā » *a surname* (= sahasrā-malla ?), সাহস রাম « sāhasa-rāma » *a personal name* ( = « sahasra-rāma » ? : the *ts.* form is also found as a name).

**533.** For *100,000*, লাখ « lākha » < « lakṣa » is native Indian. For *10,000,000* the word is কোটী, কোটি « kōṭī, kōṭi », of unknown origin, which occurs also in Sanskrit. The forms কোড়, কোর « krōṛa, krōra » (= Anglo-Indian *crore*) are in common use in Bengali : the corresponding form in Hindī is « karōṛ » : « krōṛa, karōṛ = krōḍa » seems to be a false Sanskritisation of a vernacular « *kōḍa, kōḍi » agreeing with the *ts.* « kōṭi » : cf. Caryā 2, « koḍi-mājhē ēku-hiahī » *among ten millions, in the heart of one only.* In the feeling of Bengali speakers, « krōṛa » is the more learned form, a better Sanskrit word than « kōṭi » : we find it in compounds like কোড়পতি, কোড়েশ্বর « krōṛa-pāti, krōṛēśwāra » etc., side by side with কোটিপতি, কোটীশ্বর « kōṭi-pāti, kōṭīśwāra ».

**534.** *The Fractional Numbers.*

The following are common to all NIA., and are easily explained. (Cf. S. K. Chatterji ' Prācīn Bāṅgalā "āhuṭha, āuṭa" Ō Sārddha-saṅkhyā-bācak Śabdābalī ' in the VSPdP., 1330, pp. 113-117).

¼: পো, পোআ, পোয়া « pō, pōā » < MIA. « pāwa-, pāa- », OIA. « pāda- » The change of « -āwa- » to « -ō- » is against the general phonetic development of this group in Bengali: see *supra*, pp. 349-350: the form expected should have been « *pā »: cf. Oṛiyā « pā » *quarter*, « pāē » *one quarter* (cf. also Bengali পাই « pāi » *pie, pice* = « pādikā »). This alteration certainly indicates extraneous influence (cf. Hindī « pāw »; cf. also Bengali conjunction তো « tō » = MIA. « tāva », OIA. « tāvat »).

½: the common Bengali word is আধ « ādha » *half*, আধা « ādhā » *half portion*, Oṛiyā « ādhā » *half*, « ādhē » *one-half*; OB. « adha = ādha »: < OIA. « ardha ». The absence of cerebralisation (we would expect « -rdh- » to change to « -ḍḍh- ») shows that it is aJnon-Māgadhī form. The native Māgadhī equivalent seems to occur as আড় « āṛa » in a number of compounds, *e.g.*, আড়-পাগল « āṛa-pāgala » *half-mad*, আড়-বাঁকা « āṛa-bāṅkā » *half aslant*, আড়-মাদ্‌লা « āṛa-mādala » *half-drum shaped, not fully oblong*, আড়ে গেলা « āṛē gēlā » *swallow half chewed*; cf. besides দেড় « dēṛa » 1½, সাড়ে « sāṛē » *plus half*, আড়াই « āṛāi » 2½. The Gujarātī « aḍhō » ½ is peculiar, and may be a blend of « aḍḍha » and « addha ».

⅓: তেহাই « tēhāi » (tri-bhāgika): rather archaic.

1½: দেড় « dēṛa », earlier « dēṛhā » as in Oṛiyā, = MIA. (Māgadhī) « diaḍḍha », OIA. « dvyardha ». Colloquially, we find occasionally ডেড় « ḍēṛa » in Bengali, and there are forms in other NIA. also which show cerebralisation of the initial dental: *e.g.*, Hindī « ḍēṛ(h) » beside ḍaṛhā, ḍōṛhā », Panjābī « dēṛh, ḍēōṛhā, dūṛhā, ḍūṛh » beside « dōṛhā ».

2½: আড়াই « āṛāi », Oṛiyā « aṛhāi » (with earlier « -ṛh- »), = MIA. « aḍ,hatīya » (cf. Aśōkan « aḍhatiya »: Sahasram), a true Māgadhī form showing also haplology of « -t- » < OIA « ardha-tṛtīya ». A MIA. form « *aḍḍha-titīya » gave Gujarātī « aṛī, haṛī »; and the Marāṭhī « aḍīe » represents another (Early) MIA. form like « *aḍḍha-titiyya » (= Second MIA. « *aḍḍha-iijja », whence « *aḍḍhijja > *aḍhīja > aḍīe »).

3½ : Early MB. আহঠ « āhuṭhà » (as in the ŚKK., pp. 55, 153), Late MB. আউঠ « āuṭà, āuṭṭ » : from OIA. « ardha-caturtha », through MIA. « *aḍḍha-catuṭṭha > *aḍḍha-yaduṭṭha > *aḍḍha-aüṭṭha > aḍḍh'uṭṭha »; then by dissimilation of one the cerebral groups, « *ahuṭṭha », and finally « āhuṭha » in OB. (The form « aḍḍhuṭṭha » occurs in Jaina Ardha-Māgadhī, and it has been falsely Sanskritised into « adhyuṣṭa »). This word has now become obsolete in Bengali, but its cognate forms are found in the Bihārī dialects, in Hindī, and in other NIA. (Cf. Hoernle, Gauḍian Grammar, §§ 413-416; Kellogg, Hindī Grammar², pp. 159, 161).

*Plus* ¼ : সওয়া « sâŏā, sâwā », Oṛiyā « sâuyā = sâuā » : < MIA. « savāa- » = OIA. « sapāda- ». It is an adjective, found in all other NIA. (Hindī adjective « sawā » = « sapāda », noun « sawāī » = « sapādikā »).

*Plus* ½ : সাড়ে « sāṛē », also in Oṛiyā; = Hindī « sāṛhē ». From OIA. « sārdha- » > MIA. (Māgadhī) « *śaḍḍha- », NIA. « sāḍha- ». The absence of the « -ṛh- » in Oṛiyā shows that it is not a native form of it. « sāṛhē » is an oblique or plural form, < « *saḍḍhahi » : cf. also Gujarātī « sāṛā », the expected singular nominative form of which would have been « *sāṛō ».

*A quarter less* : পৌনে « pâunē »; also « pâunē » in Oṛiyā. The source is OIA. « pādôna- » *a quarter less.* The alteration of « -ādō- » > MIA. » -āō- » to « -âu- » (cf. p. 351 *supra*), and the presence in the Oṛiyā form of the dental « -n- » instead of the expected cerebral « -ṇ- », indicate that the word is not proper Bengali and Oṛiyā, or Eastern Magadhan. « pâunē » is an adjective, qualifying the number following it, which is reduced by a quarter: পৌনে দুই « pâunē dui » = *2 minus* ¼ = 1¾; পৌনে আট « pâunē āṭṭ » = 7¾; etc. Its use with এক « ēkṭ » is recent, and is found to denote only the hour, *e.g.*, পৌনে একটা « pâunē ēkṭā » *quarter to one.* The « -ē » in « pâunē » seems to be the plural « -ahi » (*supra*, p. 724): cf. also Gujarātī « pōṇō » ¾, but « pōṇā bē » 1¾, with « -ā » indicating plural. For ¾, the native Bengali is তিন পো(আ) « tin-pō(ā) = Oṛiyā « tini pā ».

**535.** Adjectives are not declined in Bengali, although in the oldest period we find concord between a subject and its predicate (adjective or verb) in so far as the latter takes up the feminine affix if the former is feminine (see *supra*, p. 721). In the Caryās, however, we find that the numerals

sometimes take case-affixes corresponding to the nouns they qualify: *e.g.*, « tiniẽ pāṭẽ » (see *supra*, p. 743); « ēkē śara-sandhānẽ » *with one aiming of the arrow* (Caryā 28); « daśam-i duāra-ta » *in the tenth door* (Caryā 2).

**536.** *The Ordinals.*

The use of the *tbh.* ordinal forms has been greatly curtailed in Bengali. They are now restricted, to indicate the days of the months, and besides occur in one or two stereotyped expressions. The *ts.* ordinals have entirely replaced them in the « sādhu-bhāṣā », and these have found a permanent place in the Colloquial also. As there is no native affix in living use to form ordinals, and as *tbh.* ordinals beyond *32* (the largest number of days for a month) are not much used, the language is helpless in expressing ideas like *84th* or *105th*, and must borrow Skt. words—unfamiliar-looking enough for Bengali—like « caturaśīti-tama » and « pañca-viṅśaty-adhika-śata-tama ». It has been sought to naturalise the Skt. affix « -tama » in Bengali, by using it with *tbh.* numerals (*e.g.*, চুরাশী-তম « curāśī-tama » *84th*, এক-শ-পঁচি-তম « ēkṛ-śa-pāciśṛ-tama » *105th*), but such hybrids are extremely artificial, and have not succeeded.

In the Colloquial, however, the *genitive of the cardinal* numeral expresses its ordinal: *e.g.*, দশের পাতা « daśēr̥ pātā » *the tenth page*. Also the word qualified by the cardinal is put in the genitive in a cumbrous construction in some cases, as follows: the cardinal numeral + the word in the genitive + the word itself: *e.g.*, ষাট দিনের দিন « ṣāṭṛ dinēr̥ dinṛ » *the sixtieth day*, তিন-শ বারের বার « tin-śābārēr̥ bārṛ » *the 300th occasion*; etc.

The Forms for the Ordinals occurring in Bengali are:

*First* = NB. পয়লা < পয়েলা « pāẏlā < pāhēlā », MB. OB. « pahila- » (cf. Caryās 12, 20). The source of this form, which occurs in all NIA., is an OIA. « pra-tha+-ila », becoming in MIA. « *paṭhilla, *pathilla > *paḍhilla, *pahilla ». The Skt. « prathama » is a blend of « pra-tama » (cf. Avestan fratəma) and « pra-tha » (with ordinal « -tha », as in « catur-tha, ṣaṣ-ṭha, sapta-tha » ). Equivalents of « prathama », as well as of an elaborate « prathama+ila » occur in the Prakrits. The Bengali form « pahila » is non-Māgadhī in origin, as shown by the absence of cerebralisation.

*Second, Third.* The Bengali words in use are দোসরা and তেসরা « dōsạ́rā, tēsạ́rā », which are probably new Magadhan formations with the cardinal bases *plus* an affix « sar-ā » (No. 57, p. 700). The OIA. forms were « dvitīya (dvitya) » and « tṛtīya ». The former apparently gave (i) a MIA. « *dutiyya, *duijja, *du(y)ajja », whence we have the Early Bengali দুঅজ (ŚKK.) > দোয়জ > দোজ « duàjà > dōyàjạ́ > dōjạ́ » and Hindī « dūj »; and (ii) a MIA. « biiyya, biijja », whence Marāṭhī and Gujarātī « bīj »; besides (iii) the form « docca, ducca » (< dvitya), which is not represented in NIA. The latter (i.e. the OIA. « tṛtīya ») through MIA. « *titiyya, tiijja, *ti(y)ajja » gave Bengali তিঅজ (ŚKK.) > তেজ « tiàjà, tējạ́ », besides Hindī, Marāṭhī and Gujarātī « tīj ». The change of « -īya » to « ijja, -yajja, -aja » (through a doubling of « -y- », which first took place in Early MIA.), is not Prācya, or Śaurasēnī: at least it is certainly non-Magadhan (see *supra*, p. 476). In Bengali দুঅজ, তিঅজ occur in the ŚKK., but they were replaced by *tss.* « dvitīya, tṛtīya », except in the expressions দোজ-ব'রে, < তেজ-ব'রে « dōjạ́-bàrē, tējạ́-bàrē < bàr-iyā » = *a bride-groom for the second and third time.*

*Fourth*: চৌঠা « càuṭhā » (by Vowel Harmony চৌঠো « càuṭhō »), MB. (ŚKK.) চউঠ « càūṭhà- »; in (Śaurasēnī) Apabhraṅśa as written in Bengal, it occurs as « cauṭhṭha = cauṭṭha » (cf. 'Dōhā-kōṣa' of Saraha, p. 117 of 'Bauddha Gān Ō Dōhā'). In Maithilī also we have « cauṭh ». The cerebral « -ṭh- » indicates that it is derived from a Mā̆gadhī « *caüṭṭha, caduṭṭha » < « catuṭṭha < caturtha ». Other NIA. speeches show the un-cerebralised « cauth », and Bengali has borrowed this form (চৌথ « càuthạ́ ») from Hindō̆stāni and Marāṭhī, meaning the *fourth part of a sum of money in a transaction*, and *a fourth of the revenue.*

Upto the ordinal for *4*, NB. shows diverse ordinal affixes, « -tha + ila; -sara; -tha »; *plus* the definitive or adjectival « -ā » affix (No. 6, p. 658). For the ordinals for *5* to *18*, we have a generalised OIA. ordinal affix « -ma » + NIA. « -i > -ī > -ikā, -ika ». Thus *fifth* is পাঁচুই < *পাঁচঈ « pā̆cui < *pā̆càī » < « *pañcamikā, -ikā » for OIA. « pañca-ma »; *sixth* = ছঁউই < *ছঅঁঈ, *ছৱঁঈ « chāui < *chàāī, *chaw̃aī » < MIA. « *chaamia < chaamikā » (« chà + ma » for « ṣaṣ-ṭha » of Skt.); *seventh* = সাতুই < *সাতঈ

« sātui < *sātāī » < MIA. « sattamika », for Skt. « sapta-ma »; so to আঠারুই < *আঠারঈ « āṭhārui < *āṭhārāī » *eighteenth*, representing a MIA. « *aṭṭhārasamika » (cf. Pali « aṭṭhārasama » = Skt. « aṣṭādaśá » : the Skt. in the ordinals from *11th* to *19th* simply shifts the accent to the last syllable, « -daśá », which takes the masculine, feminine and neuter affixes as an adjective). The ordinal « -ma » (> Late MIA « -w̃a ») has lost its nasalisation in Standard Bengali, except in ছঁউই « chāui » *sixth* : in Hindōstānī the nasal is retained as « -wā̃ (= w̃ā) »; and the nasal also is found in other NIA., either as « -m- » or as a mere nasalisation of the vowel.

From *19* onwards, the affix is ইয়া « -iyā », contracted to এ « -ē », an adjectival form (= No. 26, p. 674) : thus * উনিশিয়া, উনিশে « *uniśiyā > uniśē », dialectal উনইশ্যা « unāiśyā » *19th*; so পঁচিশে « pāciśē » *25th*, চল্লিশে « cālliśē » *40th*. Indication of the ordinals by a definite affix is exceedingly rare beyond the fourth decade.

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## CHAPTER IV

## THE PRONOUN

**537.** The Pronoun in Bengali takes the same case affixes and post-positions as the Noun, but it has, unlike the Noun, a definite oblique form to which the affixes and post-positions are added. This oblique form is generally the old genitive, as in Late MIA. There has also been an extension of the new genitive in « -ra » to form a new oblique or plural in MB. and NB.

### [A] The Pronoun for the First Person.

**538.** OIA. « aham » *I* was extended to « *aha-ka-m » with the pleonastic « -ka- », and in 'Old Māgadhī' « ahakaṁ » was the word for *I*. Aśvaghōṣa employs it in the 'Old Māgadhī' of his dramas (H. Lüders, 'Bruchstücke,' p. 36). In the Prakrit (Māgadhī) of 'Bhāsa,' the form is « ahakē », with the characteristic Māgadhī affix « -ē » (Sukthankar, 'Studies in Bhāsa,' JAOS., Vol. 40, pp. 248-259); and « ahakē » occurs in the Māgadhī of the Second MIA. period, as in other Skt. dramas, as « hakē, hagē » and « haggē », the last being certainly an emphatic form. The loss of the initial syllable is at least as old as the 3rd century B.C., long before the time of Aśvaghōṣa and Bhāsa. In the eastern inscriptions of Aśōka, we have « hakaṁ »: so that « ahakaṁ, ahakē » in the former writers, and « ahaẏaṁ < ahakaṁ » in Jaina Ardhamāgadhī would appear to be literary and archaic forms. By 300 A.D., it would appear that two forms were to be found in Māgadhī, « hakaṁ (*hagaṁ), hakē (hagē) » for the OIA. « aham ». Against these, New Bengali shows nothing. But in the Old Bengali of the Caryās, there is the form « hāu » = *I*, apparently for « *hāu, *haũ », which occurs four times: « tu lō ḍōmbī, hāu kapālī » *thou, oh, (art) a Ḍōm woman, (while) I (am) a Kāpālika* (Caryā 10); « hāu sutēli » *I slept* (18); « hāu nirāsī » *I am 'Sans-Esperance'* (20); and « hāu acchilē ( = *āchilō? *ūchila?) »

*I was* (35). OB. « hẽu » can be compared with Gujarātī « hũ » and Brajbhākhā « hũ » *I*. Of the two Māgadhī forms « hakaṁ, hakĕ », the former can only give OB. « hẽu » (see *supra*, p. 359); while the latter could be represented in OB. only by a form « *haï, *hai » (< *haĕ < hagĕ). It is just possible that in Māgadhī Apabhraṁśa, « *hai » was current, side by side with « *haũ ». The nasalised form, however, ousted the other one, and in the struggle the former was in all likelihood strengthened by Western Apabhraṁśa which also had « haũ ». At the same time « *haï » itself may have influenced the formation of the verb substantive first person — « asmi, *asāmi > *asami > *ahimi > *ahiwi > *haïwi > *hai > haï », and of the affix « -i » for the first person present of the verb. By initial stress, however, Māg. Ap. « *hãũ » could become « hẽu » in OB.

In MB., « hẽn » as the old nominative fell out of use, and the old instrumental took its place : but « hẽu » seems to have (given or at least influenced) the affix for the first person to the bases for the past and future tenses of the verb in Bengali and Assamese (see *infra*, under Verb : 'Personal Affixes').

**539.** The OIA. instrumental « mayā » occurs in Second MIA. as « maĕ, maï », in (Western) Apabhraṁśa as « mai ». The nasalisation in Apabhraṁśa (also preserved in NIA., *e.g.*, Hindī and Panjābī « maĩ », Gujarātī « mẽ », Sindhī « mũ ») would indicate an influence from the instrumental affix for the noun (-ēna > -ẽ : maĩ < *may'ēna = mayā). The OB. equivalent is « maï » (= ? « maĩ » : the nasalisation can well be omitted in Bengali writing, see *supra* p. 362), which is found in Caryās 16, 18, 27, 29, 30, 35 (thrice), 36, 39 ; and a contracted form « ma » also occurs (Caryās 10, 13). This is as yet instrumental in OB., being used in the passive construction with the past or future (in « -il-, -ib- ») of a transitive verb : *e.g.*, Caryā 35—

« ēta-kāla hẽu acchilẽ (= āchilõ ? āchila ? ) sva-mōhẽ :
ēbẽ maï bujhila sadguru-bōhẽ »

*For such a long time I was in my own ignorance :*
*Now by me it has been understood through the good master's instruction.*

The nominative « hāu », however, became obsolete, and the instrumental « mai (maī) » assumed its function. The confusion between the active and passive constructions, with gradual disuse of the latter, was both a cause and an effect of the interchange of the instrumental and the nominative, or of the use of the former for the latter (see also pp. 166, 742).

The oblique base « mō » (see below, § 541), with the instrumental « -ē̃ » from the noun gave a new instrumental « mōē̃, mōē », which is found as early as OB.: cf. Caryā 10, « tōhōra antare mōē ghalili hāḍēri māli » *for thy sake the chaplet of bones has been cast off by me.* This quite early became confused with « mai (maī) »; and « mōē, mai » in MB. occur in a bewildering variety of spellings (see § p. 811) as forms of practically one word.

In NB., this instrumental-nominative is found as মুই « mui » (= Assamese « māī », Oṛiyā « mū »; it occurred in Bihārī as « mē̃ », but there it is now obsolete). The Bengali মুই « mui » is almost archaic, and then it is found only among certain lower classes in different parts of Bengal: consequently it is considered as a vulgar form now (cf. the phrase তুই-মুই করা « tui-mui kārā » = *use insulting or inferior language*, which does not have the sense of affectionate intimacy indicated by the French « tutoyer »).

**540.** The ordinary form for *I* is আমি « āmi » which was originally the plural of « haū, maī ». It comes from a common MIA. « amhē » = OIA. (Vedic) « asmē » for « vayam »: « asmē > *ămhē > *ămhi, *ămbhi > *āmhi, *āmbhi »: the NB. equivalent of which ought to be *আম্ « ām », with loss of final « -i » (see *supra*, § 151: we have « -ām » no doubt as an affix for the verb, where, however, there was influence of other forms: see *infra*, under Verb: 'Personal Affixes'). In the Caryās, we find « āmhē, āhmē, ăhmē (= ămhē), ămbhē »: thus, Caryā 4 « ahmē bīrā » = Skt. comm. « vīrō' ham » (properly = « vīrāḥ vayam »); « āmhē sāṇē diṭhā » = « asmābhiḥ saṁjñayā dṛṣṭam » (Caryā 1); « āhmē dēhū » = *I give*, lit. *we give* (Caryā 19): « ambhē na jāṇāhū » *we know not* (Caryā 22). The form in « -i » is not found in the Caryās, although the MIA. « amhē » is expected

to give « *āmhi » in OB.: and it is seen, the form in « -ē » is used both for the nominative and the instrumental. In the ŚKK., we have both আম্হী, আম্হি « āhmī, -i=āmhi » (only 6 times) and আম্হে, আম্হেঁ « āhmē, -ē= āmhē » (some 30 times): and there is not the least distinction between the two forms. The group « -hm-=mh » represents an aspirated « -m- », an inheritance from MIA. which continued down to Early MB. times, to lose its aspiration by the 16th century. Oṛiyā has only the « -ē » form, « āmbhē ». The « -ē » form would seem to represent the Late MIA. instrumental: « asmābhiḥ > *amhahī > « āmhē, āmbhē »; and the « -i » form, the original nominative (see *supra*, p. 309). But already from before OB. times, there was a confusion between them, with the result that « -ē » practically ousted the « -i » in OB. and MB., (as we can see from OB., and from the preponderance of « -ē » forms in the ŚKK., as well as from Oṛiyā), but later this « -ē » itself seems to have become « -i » or to give place to the latter.

The transference of « āmhi, āmhē » from plural to singular took place in OB., as we can see from the Caryās. It became identical with « māi, mui, mōē » etc. in Early MB. Doubtless, the plural when first used for the singular was characteristic of polite or formal speech: cf. Oṛiyā « mū » inferior, and « āmbhē » polite, formal, and respectful. The old plural sense of « āmi » is still preserved in Assamese, where « āmi » always = *we*, never=*I*. Cf. also Western Hindī « haũ » (Brajbhākhā), « maĩ » (Hindōstānī and Brajbhākhā), plural « ham »; Gujarātī « hũ », plural « amē »; Panjābī « maĩ », plural « as(s)ī »; Marāṭhī « mī », plural « āmhī »: which still continue faithful to the OIA. in point of number. The Bihārī dialects have now made the original singular obsolete, the plural « ham » being the one used for *I*. The proper plural use of « āmi » however is occasionally found in MB., as late as the 16th century: *e.g.*, in the 'Caitanya-Bhāgavata' of Vṛndāvana-dāsa, we find forms like আমি দুই পাতকীর « āmi dui pātākīr » *of us two sinners*, আমার উদ্ধারে « āmār uddhārē » *through our salvation*, আমি দ্রোহ কৈলুঁ « āmi drōhā kailũ » *we did offence* (p. 258, ed. Atul Kṛṣṇa Gōswāmī).

**541.** মুই, আমি « mui, āmi » are the nominative forms of Bengali, and their history is given above. There are the oblique forms মো « mō- »

and আমা « āmā- », to which the inflections and post-positions (accusative-dative « -ē », « -rē », « -kē », genitive « -rā », locative « -tē », instrumental « dwārā, diyā » etc.) are added to form the various cases. « mō- » is the OIA. genitive « mama », which (through Māgadhī Apabhraṁśa and OB. « *maw̃a ») occurs already in OB. Another form is « ma- », found in OB. side by side with « mō ». Following the oblique forms of the other pronouns (see *infra*) and the old genitive of the nouns, which optionally preserve the « -ha » (see *supra*, p. 752), « mō- » took up the « -ha » from OB. times, and was thus extended to « mō-ha- ». Inflected forms on the basis of this « mō- (ma-), mō-ha » oblique in the Caryās are: « mō-ē » instrumental (Caryā 10); « mō-ra » (Caryās 20, 33, 49), « mōhō-ra » (Caryā 20)=genitive forms qualifying masculine or neuter, and « mō-ri »=genitive qualifying feminine noun (Caryā 36); and « mōha-kakhu, ma-kū = mō-kū » dative (Caryā 35). In MB., beside মো « mō- », the extended forms of this oblique base are মোহ, মোহো, মহ, মহো « mōhā-, mōhō-, māhā-, māhō- ». The instrumental form « mō-ē » occurs in the spellings মোএ, মোএঁ, মোঞঁ, মোঞে, মোঞ, মোঞি, মুঞি, মুঁহ, মুহিঁ, মোই « mōē, mōẽ, mōñā, mōñē, mōñā, mōñi, muñi, mūhi, muyī, mōi, » etc., which are all used for the instrumental-nominative = মুই, মই « mui, mâi » (see *supra*, p. 809). The inflected forms as usual are মোর ( মোহর ), মোকে, মোতে « mō-rā (mōhā-rā), mō-kē, mō-tē » etc. Besides there is the locative oblique in « -ē < -hi » ( মোহি, মোএ mōhi, mōē > মোয় mōyā, মোঞ mōñā etc.), which is used in MB. for the dative-accusative. The original genitive use of « mō » seems to have existed in OB. (cf. « tō < tava » below). In eMB., « mō », although the oblique base, itself came to be used for the nominative, through confusion with « mōē » and « mā, mu < mâi, mui ».

The form আহ্মা, আমা « āhmā- = āmhā- (as in the ŚKK.), āmā » represents the OIA. base « asma- », in MIA. « amha- ». It was strengthened by an « -ā », apparently through the influence of the « -ā, -āha » of the noun. In Oṛiyā, it occurs as « āmbhā- », as in « āmbhā-rā, āmbhā-ku » etc. That the extension of « āsmā- > āmhā- > *āmhā, *āmā- » to « āmhā-, āmā- » is due to a genitive « -ā » is seen from the

frequent use of the base « āmhā- », without the genitival « -rā », for the genitive in the ŚKK. and other MB. works; and the fact that post-positions are added direct to the « āmhā- » base, as if to the genitive, is to be noted.

**542.** With the old plural « āmhē, āmhi > āmi » becoming first honorific and then ordinary singular (the honorific singular sense still obtains in Oṛiyā at the present day), new plurals were formed, as in the case of the noun, from the Early MB. period, either by adding nouns of multitude like « sāmbā (sābā), sākālā », or by extending the strong form of the genitive in « -rā »: thus, in the ŚKK., we have আম্হে সম্হে « āmhē sāmhē », beside আম্হারা « āmhārā » (see *supra*, p. 735); in the 'Caitanya Bhāgavata,' 16th century, nominative মুই-সকল « mui-sākāḷa », আমি-সব « āmi-sābā », oblique, আমা-সব « āmā-sābā »; beside মোরা, আমরা « mōrā, āmārā ». For the genitive, the use of « -dērā » seems to have been established by the end of the 15th century (*vide supra*, p. 731). The « -rā » and « -digā, -dērā » affixes are in common use in NB. at present, but « -sākāḷā, -sābā » are also occasionally found in NB. But « -gāṇā, -gulā, sāmūhā » and the rest do not occur. The position for Bengali is thus the following:

| | Singular Forms. | | Plural Forms. | |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| | Old Singular = vulgar, archaic, dialectal. | Old Plural > Honorific Singular > Ordinary Singular. | Regular Plural from Old Singular = poetic, dialectal. | New Double Plural. |
| Nominative | মুই mui | আমি āmi | মোরা mō-rā | আমরা āmā-rā (+ সব sābā etc.) |
| Oblique | মো mō- | আমা āmā- | মোদিগ mō-digā-<br>মোদের mō-dērā- | আমাদিগ āmā-digā-<br>আমাদের āmā-dērā |

Double plural forms are found elsewhere in NIA., retaining the

honorific sense where the original singular is preserved and the original plural continues to be used as a plural: thus—

| | Old Singular. | Old Plural. | Double Plural (Honorific). |
|---|---|---|---|
| Bengali | মুই mui (vulgar) | আমি āmi (sg.) | মোরা, আমরা mōrā, āmṛā |
| Assamese | māi (sg.) | āmi (pl.) | āmā-lōk |
| Oṛiyā | mu, mū (vulgar) | āmbhē (sg.) | āmbhē-mānē |
| Magahī | [lost] | ham (sg.) | ham-anī, ham-ar-nī |
| Maithilī | mẽ (obsolete) | ham (sg.) | ham-sabh, hamrā-sabh |
| Bhōjpuriyā | mẽ (obsolete) | ham (sg.) | hamanī-kā, ham-ar-an |
| [Khaskurā | ma (sg.) | hāmī (pl.) | hāmi-haru] |

In Western Hindī, Panjābī, Sindhī, and Marāṭhī, as well as Sinhalese, where the old singular and plural forms are preserved intact, there is no room for the double plural: the Hindōstānī « ham-lōg » *we*, with a frequent enough use of « ham » = Bengali « āmi » for the singular, is due unquestionably to Eastern influence.

**543.** An oblique form like « majh-, mujh- » (as in Marāṭhī, Rājasthānī-Gujarātī and W. Hindī) is not found in Bengali and in other Magadhan speeches: Māgadhī Apabhraṅśa apparently did not possess a form like « majjhaṁ, majjhu » (as in Prakrit and W. Apabhraṅśa), which is found in the ablative as well as in the genitive, but which originated from the OIA. locative « mahyam ». But in the Brajabuli dialect (s *supra*, pp. 103-104) we commonly find a genitive form মঝু « mājhu » (occasionally also oblique), which is a Western Apabhraṅśa imposition on Bengali, doubtless in the formative period of the language (cf. *supra*, pp. 113-116), at a time when « majh- < majjhu, majjhaṁ » had not altered its vowel to « -u- », as in « mujh » in W. Hindī (on the analogy of « tubhyam > *tuhyam > tujjhaṁ, tujjhu > tujh »). The form মঝু « mājhu » now and then appears in Vaiṣṇava poetry written in pure Bengali, and that is due to imitation of the Brajabuli style. The MIA. genitive force of « majjhaṁ » is still retained in the Marāṭhī « mājhā, mājhī, mājhẽ ».

It is a remarkable fact that the genitive of the personal pronoun throughout a great part of the NIA. area should show the adjectival

form with the « -ra (< kēra, kara, kāra) » affix, both in the first and second persons: *e.g.*, in addition to the Magadhan speeches, we have E. Hindī « mōr, hamār (tōr, tohār) », W. Hindī « mērā, mērau, mērī; hamārā, hamārau, hamārī », Panjābī « mērā, mērī » Gujarati « mārō, mārī, mārū; amārō, amārī, amārū », Rājasthānī « mhārō, amhārō » etc.; also in the Pahāṛī languages; and in the Gipsy dialects outside India. These are based on Western Apabhraṅśa forms like « mahāra, amhāra » (cf. Pischel. 'Gramm. der Pkt-Sprachen' § 434; Jules Bloch, 'Langue Marathe' § 210; Beames, Comp. Gramm., II, p. 312).

In the Bengali poetic diction, the form মম « mâmâ » for the genitive is quite common. This certainly is to be regarded as a MIA. form preserved by literary tradition and strengthened by the Skt. « mama ».

**544.** The rage for Sankritising Bengali which was in vogue late in the 18th and early in the 19th centuries when the speech was under the guardianship of the *pandits*, finds its expression in the curious form অস্মদাদি « âsmâdâdi » *we*, occurring commonly in the genitive অস্মদাদির « âsmâdâdirṛ » *our*, pronounced [ɔʃʃɔdadir], in which the Skt. base is made to oust the *tbh.* one. In this artificial 'restoration' of the genuine Bengali আমাদের « âmâdērṛ », the source of « -dērṛ » as « -âdi » has instinctively been hit upon.

**545.** Typical Dialectal Forms for the First Personal Pronoun in New Bengali (*all* forms cannot be given: only some characteristic ones have been introduced):

| S.W. Bengali. | West Rāḍha. |
|---|---|
| Nom. মুই mui—মোরমেনে mōrṛ-mēnē, মোন্নে mōnnē, আমারে âmânnē | Nom. মুই mui—মুইরা « mui-rā » |
| Gen. মোর mō-rṛ—মোরমনকার mōrṛ-mânṛ-kārṛ, মোরমেনকার mōrṛ-mēnṛ-kārṛ, মোন্নেকার mōnnē-kārṛ | Gen. মোহর, মহর mōhâ-rṛ, mâhâ-rṛ—মোদের mō-dērṛ |
| Dat. মোকে mō-kē—আমান্নেকে âmânnēkē | Dat. মোকে mō-kē—মোদের mō-dērṛ |
| Other Cases—মোদিয়া mō-diyâ, মোটিন্থ mō-ṭhinu, etc. | Other Cases—মোদিয়া mō-diyâ, মোহ'তে mō-hōtē, মোতে mō-tē, মোদেরতে mō-dērṛ-tē, etc. |

| East Rāḍha (Standard Colloquial), also Varēndra (North Central). | East North Bengali (Dinajpur). |
|---|---|
| Nom. আমি āmi—আমরা āmạ-rā<br>Gen. আমার āmā-rạ—আমাদের āmā-dērạ<br>Dat. আমাকে āmā-kē, আমায় āmā-y < āmā-ē—আমাদের āmā-dērạ, আমাদিকে āmā-di-kē<br>Loc. আমায় āmā-y, আমাতে āmā-tē, —আমাদিগেতে āmā-digē-tē, আমাদেরতে, āmā-dērạ-tē, etc., etc. | No. হামি hāmi—হামরা hāmạ-rā<br>Gen. হামার hāmā-rạ—হামাদের hāmā-dērạ<br>Dat. হামাক, হামাকে hāmā-kạ, hāmā-kē—(plural, same as genitive). |

North Bengali.

| | |
|---|---|
| Nom. মুই mui, মই mài, মোঁ mō̃, হামি hāmi | হামা hāmā, হামরা hāmạrā, হামাগুলা hāmā-gulā |
| Gen. মোর mō-rạ, হামার hāmā-rạ | হামাগুলার hāmā-gulā-rạ |
| Dat. মোক mō-kạ, হামাক hāmā-kạ | হামাক hāmā-kạ |
| Other Oblique: মো mō-, মোর mō-rạ-, হামা hāmā- | —হামাগুলা hāmā-gulā- |
| (Loc. মোঁৎ mō̃-tạ, হামাৎ hāmā-tạ) | |

| West and South-West Vaŋga. | South-East Vaŋga (Chittagong). |
|---|---|
| Nom. মুই, আমি mui, āmi—মোরা mō-rā, আমরা āmạ-rā<br>Gen. মোর mō-rạ, মর mà-rạ, আমার āmā-rạ—আমরার amạrā-rạ, মোরগো mōrạ-gō, আমাগো āmā-gō<br>Dat. আমারে āmā-r-ē—আমরারে āmạrā-r-ē | Nom. আঁই ā̃i—আঁওরা ā̃ŏ-rā, আঁয়রা ā̃y-rā, আঁরা ā̃-rā<br>Gen. আঁয়ার ā̃yā-rạ, আঁর ā̃-rạ—আঁওরার ā̃ŏ-rā-rạ, আঁয়রার ā̃y-rā-rạ<br>Dat. আঁয়রে ā̃y-r-ē, আঁরে ā̃-r-ē—আঁওরারে ā̃ŏrā-r-ē, আঁয়রারে ā̃yrā-r-ē |

The origin of the above dialectal forms is plain in every case. The S. W. Bengali মোন্নে « mōnnē » is contracted from « *mō-mànē », and « *āmā-

mānē-kārṛ » gives আমান্নেকার « āmānnēkārṛ ». Contiguity with Maithilī is seen plainly in the forms with initial « h- » in North Bengali ( « asma- > amha- > *hamma- > hām, ham- », as opposed to the normal development in Bengali « amha- > āmh- > ām- » ). The « -m- » has been reduced to a simple nasalisation in Chittagong, through an intermediate « -w̃- » which is also heard as « -õ-, -ˆo- ».

[B] The Pronoun for the Second Person.

**546.** The Forms for the Second Person (in the Standard Speech) are—

| | Old Singular (=New Singular, contemptuous or affectionate, for juniors and familiars). | Old Plural (>New Singular, inferior and familiar). | New Plurals. | |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| | | | Inferior and contemptuous. | Ordinary and familiar. |
| Nominative | তুই tui | তুমি tumi | তোরা tō-rā | তোমরা tōmṛ-rā ( + সব, সকল sabṛ, sākalṛ etc.) |
| Oblique | তো tō- | তোমা tōmā- | তোদিগ tō-digā-, তোদের tō-dērṛ | তোমাদিগ tōmā-digā-, তোমাদের tōmā-dērṛ |

The above forms present an exact parallel with those for the first person: only the old singular (with its new plural in « -rā ») is used freely, in all its forms, to express familiarity or contempt, by all classes in society: unlike « mui, mō- », it has not become archaic, or confined to the lower classes only.

**547.** OIA. « tvam » *thou* gave the MIA. « tuṁ », in addition to other forms. This « tuṁ » seems to be the source of the OB. « tu », which occurs also (through contamination with the oblique) as « tō ». Oṛiyā has preserved this as « tu »: Early Maithilī and Eastern and Western Hindī as « tū ». It is quite possible, however, that the OIA. original of the (Magadhan and Śaurasēnī) NIA. « tu, tū », without nasalisation (as opposed to the nasalised forms like the Marāṭhī « tũ », Gujarātī « tũ », Rājasthānī « tũ », Panjābī and Sindhī « tũ » ) was a form like « *tū »,

as in Avestan (beside « tvəm »), instead of the Vedic and Sanskrit « tvam » (= tū + am).

In OB., « tu, tō » are the nominative forms, and they are found in the Caryās either independently (as *e.g.*, Caryā 18, « Kāṇhē gāï, tu Kāma-caṇḍālī » *Kṛṣṇa sings, thou art a 'Karma-caṇḍālikā'*; Caryā 6, « suṇa hari[ṇ]ā tō » *hear thou, O Deer*; Caryā 41, « jaï tō mūḍhā acchasi, pucchatu sadguru pāïa » *if thou art ignorant, ask thou at the feet of the good master*), or loosely agglutinated with the verb in the imperative (*e.g.*, « pucchа-tu » *ask thou*, in Caryās 5, 41; « bāha-tu » *row thou*, Caryā 8; « bujha-tu » *comprehend thou*, Caryā 32).

**548.** This OB. nominative form « tu » has become obsolete in MB. and NB. The form তুই « tui », from the old instrumental, corresponding to « mui » of the first person, has taken its place. The typical representative of OIA. « tvayā » in MIA. is « taĕ »; in the Apabhraṅśa the word shows nasalisation, which is due to the influence of the noun (taĩ < *tvay'ēna = tvayā). In the Caryās, we find « tāi = taĩ », which still retains its old case-value: *e.g.*, « tāï binu » (= tvayā vinā: Caryā 4): « tāï biṭāliu » (= tvayā viṭālitam: Caryā 18). There is also in OB. a new instrumental formation on the basis of the oblique « tō » (tō-ĕ = tō-ẽ), which become confused with the original « taĩ, tuĩ » in Early MB. The OB. « tāi » occurs in Assamese as « tāi »: in the change of the vowel to « u » in Bengali « tui », there was in all likelihood the influence of the oblique « tō- ».

**549.** The oblique তো « tō- », the nucleus to which the case terminations and post-positions are added, represents the OIA. genitive « tava ». In OB., « tō » is found in its proper genitive sense: « tō muha » *thy face* (Caryā 4); « kin tō mantē, kin tō tantē, kin tō rē jhāṇa-bakhāṇē » *what is (the good) of thy spells, thy scriptures, and thy meditations and expoundings* (Caryā 34: « kin = kim » is a Sanskritism or Prakritism). It is found as accusative-dative (an extension of the genitive) in « tō puchami » *I ask thee* (Caryā 10). This form is also extended to « tō-ha-, tō-hō- » (cf. « mō-ha », p. 811, *supra*): genitive « tōhō-ra » (Caryā 10), « tōhāra » (Caryā 29), genitive feminine « tōhōri » (Caryās 10, 18), « tōhauri = tōhōri »

(Caryā 28), « tōhōrẽ dōsẽ » *with thy fault* (=*tava-karēṇa dōṣēṇa : Caryā 39); dative « tōhōrẽ » (Caryā 18): beside genitive « tō-rā » (Caryā 41), dative « tōrẽ=tōrē » (Caryā 18). The instrumental based on this oblique is found in Caryā 10 : « ā lō Ḍōmbī, tō-ẽ sama karibē (=karība) ma (=maī) sāṇga » *O Ḍōm woman, I shall have union with thee.* This instrumental « tōẽ=tō-ẽ » and the older « taī » reacted upon each other, and became merged into one form, and in Early M.B. the vowel in « taī » was altered through this process.

In eMB. (ŚKK.), we have a form with nasalised vowel, তোঁ « tõ », of fairly frequent occurrence. This is used as a nominative, singular. It seems it was originally a plural form: the genitive plural in « -na » as an honorific came to be attached to the singular « tō, tō-ha », in formations like « *tō-na, *tō-hā » in Māgadhī Apabhraṅśa, for the regular plural « *tumhāṇa(ṁ), *tumhahā » etc. The old honorific sense of it was lost in Early MB. That this was the case for this « tõ » can be seen from the Early Maithilī plural base for the second person—singular « tū », plural « tõ-sabh, tõh-sabh » ( = « *tō-na, *tō-hā » *plus* « sabh »): cf. also the Bhōjpuriyā and Magahī plural « tō-ha-ni=tōha-+-na+ -I »; this « tõ, tõh, tōh-an-i » are thus quite distinct from the older « tumh- »= MIA. « tumha » < OIA. « yuṣma- ». The instrumental of this « tõ, *tō-hā » would be « *tõ-ẽ, *tō-ẽ, *tōh-ẽ », which would easily merge in the other singular instrumental « tō-ẽ » noted above: and we actually have an instance of a dative তোহাঁক « tōhā̃-kā » in the ŚKK. This was thus an additional strengthening (with the loss of any plural > honorific sense it might have possessed at the beginning) of the recent « tō-ẽ » (=tō+ẽ). In eMB., « tāī, tō-ẽ, tõ-ẽ » were all confused: specially when the nasal was very unstable. Quite a large number of ways of writing these are found in MB. MSS. (*e.g.*, তঁই, তোঞ, তোঽ, তোঁঽ, তোঁ, তোঞ, তোঁঞ, তোঞে, তোঞেঁ, তোঞি, তুঞি, তুঞি, তুই, « tāi, tōyā, tōẽ, tõẽ, tōẽ, tōñā, tõñā, tōñē, tōñẽ, tōñi, tuñi, tūñi, tui »), and all these have finally resulted in the inferior or contemptuous, or extremely familiar form of NB., তুই « tui ».

**550.** Corresponding to আমি « āmi », NB. has তুমি « tumi » = Early MB. তুম্হি, তোম্হে « tumhi, tomhē », OB. « tumhē ». The New

Bengali form represents a combination of the MIA. nominative (=tumhē) and instrumental (=*tumhahi, tumhēhi). The instrumental use occurs in OB.: *e.g.*, « tumhē hōiba » = « yuṣmābhir bhavitavyam « (Caryā 5), « tumhē jāïba » (« jāibē » in printed edition) = « yuṣmābhir yātavyam » (Caryā 23). In Oṛiyā the form is « tumbhē », in Assamese « tumi », = plural.

For the oblique, we have the base তোমা « tōmā- » (Early MB. তোহ্মা « tōmhā- »), paralleling আমা « āmā- », which is derived from the OIA. plural base « yuṣma- ». The forms তুমি, তোহ্মে, তুম্হে, তোমা, তোহ্মা « tumi, tōmhē, tumhē, tōmā-, tōmhā- » quite early, in the First MIA. period had taken up the « t- » from the singular « tvam, tvayā, tubhyam » etc., so that we have « tumhē, tumha- » instead of « *yumhē, *yumha ».

The Aśōkan eastern form « tuphē » (=? tupphē ? tumphē ) is not represented in NIA., any more than « aphē » (=? amphē ? apphē, =asmē).

**551.** Through the influence of Śaurasēnī Apabhraṅśa in the OB. and Early MB. periods, and of the Brajabuli dialect, we have some peculiar Western forms in the language of Vaiṣṇava lyrical poetry: *e.g.*, তুহুঁ « tuhū » *thou* (= Western Apabhraṅśa « tuhū », derived by Pischel from « *tva-ká-m », 'Gramm. der Pkt.-Sprachen,' p. 296; but it may properly be an emphatic form, « tu » + particle « hū, hu », cf. Eastern Hindī and Bihārī, as well as Brajabuli, « hama-hū » *we also*, « saba-hū » *everybody* ); তুয়া « tuā » *thy* (= literary i.e. early Maithilī « tua »: MIA. « tuva », Western Ap. « tuha »: OIA. « tava »); তুঝ « tujhā » *thy* (Western Ap. « tujjhu », Second MIA. « tujjha »: < « *tuhyaṁ » = OIA. « tubhyam », cf. « mahyam » ); and besides, the extended base « tō-ha, tu-ha » is also much used through the example of Maithilī or Brajabuli (as well as Brajbhākhā), in Vaiṣṇava lyrics; *e.g.*, তোহে, তুহে, তোয় « tōhē, tuhē, tōy » accusative, locative and dative; তোহারি, তুহারি « tōhāri, tuhāri » genitive.

**552.** In the Magadhan speeches, we have the following developments of the old forms for the second personal pronoun, paralleling those for the first personal pronoun:

| | Old Singular | Old Plural | New Plural |
|---|---|---|---|
| Bengali | তুই tui | তুমি tumi (sg.) | তোরা, তোমরা tōrā, tōmarā |
| Assamese | tāi | tumi (pl.) | tā-hātē, tōmā-lōkē (hon. pl.) |

| | Old Singular | Old Plural | New Plural |
|---|---|---|---|
| Oṛiyā | tu | tumbhē (respectful sg.) | tumbhē-mānē (hon. pl.) |
| Magahī | (obsolete) | tū̃, tõ (sg.) | tõh-anī tõh-ara-nī, |
| Maithilī | tū (obsolete) | tõ, tõh (sg.) | tõ(h)-sabh, tõharā-sabh |
| Bhōjpuriyā | tẽ (archaic) | tū̃ (sg.) | tõha-nī(-kā), tõh-ar-au |
| [Khaskurā | ta (sg.) | timi (pl.) | timi-haru] |
| [Hindōstāni | tū, taī | tum (pl.) | tum-lōg] |

**553.** Typical Dialectal Forms for the Second Personal Pronoun:

| S.-W. Bengali | West Rāḍha | Varendra |
|---|---|---|
| Nom. তুই tui, তুমি tumi —তোরে tōnnē, তোমারে tōmānnē | Nom. তুঁই tūi—তোরা tō-rā, তুমরা tumṛ-rā, তোমরা tōmṛ-rā | Nom. তুই tui— তমরাহ tāmṛ-rāh |
| Gen. তর tā-rṛ—তমার tāmā-rṛ, তদের tā-dērṛ, তোন্নের tōnnērṛ | Gen. তোর tō-rṛ—তোমার tōmā-rṛ, তোদের tō-dērṛ, তোরাদের tōrā-dērṛ, তোগোর tō-gō-rṛ | Gen. তোর tō-rṛ— তম্হার tāmhā-rṛ তুমাঘর tumā-ghārṛ |

| North Bengali | West & S.-W. Vaṅga | East Vaṅga (Chittagong) |
|---|---|---|
| Nom. তুই tui—তুমরা tumṛ-rā Gen. তোর tō-rṛ—তম্হার tāmhā-rṛ, তুমার tumā-rṛ, তুমাঘর tumā-ghārṛ. | Nom. তর tāy, তুমি tumi —তোরা tō-rā, তোমরা tōmṛ-rā Gen. তোর tō-rṛ, তর tā-rṛ —তোরার tō-rā-rṛ, তোমার tōmā-rṛ, তোমরার tōmṛrā-rṛ, তোর-গো tō-rṛ-gō | Nom. তুই tui, তুঁই tuī < tumi—তোরা tō-rā, তোঁরা tõ-rā < tōmṛ-rā Gen. তোর tō-rṛ—তোঁয়ার tõā-rṛ < tōmā-rṛ, etc. |

## [C] The Pronoun for the Third Person.

The Pronoun for the Third Person (or) 'General Demonstrative': সে, তাহা nominative « sē », oblique « tā(hā)- », etc.

**554.** The Typical Bengali forms as in the Standard Colloquial and the « sādhu-bhāṣā » are the following:

| | Singular | | Plural | |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| | Old Singular. | Old Plural > Honorific Singular | New Plural > Ordinary | Double Plural = Honorific |
| Nominative | সে sē, [neuter তা(হা) tā(hā)] | তিনি tini; তেঁহ tēhā, তিঁহ tihā (archaic) | ত(হা)রা tā(hā)rā (+সব, সকল sâbḍ sâkâlḍ etc.); সে-সব sē+sâbḍ etc. | তাঁ(হা)রা tā̃(hā)rā (+সব, সকল sâbḍ sâkâlḍ, etc.) |
| Oblique | তাহা tāhā-, তা tā- | তাঁহা tā̃hā-, তানা tānā-, তেনা tenā-, তা tā̃- | তা(হা)দিগ tā(hā)-digā-, তাহাদের tā(hā)dērḍ | তাঁ(হা)দিগ tā̃(hā)-digā-, তাঁ(হা)দের tā̃(hā)dērḍ- |

**555.** The OIA. nominative of the pronoun for the third person (the base of which was « ta- ») was « sa, saḥ ». In Māgadhī Prakrit it became « śē », and the Māgadhī Apabhraṅśa form was in all likelihood « *śi », which seems to be preserved in the Assamese সি « si » (for শি « śi »), pronounced [xi] or [çi]. But in Bengali, and in Oṛiyā, and also in the Bihārī group, the pronoun occurs in the nominative as সে « sē (śē) » instead of the expected « *si (śi) ». The « -ē » vowel may be due to an extended form « *sa-ka-ḥ » (cf. ahakaṁ = aham): which would give in Māgadhī « *śakē > śagē > *śaē > *śaï > śē » (cf. pp. 741-742, *supra*); or it may be due to the influence of the instrumental form « tē̃ » ( < tēna). The OIA. feminine « sā » seems to have continued (as « śā ») in Māgadhī down to the Apabhraṅśa period, when it fell into disuse, and the masculine came to be used for the feminine. Already during the Second MIA. stage, the masculine « śē » came to be employed for the neuter (like the neuter affix « -am > -aṁ » of the noun taking up the masculine « -ē < -aḥ » affix: *supra*, p. 622) (Pischel 'Grammatik der Pkt.-Sprachen,' § 423). In Bengali, as in other Magadhan, there is as a consequence no distinction of gender, « sē (śē) » being used for masculine, and feminine and also for neuter. For the neuter nominative, however, the form তা(হা) « tā(hā) » is

more common. It is really the oblique extended to the accusative and then to the nominative; the accusative employ we find in the Caryās: *e.g.*, « tā dēkhi » *having seen that* (7), « tā śuni » *having heard that* (16).

**556.** The oblique singular তা(হ্) « tā(hā)- » is really the genitive in « -ā, -āha » discussed above, § 502 (pp. 751-752). The genitival use « -ā, -āha » occured in OB., as we can see from the Caryās. The oblique « tāh-ā- » is by extension of « tāha » with the definitive « -ā » affix. By adding the usual affixes and post-positions, we have forms like genitive তাহর, তাহার, তাহের, তাক « tāhā-rā, tāhā-rā, tāh-ērā, tā-kā », accusative and locative (or new oblique) তাহে, তায় « tāh-ē > tāyẹ », locative তাহাতে « tā(hā)-tē », instrumental তাহা-দিআ, -দ্বারা « tā(hā)-diyā, -dwārā », etc.

**557.** The OIA. plural forms (masculine « tē », feminine « tāḥ » neuter « tāni ») seem to have continued down to Second MIA. (respectively as « tē; tāo; tāṇi, tāiṁ »). But they have not been inherited in NIA. Already in the Second MIA. stage, the nominative forms « sē, śē » of the singular were extended to the plural, in Ardha-māgadhī and Māgādhī (Pischel, § 423). In OB. we find « tē » in Caryā 22: « jē sacarācara tiasa bhamanti, tē ajarāmara kimpi na hontī » *those* (*Yōgīs*) *who wander through all the world and also through heaven, they do not become in the least ageless and deathless*: this « tē » may be a Sanskritism; but it can well be a nominative plural, derived from an instrumental « *tēhi, tēhī ». A similar nominative « tē » occurs in Eastern Hindī and Western Hindī. This « tē » (or « tẽ » ?) nominative of Old Bengali seems to have lingered on till Early Middle Bengali, and then it was dropped from the speech, new forms taking its place: we have one instance in ŚKK., p. 313: গোপীকুলের তোহ্মে কৈলেঁ আপমান....., তে সঙ্কে চোরাঅিল বাঁশী তোর কাহ্ন « gōpī-kulērā tōmhē kailẽ āpāmānā, tē sāmhē cōrāyilā bāśī tōrā Kānhā » *you have insulted the Gōpīs, they have stolen your flute, O Kṛṣṇa.*

The expected form of the OIA. « tē » in Māgadhī Apabhraṅśa and in OB. would be « *ti », and in an emphatic position it might remain as « tē ». Side by side with « śē, tē », the instrumental and the genitive plural were undoubtedly used for the nominative in Māgadhī Apabhraṅśa

and in OB. (*tēhi, *tāhi, *tēhī; *tāṇa[ṁ], *tāhā; *tān-i), paralleling the usage for the noun.

**558.** MB. and NB. honorific singular forms come from the plural instrumental and genitive of Apabhraṁśa and OB. In MB., the honorific nominative is তেহঁ, তিহঁ « tēhā, tihā », which palpably receives its « ē, i » vowel from the instrumental, and its nasalisation may be due to the influence of the genitive. It is not impossible, moreover, that the « -ē- » of the OIA. genitive « tēṣām » should have persisted through some dialectal undercurrent here. The forms তেহঁ, তিহঁ, or তেঁহ (besides তেঁহো) « tēhā, tihā, tēha, tēhō » were continued down to the middle of the 19th century, in the « sādhu-bhāṣā ». The ŚKK. has registered তেহেঁ « tēhē » is one place (p. 19), and তেহোঁ « tēhō » in another (p. 67): in the ŚKK., the honorific sense is not strong, and we find that the ordinary সে « sē » is joined to তেহোঁ « tēhō » merely as an emphatic form. (*e.g.*, চৌদ চৌ যুগ আয়ু লঙ্কার রাবণ। তেহোঁ সে মজিঅা গেল শীতার কারণ॥ « cāudā cāu jugā āyu Laṅkārā Rābāṇā, tēhō sē mājiā gēlā Śītārā kārāṇā » *fourteen four-yugas his life, Rāvaṇa of Laṅkā: even he went to perdition through the reason of Sītā*). The form now actually in use is তিনি « tini », both in the colloquial and in literature, which is not met with except in Late MB.: this « tini » is from an earlier colloquial form « *tēni » (cf. honorific oblique base তেনা « tēnā- », beside তা « tā », in the Standard Colloquial area: « ē > i » by Vowel Harmony), which looks like a blend of the genitive and instrumental. Assamese has preserved the old « tihā, tēhā » in the form of « tēo ».

The oblique তাঁহা « tāhā- » is easily explained. The persistence of the « -h- » may be due to the influence in singular তাহা « tāhā- ». There has been a great deal of cross influence in the development of these forms. There are in the Standard Colloquial area the dialectal obliques তেনা « tēnā- » and তানা « tānā- » (the latter more of a 'folk' form), which retain the vocalism of the instrumental and genitive, and the full « -n- » of the nominative form « tini » and the genitive-oblique « tāṇ৲ ». The genitival use of তান « tāṇ৲ » (< « tāṇa = tēṣām »: see *supra*, p. 306) is found in East Bengali: cf. also Oṛiyā « tāṇ-kā(rā) » ( = « tēṣām-kara-, -kṛta »), and Maithilī « tan-i-k »,

Bhōjpuriyā « tinh- kē ». The full « -n », or nasalisation, from the genitive plural, came to be associated with the plural (and honorific) base, and hence we find in MB. the honorific genitive তাহান « tāhā-nā » ( < tāha- ), Early Oṛiyā « tāhā-nā ». Bengali তাঁ « tā- » can be either from « tāna », or it is merely a new formation by nasalising the singular « tā- = tāha ».

With the Bengali « tēhā-, tēnā-, tini, tā(hā)- » etc. are to be compared the Maithilī « tan-ik », Magahī « tinh- », Bhōjpuriyā « tinh » ; and Awadhī ten(h) », Baghēlī « tenh », Chattisgaṛh « tin » ; Western Hindī tin(h) » — plural or honorific forms, all with similar genitival « -n- ».

**559.** The old plural becoming singular honorific, new plurals were formed on the basis of their respective genitives in « -ra ». These came in use during the Early MB. period (see *supra*, pp. 734-736).

**560.** Early Bengali preserves relics of some of the older case forms. The instrumental « tēna > tē » is preserved in the sense of *therefore, consequently* in the ŚKK., as তেঁ, তে « tē, tē » : *e.g.*, p. 38, করলো খণ্ড ব্রত আর জরমত, তেঁ বা দুঃখিনী মোএঁ « kārālō khāṇḍā-brātā ārā jārāmā-tā, tē bā duḥkhinī mōē » *in my previous birth I did an unfulfilled penance, may be for that I am miserable (now)* ; p. 218, বুলি তেঁ আতি বতনে « buli tē āti jātānē » *for that I say with great care ;* p. 367, বাপ নন্দঘোষ মাঅ যশোদা, তেঁ তুহ্মী মামী আহ্মারে « bāpā Nāndā-ghōṣā, māā Yāśōdā, tē tumhī māmī āmhārē » (*my*) *father is N., my mother Y., therefore you are my maternal uncle's wife ;* p. 359, গেআন বাণে ছেদিলোঁ মদন বাণ, তে আর না ভোলো তোহ্মার যৌবন « gēānā-bāṇē chēdilō Mādānā-bāṇā, tē ārā nā bhōlō (=bhōlō) tōmhārā jāubānā » *with the arrow of wisdom I have shattered the arrow of Love, therefore I do not forget myself through your youth.* There is also the phrase তে কারণে « tē kāraṇē » = « tēna kāraṇēna » which occurs more than ten times ; and an extension of « tē » occurs as তেঁএ, তেএঁ, « tēē, tēē » *e.g.*, এবেঁ তোকে দেখিএ রূপসে। তেঁএ মোর বাঢ়িল আশে « ēbē tōkē dēkhiē rupāsē, tēē mōrā bāṛhilā āśē » *I see thee now to be so beautiful, therefore my hope has increased* (p. 45) ; যেই দধি দুধ ঘৃত ভাণ্ডত আছএ। পসার সাজিতেঁ তেএঁ কানু ক জুআএ « jēi dādhi dudhā ghṛtā bhāṇḍā-tā āchāē, pāsārā sājitē tēē Kānhu-kā juāē » *the curds, milk and ghee that remain in the pots, K. should make a display for sale with that* (p. 179) ; and as তেঁউ « tē-ū » ( < tēna + MIA.

hu = khalu) (p. 29). In later MB., this instrumental is very common as a conjunction, in the form তেঁই « tẽi » *therefore* ( = tēna+hi). The form « tẽi » is archaic and poetic now, and তে কারণে, তে কারণ « tē-kāraṇē, tē-kāraṇ » also occur in NB. poetry.

The locative in « -hī », « tahī » (see *supra*, pp. 745-746) occurs in OB.: *e.g.*, « tahī caḍi nācaï » *they dance, mounted on that* (Caryā 10). Its use became obsolete as a locative in MB., where it was adopted as noun of place = *there*, to which the case affixes were added. The ŚKK. has যমুনার তীরে কদমতরু তলে তহি বসি কানু বাএ বাঁশে « Yāmunārā tīrē kādāmā-tāru-tālē tāhi bāsi Kānhā bāē bāśē » *by the bank of Yamunā, under the Kadamba tree, sitting there K. plays on the bamboo flute* (p. 306), beside মৃগমদ কুচযুগ গগন মাঝার। তহিত নক্ষত্রগণ গজমুতীহার॥ « mṛgā-mādā kucā-yugā gāgānā-mājhārā, tāhi-tā nākṣātrā-gāṇā gājā-mutī-hārā » *your two breasts (smeared) with musk-paste is the vault of the sky, the necklace of elephant (big) pearls is the mass of stars thereon* (p. 154), where « tāhi-tā » has a pleonastic locative « -tā ». In ordinary MB., তহির, তহিঁর « tāhi-rā, tāhī-rā » are not rare, meaning both *of that place* and *his, its*. Oṛiyā also possess « tāhī-rā » beside « tā(hā)-rā » as genitive of « sē ». In Early MB. and in Late MB., the form তথি, তথী « tāthi, tāthī » *there* ( < locative of MIA. « tattha » = OIA. « tatra » ) is similarly used : তথির « tāthi-rā » *of him*, তথিত « tāthi-tā » *in him*, etc.

**561.** The distinction of gender is now lost in all Magadhan, but a feminine form for the third personal pronoun has been preserved in Assamese and in South-Eastern Bengali (Chittagong) : and traces might still exist in the other dialects. Thus in Assamese beside the masculine « si », plural « si- hātē », there is a feminine « tāi, tāyē », plural « tāi-hātē » ; and Chittagongese shows a feminine তাঁই « tāi » (plural « tāi-rā »), beside the masculine হিতে, তে « hi-tē ( < *si + tē = sē + tē), tē » (plural « hitē-rā, tārā » : Basanta Kumar Chatterji, VSPdP., 1326, p. 112). This feminine « tāi » (the nasalisation in the Chittagong « tãi » is irregular, and might be through the infection from honorific forms) seems to be based on the Second MIA. instrumental, dative and genitive « tāē » ( < OIA. instrumental « tayā »), occurring in Māgadhī as well as in other dialects (Pischel, § 425).

The absence of distinction of gender for the personal pronoun of the third person is a defect in the language, and there have been unsuccessful attempts to do away with this defect by employing the Sanskrit « sā » for the feminine nominative, and the base « tasyā- », from the Skt. feminine genitive « tasyāḥ », for the feminine oblique : তস্যার « tāsyā-r ṛ » *of her*, তস্যাকে « tāsyā-kē » *to her*, etc. In some 18th and 19th century documents the « tasyā- » oblique has been found[1] (Chandra-Śēkhara Kāli, VSPd., Kāryavivaraṇī for 1316, pp. 45, 46 ; and ' Hōmiōpyāthik Bhaiṣajyābalīr Siddhiprada Lakṣaṇa-cay,' Vol. I, 8th edition, Calcutta 1921, pp. 11 ff.)

**562.** Some Western (Śaurasēnī) forms figure in OB. and in MB., especially in the Vaiṣṇava lyrics. (See *supra*, pp. 103, 115.) সো « sō » instead of the native সে « sē » is found in the Caryās (*e.g.*, 10, 22, 27, 33, 41) : it is the nominative, but is found as an accusative also, *e.g.*, Caryā 21, « kariha sō niccala » *make him motionless* ; Caryā 45, « chēwaha sō taru » *cut down that tree*. This form is fairly common in Vaiṣṇava lyrics and is often demonstrative adjective, as in OB. Thus « sō » is thrice as numerous as « sē » in the Caryās, a fact which is explicable through Śaurasēnī literary influence as well as through the MS. being copied in Nepal. The genitive of « sō » in Western Apabhraṁśa has the forms « tassu, tasu » and « tāsu » (=tassa, tasya), beside « tahō ». In the Caryās we have « tasu » (instead of the native « tā, tāha, tāh-ēra »), as in « tasu aṇga » *its limbs* (27), « maṇa taru, pāṁca indi tasu sāhā » *the mind is a tree, the five senses are its branches* (45). Maithili of literature also possesses this form. In MB., Brajabuli as well as ordinary poetic Bengali, it occurs as তুহু « tāchu », with « -ch- » for « -s- » (*ante*, pp. 474, 551).

[1] In Early NB. letters and documents, for feminine forms like দেবী, দাসী, শ্রীমতী ' dēbī, dāsī, Śrī-matī,' the genitive and other cases are on the basis of the Skt. genitive in ' -yāḥ ': দেব্যার, দাস্যার, শ্রীমত্যার ' dēbyār, dāsyā-r, śrī-matyā-r,' দেব্যাকে, দাস্যাকে, শ্রীমত্যাকে ' dēbyā-kē, dāsyā-kē, śrī-matyā-kē,' besides the regular ' dēbī-r, dāsī-r, śrī-matī-r, dēbī-kē, dāsī-kē, śrī-matī-kē ' etc. A curious result of this practice has been that in Bengali epistolary and legal language, these ' -yā ' oblique forms have become established as nominatives, especially with names of widows, and in this way a distinction is made of widows from unmarried girls or women with husbands living.

**563.** Typical Dialectal Forms for the Third Personal Pronoun:

South-West Bengali

Nom. সে, তিন sē, tin—তারমেনে tārṛ-mēnē, তানমেনে tānṛ-mēnē, তান্নে tānnē, তাঁন্নে tãnnē.
Gen. তার, তান tārṛ, tānṛ—তারমেনকার tārṛ-menṛ-karṛ, তান্নেকার tānnē-kārṛ, তান্নাকার tānnā-kārṛ.

West Rāḍha

Nom. সে তাই sē, tāi—তাহরা tāhā-rā, তাহারা tāhā-rā.
Gen. তাহার tāhā-rṛ—তাহারদের tāhārṛ-dērṛ.
(The Remote Demonstrative is also commonly employed)

North Bengali (Rājbaṅśi)

Nom. সে, তী, তাঁয়, তানি sē, tā, tãy, tāni—তাম(া)রা tām(ā)-rā.
Gen. তার, তাহেঁ, তামার tā-rṛ, tā-r-hē, tāmā-rṛ—তামার tāmā-rṛ, তামরার tāmṛrārṛ.

East Vaṅga (Sylhet, Kachar)

Nom. হে, হিনি hē, hini—হেরা, হেনরা hē-rā, hēnṛ-rā.
Gen. হের, হেনার hē-rṛ, hēnā-rṛ—হেরগো hē-rṛ-gō, হেইয়ার hēi-ārṛ, হেনারগো hēnā-rṛ-gō.

West Vaṅga (Dacca, Maimansingh)

Nom. সে, তাইন, তিনি sē, tāin, tini—তারা, তানরা, তাহানরা tā-rā, tā(hā)n-ṛ-rā.
Gen. তার, তান, তাহান tā-rṛ, tānṛ, tāhā-nṛ—তারার tā-rā-rṛ, তাগো tā-gō, তানরার tānṛ-rā-rṛ,
(The Remote Demonstrative is employed in Haijong)

South Vaṅga (Bakharganj)

Nom. হে, তাইন, hē, tāin—হেরা, তারা hē-rā, tā-rā.
Gen. হের, তার hē-rṛ, tā-rṛ—হেরার, hē-rā-rṛ, তারার tā-rā-rṛ.

S. E. Vaṅga (Chittagong)

Nom. হিতে, হেতিন, তে hi-tē, hē-tin, tē; (fem.) তাঁই tãi—তারা, হিতেরা tā-rā, hi-tē-rā, তাঁইরা tãi-rā.
Gen. হেতার, তার, তান hē-tā-rṛ, tā-rṛ, tānṛ, তাঁইর tãi-rṛ—তারার tā-rā-rṛ, তানার tānā-rṛ, তাঁইরার tãi-rā-rṛ.

S.-W. Bengali has the characteristic « -mēṇṛ » affix for the plural contracted to « -n- ». The West Rāḍha তাই « tāi » may originally have been the feminine form noted in p. 825. North Bengali uses the base তাঁ « tā̃ » (beside a fuller তানি « tāni ») for the nominative; and the form তামার « tāmārṛ », plural তাম(া)রা « tām(ā)rā » are honorific, with « -m- » for « -n- » or « -h- » of other forms of Bengali — a phonetic peculiarity which characterises this dialect: as early as c. 1555 A.C., in a letter from the Kōc king Nara-Nārāyaṇa of North Bengal to the Ahom king Su-khām-phā, we find ইমারাক পাঠাইতেছি « imā-rā-kṛ (= ihā-digā-kē) pāṭhāitē-chi » *I am sending them*, তামরার মুখে « tāmṛ-ra-rṛ (= tāhā-digēr) mukhē » *from their mouth* (Report of the Third North Bengal Literary Conference, p. 37; VSP., II, p. 1672).

The use of the « -rā » plural for the oblique as well is noticeable in the North and East Bengali dialects. As the forms « imārā-kṛ » and « tāmārārṛ » mentioned above show, such oblique use was established by the 16th century.

The nominative « sē » becomes « hē » in many of the East Bengali dialects; and in South Vaṇga, « hē » changes « tini » to « *sini > hini », « tēnā-rṛ » to « *sēnārṛ > hēnārṛ »; and « sē > hē » is used for the oblique as well: *e.g.*, East Vaṇga « sē-rṛ > hērṛ » *his*, « sē-rā > hērā » *they*, « sē-rā-rṛ > hērārṛ » *their*. The Assamese accusative « siyē » [xie, çie] shows a similar though restricted use of the nominative base for an oblique case.

The Chittagongese nominative « tē » seems to be due to the influence of the oblique base in « ta- ». A peculiarity of this dialect (and of S.-E. Vaṇga generally) consists in the double forms « hi-tē, hē-tin = sē + tē, sē + tini ».

In the Mayang dialect, the base « tā » is used for the nominative (genitive « tā-rṛ » singular, plural nominative « tānō », plural genitive « tānō-rṛ »).

**564.** The nominative সে « sē », emphatic সেই < সেহি « sēi < sē-hi », is used as a demonstrative adjective, = *that*, for all genders. A noun

of multitude agglutinated to « sē, sēi » indicates the plural. The qualified word takes the case inflections, *e.g.*, সে লোক, সেই লোক « sē, sēi lōkạ » *that man*, সেই-সকল লোকের « sēi-sâkâlạ lōkērạ » *of those men*, etc.

[D] THE PROXIMATE OR NEAR DEMONSTRATIVE.

**565.** The typical Bengali forms in the Standard Literary and Colloquial are :

| | Singular | | Plural | |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| | Old Singular | Old Plural = Honorific | New Plural | Double Plural = Honorific |
| Nominative | এ ē (earlier এহা ēhā), neuter ইহা ihā | এহঁ ēhā̃, ইহঁ ihā̃, ইনি ini | এরা ērā, ইহারা ihārā (এসব, এগুলা ē-sâbạ, ē-gulā) | এঁরা, এঁয়ারা ē̃(ā)rā, এনারা ēnārā, ইহাঁরা ihā̃rā |
| Oblique | এ, ইহা ē-, ihā- (earlier এহা ēhā) | এঁ, এঁয়া, এনা ē̃-, ē̃ā-, ēnā-, ইহাঁ ihā̃- | এদিগ ēdigâ-, এদের ēdēr-, ইহাদিগ, দের ihādigâ-, -dērạ | এঁ-, এঁ(য়া) দিগ, দের ē̃(ā)digâ-, -dērā, এনাদের ēnādērạ, ইহাঁদিগ, -দের ihā̃digâ-, -dērạ |

**566.** In Vedic and Sanskrit there are two pronouns to indicate the near demonstrative = *this, this here:* [i] the pronoun « ē-ta- », (nom. sg. masculine « ē-ṣah », feminine « ē-ṣā », neuter « ē-tad ») which is a combination of a base « ē- » ( = Avestan « aē- », < Indo-Iranian « *ai- » < Indo-European « * ei-, *oi- ») *plus* the third personal bases « *to-, » ( « * so- ») ; and [ii] the composite pronoun which is in the nom. sg. masculine « ayam », feminine « iyam », neuter « idam », and which is made up of the four defective pronominal bases : « a- » (as in Sanskrit « a-smāi̯, a-sya, a-syāi̯ ; ā-bhyaḥ, ā-sām », etc.), « an- » (as in « an-ēna,

an-ayōḥ »), « i- » (« i-y-am, i-d-am »; in *guṇa* forms « *ai-, ē- », as in « ay-am », Vedic « ēnā = *ai-nā, ayā = *ai-ā », ēbhiḥ, ē-ṣām, ē-ṣu = *ai-bhis, *ai-śām, *ai-ṣu », etc.), and « im- » (as in « im-am, im-ām, im-āḥ, im-ān » etc.). In OIA. dialects other than those which formed the basis of the literary speeches (Vedic and Sanskrit), it is not impossible that each of these bases, namely, « a-, an-, i- (ai- > ē-, ay- ), im- » existed in their entire declensions.

The basis or root form of the Bengali proximate demonstrative is « ē- », dialectally « i-, ī- »: the affix « -ha » of the oblique is genitival, and the nasalised forms, or forms in « -n- », were originally plural genitives. The older form for the nominative seems to be « ē ». The Caryās know « ē » (*e.g.*, Carvā 6, « ē bana cchāḍī » *abandoning this forest*; 28, « ē bana hiṇḍaï » *wanders in this forest*; 33 « ē tailōē » *in this threefold universe*; 39, « ē jaga » *this world* ), beside « ēha » (Caryā 43, « ēha sahāva » *this nature*), and « ēhu » (Caryā 22, « ja ēhu jaati » for « *jē ēhu jugati »: cf. Comm., « ēṣā hi yuktiḥ »). The eMB. of the ŚKK. also shows « ē », in the forms like এ, এঅ, এহা, এই, এহি, এসি, এহাএ, এহাক, এহাত, এহার, এহো « ē, ēā, ēhā, ēi, ēhi, ē-si, ēhā-ē, ēhā-kā, ēhā-tā, ēhā-rā, ēhō » occurring some four score of times, while a solitary « i- » form occurs in ইহার « ihārā ». In the NB. Standard Colloquial « ē » also is the word, « ihā » belonging to the literary language and to the dialects.

The source of the Bengali « ē » would thus seem to be the OIA. base « ēta- ». The *guṇa* form of the defective pronoun « i- », as « *ai- > ay-, ē- » can of course be equally the source of a NIA. « ē ». But MIA. remains do not register a fully declined « i- » demonstrative: Aśōkan Prakrits and Pali both show that the base « im- » was the one most widely current in the First MIA. period, with the simple « i- » and « a- » bases considerably restricted in use. The same thing is noticeable in Second MIA. as well. The « i-, im- » bases seem to have continued in the Western Apabhraṅśa of literature, specially in the form « āya- », beside « ēya-, ēa- = « ēta- ». In the Māgadhī Apabhraṅśa, however, it seems that only the base « ēta- > ēa- » (genitive « ētasya > * ēaha ») was current,

which gave the Bengali « ē, (ēhā) ». The base « ima- » of MIA. is not represented in NIA. in which its expected development would be « *iwa- ».

Śaurasēnī Apabhraṅśa as written in Eastern India (in the Buddhist Dōhās shows numerous instances of the nominative « ēhu » (= ēṣaḥ). What exactly was the nominative of the « ēta- » base in Māgadhī Apabhraṅśa cannot be determined. The Māgadhī Prakrit forms are « ēśē, ēśā, ē(d)aṁ ». The « -ś- » apparently dropped through influence of the neuter and of the oblique. The genitive « ēha » was strengthened to « ēhā » in Early MB. The genitive plural « ētānāṁ (= ētēṣām) > ēāṇa(ṁ) » is the source of oblique honorific bases « ēṇā-, ēhā-, ē- » etc. The NB. honorific nominative ইনি « ini » presents a parallel case with তিনি « tini » (p. 823) : Early Bengali employed ইহঁ, ইহোঁ, এহোঁ « ihā, ihō, ēhō », which we occasionally find written in MSS. as ঞিহ, ঞিহো, ঞেহো « ñihā, ñihō, ñēhō ».

The alternation of « i, ē » is a commonplace thing in NIA. phonology. The « i » forms developed in Bengali quite early : the solitary ইহার « ihā-rā » in the ŚKK. shows that it goes back to the 14th century at least, and ইহার, ইহারে, ইহাকে « ihā-rā, ihā-rē, ihā-kē » etc. are common enough in MB. The Late MB. prose preferred these « i- » forms, whence the NB. « sādhu-bhāṣā » took them up. Oṛiyā preserves the earlier broader vowel, like Standard Colloquial Bengali : « ē, ēhā, ēhi ». In MB. and dialectal Bengali we find a form ইহান « ihāṇa », honorific genitive singular, = « ihā » + « -na » of the plural. In Assamese we have singular nominative « i », oblique « iyā- », plural « i-hāt- » : the honorific is « ēo » = MB. « ēhā »; and there is a feminine form in Assamese, « ēi », corresponding to « tāi » *she* (*supra*, p. 825), which seems to be based on the MIA. feminine genitive « ētāē, * ēdāē, * ēāē », agreeing with « tāē » for « tasyāḥ ».

The Bihārī dialects show « I, i » for the nominative, and « ēh-, ē-, ēhi- » for the oblique; and corresponding to « ēhā-, ihā- » of Bengali are to be found in Maithilī « hina-k < *inha-ka » (honorific oblique), and Magahī and Bhōjpuriyā « inh- » (plural base).

**567.** The OIA. « ēta- » base is found to be represented in most other NIA. Typical forms are given below :

| | Nominative | | Oblique | |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| | Singular | Plural | Singular | Plural |
| Awadhī | ī, yū (=ēhū) | in, ē | ē-, ēh-, ēhi-, yāhi- | in- |
| Hindōstānī | yah, yĕh, yih (< *ēaha) | same as Singular | is- | in-, inh- |
| Brajbhākhā | yah, yih (< *ēaha) | yē, yaũ | is-, yā- (= *ēaha) | ini-, in-, inhaũ- |
| Panjābī (Eastern) | ih, ēh | ih, ēh | ēs-, is-, ih- | ēh-, inh- |
| Lahndī | ē, ēh, ī | ē, ēh, nēh, in, ī, ĩh | is-, ih-, ĩ- | inhā̃-, inhē̃- |
| Sindhī | hī, hē, hīᵘ, hīᵃ | hī, hē | hinᵃ- | hinᵉ-, hinaneᵉ- |
| Rājasthānī | yō, yā (ō, ā) | yai, yē, (ē, ãĩ) | aĩ-, iṇ(i)-, ĩ-, aṇi- | iṇā̃-, aṇā̃-, in-, yā̃-, ā̃- |
| Gujarātī | ē | ēō | ē- | ēō- |
| Marāṭhī | hā [m.], hī [f.], hē̃ [n.] | hē, hyā, hī | hyā- (yā-), hī-(ī-) | hyā̃- (yā̃-) |
| Khaskurā | yō | ina, in(i) | yes-, yas- | ina-, in(i)- |

Of the above forms, the oblique singular in « -s- », as in Western Hindī (Hindōstānī, Brajbhākhā), Panjābī and Lahndī, as well as in Khaskurā (and the Western Pahāṛī dialects), is based on the OIA. « ētasya » (genitive of the « ēta- » base), which seems to have become « *ētissa » in First MIA. (cf. « ētisa » in Aśōkan the Shahbazgarhi : a similar change of the original vowel to « -i- » we note in the instrumental « *ētina < ētēna », which figures in the Second MIA., Māgadhī and Jaina Mahārāṣṭrī, as

« ēdiṇā » and « ēiṇā » respectively) : « *ētissa < *edissa > *ēissa » would be the development in Later MIA. It is quite likely that like « kissa, kiśśa, kīsa » = OIA. « kasya » which from the Early MIA. period was specialised from its genitive employ, and became almost an indepen dent form (cf. Bengali কিসে, কিসের « kisē, kisē-rā » *by what, of what* : see *infra*, under 'Interrogative'), « *ēissa » also was specialised, first as an ablative, and then as an oblique. This « *ēissa » could easily be the source of the NIA. « is-, ēs-, yes-, yas- » etc. In East Bengali (Dacca) when one is at a loss for a word the expletive ইসে « isē » is frequently used (= *namely, this er, what*) : this « isē » seems to be the equivalent of the W. Hindī « is- » in Bengali (cf. the similar use of « ēthi » in Bhojpuriyā : p. 834). The normal genitive form in « -ha » gave the oblique in the other NIA. dialects, and in many cases this oblique was shifted to the nominative. The nominative plural « yai, yē, ē », as in Western Hindī, in Rājasthāni and in Panjābī, possibly represents the instrumental « *ēēhi = ētēhiṁ = ētāiḥ ». In Gujarātī « ē » has taken up the sense of the remote demonstrative, and « -ō » is its normalised plural affix. The nasal « ṇ » (or nasalisation of the vowel derived from the nasal) in the Rājasthānī oblique singular comes from the OIA. pronominal base « ēna- » *he, she, it*, which was continued in MIA. (Pischel, § 431) ; but it is not preserved elsewhere in NIA. In the Apabhraṅśa source of Rājasthānī-Gujarāti, the « ēta- » and « ēna- » bases were merged into this demonstrative (Tessitori, 'Notes on the Grammar of OWR.,' § 89). The Sindhī oblique *e.g.*, « hina » is probably similarly to be explained. The prothetic « h- » in Sindhī is peculiar, but it may be by metathesis, from the genitive oblique « *ēaha > * ēha > hē, hī » : « ⁿ, ᵃ » are recent masculine and feminine affixes. The Marāṭhī forms present some obscurities (cf. Jules Bloch, 'Langue Marathe,' pp. 162, 208) : but can it be that in the formation of Marāṭhī « hā » etc. there was a blending in Mahārāṣṭrī Apabhraṅśa of forms like « ēha- » (= ēṣah, ētasya) and « āa-, āya- » (= ayam), such as we find in the Western Apabhraṅśa ? Gujarātī also has « ā » *this*, which is derived from « āya-, āa- » as found in Jaina Apabhraṅśa of the West, = Second MIA. « aya- » < OIA. nom. masc. « ayam ».

Sinhalese has the bases « ū, ē (ĕ) » for the third personal pronoun: of these, « ū » corresponds to the Remote Demonstrative of Bengali, and is cognate with it (see *infra*), and « ē (ĕ) » is traced by Geiger to « ayaṃ » of MIA. The proper demonstrative bases of Sinhalese are « ma- » *this*, which is derived ultimately from the OIA. and MIA. « ima- », and « ara » *that*, representing the OIA. stem « āra- » *far* ('Litteratur und Sprache der Sinhalesen,' pp. 66, 67).

**568.** The differences in gender have not been inherited in NIA. In Bengali and other Magadhan, a possible instrumental « *ēṅ̃, *ē̃ » (=ētēna) seems to have merged into the nominative and oblique, and also a possible plural instrumental > nominative, such as we find, for instance, in the Brajbhākhā « yaï, ē, yā̃ ». An expected locative in OB. and MB. would be « ēhĭ, ēhi »: this seems to occur in NB. as এই « ēi », as in এই যে « ēi jē » *here it is*, এইখানে « ēi khānē » *here*, এই হেথায় « ēi hēthāy » *here at this place*, etc.

Corresponding to the form তথি « tāthi », OB. seemed to have possessed « *ēthi ». We have « ēthi » in Oṛiyā, in the oblique, as an equivalent of « ēhā »; and « ēthi » occurs in Bhōjpuriyā as an expletive like ইসে « isē » of dialectal Bengali. Connected with this possible OB. « *ēthi » we have the form ইথে « ithē » *in this* in MB. (from the ŚKK. downwards).

**569.** Dialectal Forms for this pronoun agree in general with those for the Third Personal pronoun.

S.-W. Bengali has nominative এউ « ēu », really an emphatic form, = « ē + hu ». The expected plural forms of the type of « ē(u)nē, ē(u)mēṇ̠-kārṛ̠, ē(u)nnē-kārṛ̠ » do not feature in the LSI.

West Rāḍha agrees with the Standard Colloquial in having এ « ē », but the vulgar dialect has a preference for ই, ঈ, « i, ī », owing to contiguity with Bihārī; and the full forms ইহার, ইহাকে, ইহারদের, ইহাদিগে « ihā-rṛ̠, ihā-kē, ihārṛ̠-dērṛ̠, ihādigē » etc. occur in it.

In North Bengali, ই « i » as well as এই, এও « ēi, ēo » figure for the singular, and ইমরা, ইমরাক, ইমরার « imṛ̠rā, imṛ̠rā-kṛ̠, imṛ̠rā-rṛ̠ » etc. for the plural, corresponding to তামরা « tāmṛ̠rā » etc. (p. 828).

In East Bengali, we have এ « ē » in the singular, plural এরা « ē-rā », genitive plural এরার এরগো « ērārṛ, ērṛ-gō », and ইনি « ini » is singular, with plural এরানরা, এনারার « ēānṛ-rā, ēnā-rā-rṛ » etc. for the honorific. The full « -n- » rather than the nasalisation is preferred.

**570.** Like সে, সেই « sĕ, sēi », এ « ē », with its emphatic এই « ēi < ēhi » is used as a demonstrative adjective.

[E] THE REMOTE OR FAR DEMONSTRATIVE ও, উহা « ō, uhā ».

**571.** The forms in Bengali are—

| | Singular | | Plural | |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| | Old Singular | Old Plural | New Plural from Singular | Double Plural from Old Plural |
| Nominative | ও ō (earlier ওহা ōhā)[neuter উহা uhā] | উনি uni (earlier উহঁ uhā, ওহঁ ōhā) | ওরা ōrā, উহারা uhārā (ওসব, ওগুলা ō-sābṛ, ō-gulā > | ওঁরা ōrā, ওনারা ōnārā, উহাঁরা uhārā |
| Oblique | ও ō-, ওহা ōhā-, উহা uhā- | ওঁ ō- (ওহা ōhā-), ওনা ōnā-, উহাঁ uhā- | ওদিগ ōdigā-, ওদের ōdērṛ, উহাদিগ uhādigā, etc. | ওঁদিগ, -দের ō-digā, -dērṛ, ওনাদের ōnādērṛ, উহাঁদিগ uhādigā, etc. |

**572.** In Indo-Iranian, there were the following demonstrative bases which gave the remote demonstrative in the Indic and Iranic languages : [i] a base « *ava- » (= Indo-European « * owo- »: Old Church Slav « ovŭ »), giving the Iranian pronoun « ava » *that* as in Old Persian and Avestan (which has become « ō, ū » in New Persian = *he, that*, as opposed to « ē-, i- » *this* < Old Pers. « ai-ta- » = Skt. « ē-ta- », and « in » *this* = Skt. « ē-na- »). In Indo-Aryan, this base seems to have been current dialectally, although in the Rig-Veda alone it is preserved only in the genitive and locative dual form « avōḥ »; [ii] a base « am-ū (am-ŭ), am-ī » which is characteristic of Vedic and Sanskrit. It is obscure in origin, and seems to be an extension of « a-m », the accusative of the simple pronominal base « ă- » (= Indo-European « * ŏ, *ŏ- »), with « u » and « i » particles,

into « am-u-, am-ī- » which was established as a pronoun (cf. Vedic « tam-u, idam-u; also cf. « imam » < « im », accusative of a pronoun « i », *plus* particle « -am ».) This base « amu, amī » is not found outside India. [iii] For the nominative masculine and feminine, Indo-Iranian had the forms « * să-u, * sā-u », a combination of the third personal nominative pronouns « să, sā » *plus* the particle « -u », beside a neuter « tad- u ». (These are found in the Old Greek as « ho-u-, *hā-u-, * tod-u- < tou- » as in « hou-tos, hau-tē, tou-to ».) The masculine « * să-u » and the feminine « *sā-u » apparently were used one for the other. In Iranian these became « *hă-u, *hā-u », and Old Persian generalised the masculine (as « hauv ») for both genders, and Avestan the feminine « hāu ». In Indo-Aryan also, the feminine form was taken up for both the genders; and there was prothesis of the pronominal base « ă- », giving « ă-sā-u ». (The proper masculine form from Indo-Iranian « * (ă-)să-u » would have been « * asō » in Sanskrit.) For the neuter, a new formation « ad-as » (= neuter pronominal « a-d », cf. « ta-d, ya-d » etc., and a suffix « -as ») was created in OIA.

Leaving aside the nominative « asāu, adas », it is clear that in OIA. « amū-, amŭ-, amī- » formed the base for demonstrative, with a possible « ava- » base which is not noticed in Vedic and Skt. except in the dual form « avōḥ ».

The base of this pronoun in Bengali is « ō, ōhā », and not « u », which is later, and dialectal (cf. the case of « ē, ēha » and « i » of the near demonstrative). The ŚKK., however, shows « ō » only in the genitive ওহার « ōhā-rā » (twice), and it is « ū, u » in the nominative (thrice). The West Rāḍha dialect even now prefers « u » to « ō ». There is no instance of this pronoun in the Caryās. The ordinary demonstrative « sē, tāhā » seems to have been more popular than the « ō (u) » demonstrative in OB. and MB. This was certainly the case in some other forms of Magadhan, *e.g.*, Assamese and Oṛiyā, which use « sē, sēi » (in Assamese = [xi, xei]) and « sēhi », and do not possess the « ō » form. In the case of some of the pronominal derivatives, Bengali, too, prefers the bases « sē-, tă- » to « ō, ō > ă »: thus, সেখান « sē-khāṇa » beside ওখান « ō-khāṇa » *there*, NB. তবে

« tābē » rather than MB. অবে « ābē » *then*. In the Śaurasēnī Apabhraṅśa, however, as well as in the Avahaṭṭha of the 'Prākṛta-Paiṅgala' and of Vidyāpati and others (cf. p. 91), « õ » is found: *e.g.*, Hēma-candra (verse 45, under Apabhraṅśa) « jaï pucchahu ghara vaḍḍāī, tō vaḍḍā ghara õi » *if thou askest about big houses, then big houses are there* (« õi » = « *avē », locative of « *ava »: Pischel, 'Grammatik der Pkt.-Sprachen,' § 432); verse 97, « ō gōrī-muha-nijjiaũ baddali lukku miaṅku » *that moon, more beautiful then even Gaurī's face, is hid in the cloud;* 'Prākṛta Paiṅgala' (ed. Bib. Ind.), p. 139, « ō bakkala, ō pasu, ō pāsāṇa »; p. 348, « sasī ō » (=śaśī saḥ); Vidyāpati (Kīrtti-latā) — « bāla-canda, Vijjāvaï-bhāsā, duhũ nahī laggaï dujjaṇa-hāsā: ō Paramēsara-Hara-sira sōhaï, I niccaya nāara-maṇa mōhaï » *the scorn of bad men cannot touch these two —the young moon and Vidyāpati's language: that adorns the crest of the Supreme Deity Hara, this certainly pleases the mind of gallants*; etc. In the Apabhraṅśa which is connected with Gujarātī, as in the Jaina writers, the « ō » demonstrative does not occur: neither is it found in Marāṭhī.

The source of NIA. « ō » (and its variants in the different languages, as below) would seem to be the OIA. base « *ava », which looks like having been current in the spoken dialects, although ignored by the literary speeches—Vedic, Sanskrit, Pali and the various Prakrits—and came to its own only in Late MIA. literature through occurrence in the popular poetry in Apabhraṅśa. The base « amu- » is quite popular in Pali, it is common enough in Second MIA.: its development in Late MIA. and NIA. would have been « *awũ-, *aũ- »: this may have existed in Late MIA., but it gave place to the colloquial « * ava- > õ- ». The « ava, ō » pronoun has always been a living one in Iranian, and it occurs in Dardic (*e.g.*, Šiṇā): it can well have been a living one in some OIA. and MIA. dialects.

The oblique, honorific and secondary plural forms run parallel to those for « ē », and there is the alteration between « ō, ū (u) » similar to that between « ē, ī (i) ». In the Bihārī dialects, « ū, ŭ » are the nominative, and « ōh-, ō-, uh- » are found for the oblique: and corresponding to the honorific « uni, uhā- » etc. of Bengali, Maithilī has « huna-k < *unha-ka », and Magahī and Bhōjpurīyā have « unh- ».

**573.** The « ava- » base is thus represented in some of the other NIA. speeches :

| | Nominative | | Oblique | |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| | Singular | Plural | Singular | Plural |
| Awadhī | ū, wai | on, un, ō | ō-, ohi-, ōh-, wahi- | on-, un- |
| Hindōstānī | wah, wŏh, wuh | wē | us- | un- |
| Brajbhākhā | wah, wuh, wō | wē, wai | wis-, wāhi-, wā- | un(i)-, win(i)-, unhaū-(winhaū-) |
| Panjābī | uh, ōh | uh, ōh | us-, uh-, ōs- | ōh-, unh- |
| Lahndī | ō, ū, ūh | ŭ, ū, ō, ōh, ūhē | us-, uh-, ū- | unhā-, unhē- |
| Sindhī | hū, hō, huā | hū, hō, hōē | huna- | hune-, hunane- |
| Rājasthānī | wō, u, wōh, wā | wăĭ, vī, wai | waĭ-, ū,- uṇ(ı)-, waṇĭ- | un-, uṇā-, waṇā-, wā- |
| Khaskurā | u | una, uni, un | us- | una-, uni-, un- |

The oblique singular « -s- » forms of Western Hindī, Panjābī and Lahndī, and Pahāṛī (Khaskurā), are apparently based on the old genitive « *avasya » > MIA. « *avussa », paralleling « ētasya > ētissa », « kasya > kissa ». The plural nominatives, Western Hindī « wē », Lahndī « uhē », Rājasthānī « wai, wăĭ, vī », would be from an instrumental nominative plural, « *avahi, hī- > *avēbhiḥ ». The « -ṇ-, -n- » in the Rājasthānī and Sindhī singular oblique would appear to be by the analogy of the Near Demonstrative. Gujarātī and Marāṭhī do not possess a form corresponding to this « *ava- > ō, ū ». Sinhalese has « u », equally derived from « ava » (Geiger : see *supra*, p. 834).

**574.** There is a NB. locative adverb ओइ « ōi » *there*, which represents either a Māgādhī Apabhraṁśa « *ōi » < * avē » as in Hēma-candra, *supra*, p. 837), or the locative in « -hi » (*ōhi = OIA. ava + -dhi). ओइ « ōi » is

commonly written অই « âi », but that does not alter its « ō » pronunciation. There is no « -thi » form in Bengali as a substitute for the oblique (cf. তথি, ইথে « tâthi, ithē », *supra*, pp. 825, 834), which we see in the Bihārī dialects (*e.g.*, Bhōjpuriyā « ŏtthu, ōthuā » *that*, Maithilī « uthī, uthi »).

**575.** Dialectal forms for « ō, u » run parallel to those for « ē, i », with only substitution of the back vowels proper to this pronoun, and it is unnecessary to describe them. In many of the dialects, for instance in parts of West Rāḍha as well as E. Bengal, as a characteristic phonetic habit, অ « â » is substituted for ও « ō ».

**576.** The emphatic ওই « ōi » < ওহি « ōhi » (frequently written অই « âi ») = *that*, *that there*, is used as a demonstrative adjective.

**577.** There is a superficial resemblance between the NIA. demonstrative bases and those of Dravidian, which has the bases « i- » for the proximate, « a- » for the remote and a less common « u- » for the intermediate demonstrative (or « iv-, av-, uv- »: C. P. Venkatarama Ayyar, 'Madras University Dravidic Studies,' I, 1919). But that resemblance is only accidental: the NIA. forms can be easily traced back to OIA., and Dravidian influence here is extremely problematic. The Kōl demonstrative pronouns are more complicated in their construction and employment (cf. Santali, in LSI., IV, pp. 43-44), and here the question of influence is even more unlikely. The question of Tibeto-Burman influence seems to be still more remote.

### [D] The Relative Pronoun.

**578.** The forms are—

| | Singular | | Plural | |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| | Old Singular | Old Plural Honorific | New Plural | Double Plural = Honorific |
| Nominative | যে jē [neuter যা(হা) jā(hā)] | জেই jēhā, জিই jihā, যিনি jini | যা(হা)রা jā(hā)rā | যাঁ(হাঁ)রা jẫ(hā̃)rā |
| Oblique | যা(হা) jā(hā)- | যাঁ(হাঁ) jẫ(hā̃)-, যেনা jēnā- | যা(হা)দিগ jā(hā)-digâ-, যা(হা)দের jā(hā)dērā- | যাঁ(হাঁ)দিগ jẫ(hā̃)-digâ-, যা(হা)দের jẫ(hā̃)dērā- |

The pronoun is written with য « y=j » in NB., but in OB. and MB. জ « j » was preferred, although য was also used in MB. through Skt. influence (the OIA. source of the word in Skt. « ya- » being well-known).

**579.** The source of this pronoun is the OIA. relative « ya- ». The nominative যে « jē » = Māgadhī « yē », OIA. « yaḥ », has developed like « sē » from « sa, saḥ »: Assamese has « ji » [zi]. A plural nominative « jē » ( « * yahi=*yēhi », MIA. instrumental plural: cf. W. Hindī « jē » plural of « jō ») may have merged into the singular. The honorific is based on the plural genitive « yāṇa(ṁ), yāṇa(ṁ) » = « yēṣāṁ »: the « ē, i » vocalism in যেহঁ, যিহঁ, যিনি « jēhā, jihā, jini » may be due to the nominative. The oblique is the strengthened form of a genitive « jāha ». In Assamese, the neuter oblique has the « i » vowel, being based on the nominative (masc. nom. « ji », oblique « jā- »: neuter nom. « ji », oblique « ji-hā »).

Oṛiyā and Bihārī in the main agree with Bengali: thus—

| | Old Singular | Old Plural = Honorific | New Plural |
|---|---|---|---|
| Oṛiyā | jē, jāhā- | jēū, jāhā- | jē-mānē |
| Maithilī | jē, jāhi, ja- | jani-k (genitive) | jē-sabh |
| Magahī | jē (jaun), jēh- | jinh- (oblique pl.) | jinh-ak-an-ī |
| Bhōjpuriyā | jē (jawan, jaun), jēh- | jinh-(oblique pl.) | jinh-kā |

Eastern Hindī (*e.g.*, Awadhī, Chattis-gaṛhī) shows « jē » in the nominative, representing the vocalism of Ardha-Māgadhī. The form « jaun » ( cf. « taun » for the 3rd personal pronoun) agrees with « kaun » (see *infra*, under 'Interrogative'). The OIA. « ya- » is preserved in other NIA., exceptingSinhalese, which has adopted the Dravidian device of employing adjectival relative participles instead of the relative pronoun, and this pronoun has consequently dropped off.

**580.** OB. forms:

Nominative: « jē jē āïlā tē tē gēlā » *those who came went away* (Caryā 7); « jē jē gēla » *he who* (or *those who*) *went* (Caryā 15); « ja ēhu jaati » (= « *jē ēhu jugati », following the Commentary: Caryā 26): « jē bhamanti » (plural, < « *jahi, *yēbhiḥ »: Caryā 22);

Accusative: « jā ēthu cāhāma » (the printed text has « vāhāma »: cf. Commentary, « yam paśyāmy atra »: Caryā 21): « jā laï acchama » (Comm. = « gṛhītvā tiṣṭhāmi »: Caryā 29);

Instrumental: « jẽ ajarāmara hōi » (Caryā 3); « jẽna (archaic) tuṭaï avaṇā-gavaṇā » (Comm. = « tēna yātāyātaṃ truṭyati »: Caryā 21);

Genitive: « jā, jāhēra » (see *supra*, p. 752);

Locative: « jahi » (Caryā 31).

Besides, there are numerous (some dozen) instances of the Western Ap. nominative « jō » in the Caryās, and one or two instances of the corresponding Western genitive « jāsu » (in one case, as « jasu » in Caryā 40, it is used for the locative). This « jō » figures in Brajabuli poetry, and « jāsu, jasu » occur there as যছু « jāchu » (see *supra*, pp. 473-474).

The locative « jahi » is used as the oblique base in MB., esp. in the genitive, *e.g.*, যহির « jāhirā »: cf. Oṛiyā neuter « jāhī » = masculine and feminine « jā(hā) ». Corresponding to « tāthi » (see p. 825), MB. has যথি « jāthi », as in locative যথিত « jāthi-tā », genitive যথির « jāthi-rā » (see *supra*, p. 297).

**581.** The dialectal forms correspond to those for the demonstratives. The relative, with its emphatic form যেই « jēi (< jēhi) », is used as an adjective.

### [G] The Interrogative Pronoun.

**582.** The following are the forms for the masculine and feminine :

| | Old Singular | Old Plural > Honorific | Old Plural | Double Plural = Honorific |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| Nominative | কে kē [adj. কোন্ kōṇ্ড] | কেহ্ kehā, কিনি kini | কা(হা)রা kā-(hā)-rā | কাঁ(হা রা kā̃(hā)-rā |
| Oblique | কা(হা) kā(hā)- | কাঁ(হা) kā̃(hā)- | কা(হা)দিগ kā-(hā)digā-, কা(হা)দের kā(hā)dēra- | কাঁ(হা)দিগ kā̃(hā)-digā-, কাঁ(হা)দের kā̃(hā)dēra- (কেনাদের kēnādēra) |

The neuter has a separate form:

Singular Nominative কি, কী ki, kī (adj. =কোন্ kōṇ̠);
Oblique কি ki, কিসে kisē (from base « kīsa- ») ;
Genitive কিসের kisērṇ̠;

Plural: কি-সব, কি-সকল, কোন্-গুলা ki-sābṇ̠, ki-sākāḷṇ̠, kōṇ̠-gulā, etc.

**583.** The nominative কে « kē » is the form which characterises all Eastern speeches, Eastern Hindī included. Assamese also shows « kĕ » instead of the expected « *ki » < Māgadhī « kē », and Oṛiyā also has « kē ». The neuter « ki », from common OIA. « kim » (not « kad », corresponding to « tad, ētad, yad »), is a characteristic form, and this apparently brought about the introduction of « kē » for the masculine.

কোন্ « kōṇ̠ » was originally indefinite, and in its emphatic form কোন, কোনো, কোনও « kōnā, kōnō, kōnāō < kōnā-hō » the indefinite sense still survives. The pronoun is found as « kauṇ, kōṇ, kaun, kōn » in most NIA., and has its parallel in the other bases, like « taun, jaun ». It occurs is Western Apabhraṅśa as « kavaṇu, kavaṇa- ». Hoernle derives « kavaṇu » from an Apabhraṅśa quantitative pronoun « kēvaḍu » ('Gauḍian Grammar,' p. 291): but this is inadmissible. Pischel traces it to an OIA. diminutive or pejorative base « kava- » (from the old pronoun « ka- », and from « ku- » *bad* as well) which we find in Skt. forms like « kava-patha » *bad way*, « kavōṣṇa » *slightly warm* ('Grammatik der Pkt.-Sprachen,' § 428). The « -ṇ- » remains obscure still. But « kaun, jaun, taun » apparently form one group: and there is no pejorative sense in this indefinite form. It seems likely that the source of the « -vaṇa, *-vuṇa, -un » forms is the OIA. indeclinable « punaḥ »: «kaḥ punaḥ», apparently regarded as one group from Early MIA. times, « *ka-puna- » > Second and Late MIA. « *kavuṇa- > kavaṇa ». It is a noteworthy fact that « kaun, kōn » is found only in the nominative in the Northern Indian languages, although the oblique use is found in Gujarātī and Marāṭhī: thus the genitive of কোন্ « kōṇ̠ » in Bengali is কার « kārṇ̠ », in Hindōstānī « kis-kā », but in Gujarātī it is « kōṇ-nō » and in Mārāṭhī « kōṇā-cā »). In the ŚKK., the forms are কৌণ, কোণ « kāuṇā, kōṇā », beside কোমণ « kōmāṇā = kōm̃āṇā », and emphatic কোণোহো, কোঁহো

« kōṇō-hō, kōnhō ». It seems that in the Early MB. of the ŚKK. there was a confusion between the uncontracted কমণ, কমন « kâmâṇâ, kâmânâ = kâw̆âṇâ » and the interrogative pronominal adjective কেমন, কেমন্ত, কেমত « kē-mânâ, kē-mântâ, kē-mâtâ » (see *infra*). Early Middle Bengali কৌণ « kâuṇâ » has its counterpart in Oṛiyā « kâuṇâ-si » *only, some*; and the equivalent of « *kâw̆âṇâ » of MB. (in MB. it is always an adjective) in Oṛiyā is « kâāṇâ, kāṇâ » = *what*.

**584**. The oblique « kā(hā)- » is based on the « -ā(ha) » genitive; and the honorific is the genitive plural, MIA. « kāṇa(m) » for OIA. « kēṣām », with vocalism from the nominative.

The neuter base কিস « kisa- » goes back to the Early MIA. genitive « kissa » (which is already present in Pali) or « kiśśa » (as in Māgadhī) (= OIA. kasya). The « -i- » vowel seems to have been due to the influence of the neuter base « ki- » (« *kisya > kissa, kiśśa »: cf. Pali locative « ki-smiṁ, ki-mhi », beside « ka-smiṁ, ka-mhi »). During the Early MIA. period, this form extended its sense to the ablative (in addition to the dative), and became stereotyped into the neuter nominative as well, in the sense of *what*: and « kissa, kiśśa > kīsa, kīśa » was loosely compounded with a following noun (especially in the ablative), in Second MIA. (cf. Pischel, § 428). It seems that on the analogy of « kissa », other forms like « *tissa, *ētissa, *yissa » etc. were built up, which ultimately gave the oblique singular forms of the pronouns in Western Hindī and Panjābī. Of these, the base « kīsa- » alone occurs in Standard Bengali: it is found in OB. independently, without an affix: *e.g.*, Caryā 6, « acchahū kīsa » *in what am I*; Caryā 29, « kāhērē kiṣa (= kīsa) bhaṇi maï dibi piricchā » = « kasya kim uktvā mayā siddhāntaḥ pradātavyaḥ » as the Commentary explains; ibid, « Lui bhaṇaï, bhāība (= bhāw̆iba) kīṣ (= kīsa) » = « Lūyī-pādaḥ siddhâcaryō hi vadati, mayā... kiṁ bhāvyaṁ ». In the ŚKK, we have post-positional forms, like কিসক, কিসকে, কিসে (also কীবে), কিসের, কিসেরে « kisâ-kâ, kisâ-kē, kisē (kīṣē), kisērâ, kisērē ». The base form occurs in Oṛiyā as « kisâ »; Assamese has it as « kihâ » (< kisâ), neuter pronoun (beside a neuter « jihâ » < « jisâ = yasya »). The Bihārī dialects do not, however, show the « kīsa » base. The oblique of « ki » is « kisâ- » in NB.

but in eMB. we have also the oblique use of « ki » (*e.g.*, কিকে « ki-kē » in the ŚKK).

**585.** The honorific is based on MIA. « kāṇa(ṁ) = kēṣām » : the genitive কাহান « kāhā-nā » is found in MB. In Maithilī, it is the honorific base, « kan-ikā ». The « -n- » oblique occurs as usual in other NIA. as well.

**586.** The locative কহিঁ, কহি « kahĩ, kahi » of OB., and MB., is found in NB. in the form কই « kâi » *where* : in the Standard Coll., কই « kâi » is used in response to a statement or question, but in E. Bengali, it is a general word for *where*. The use of « kâhi » as the oblique base is found in MB. : *e.g.*, কহির « kâhi-rā » *of where* = *whose* ; also in Oṛiyā, *e.g.*, « kāhī-rā ». The other locative adverb কথি « kâthi » is found in MB., also as an oblique base : *e.g.*, (ŚKK). কথির « kâthi-rā » *whose*. As « kathī », it also forms the locative base of the neuter in the Bihārī dialects (especially Maithilī).

In NB. there is the form কয় « kây » (in the standard language also as ক' « kâ ») *how many*, which is from OIA. « kati ».

**587.** The forms in OB. :

Nominative indefinite masculine « kē-hō » (Caryā 18) ; neuter « kāhi kariaï » *what is done* (Caryā 1 : locative-oblique used for nominative, < « kāha ») ;

Accusative : neuter « kiṣa, kiṣ = kīsa » ( Caryās 6, 29) ; « kāh-ē » (Caryā 6) : « kā » (Caryā 39) :

Genitive : fem. « kāhari » (Caryā 10) ;

Dative : « kāhērē » (Caryā 29) ;

Locative : « kahĩ » (Caryās 7, 31, 49) ; « kāhi » (= « kāha » + locative affix : Caryā 43).

As an interrogative particle, « ki » occurs in OB. in some instances, *e.g.*, Caryā 33 « duhila dudhu ki bēṇṭē ṣāmāī » (see *supra*, p. 263) ; « bhāga ( = bhāṇga) taraṇga ki sōsaī sāara » *can broken breakers suck up the sea ?* (Caryā 42). An archaic « kiṃ » is found in some instances (22, 34, 41). Besides there are the common Western forms—nominative « kō » (16, 29), indefinite « kōē, kōi » (as in 42, 43), genitive « kāsu » (23).

The dialectal forms do not call for any special comment.

### [H] The Indefinite Pronoun.

**588.** কেহো, কেহ, কেউ « kēhō, kēhá, kēu » occurs only in the singular. It is a nominative Māgadhī form, coming from OIA. « kaḥ api » > Māgadhī « *kē' pi » > *kē' vi > *kē-va > « *kē-wa, kē-o » > « kēha, kēhō » (with influence from the emphatic particle « hu, hō »): cf. Oṛiyā « kēi » ( = *kēvi). Assamese has « kēo, kẽo », Magahī « kēū », Maithilī « kēo », Bhōjpuriyā « kēhū, kēū »; Eastern Hindī as a Prācya speech shows the « ē » vowel: « kēū, kēhū ». Western Hindī has the proper Śaurasēnī « kōī (< kō'vi, kō'pi »). The word « kēhō » occurs in Caryā 18: « kēhō kēhō tōhōrē biruā bōlaï » *some call thee deformed.*

The oblique form of « kēhō, kēu » is « kā(ha)- » or « kā(hā)- » + case-affix or post-position + « hō, ō », or « kā(ha)-, kā(hā)- » + « hō, ō » + case-affix or post-position: *e.g.*, « kāhā- + -rá + ō » > MB. (ŚKK.) কাহো « kārhō, kāhrō », NB. কারো, কার « kārō, kāru » *whose*; « kāhā- + ō + -kē » > MB. কাহোকে « kāhōkē » > NB. কাউকে « kāukē », beside literary কাহাকেও « kāhā- + -kē + ō » > colloquial কাকেও « kākēō » (and ŚKK. কাখো « kākhō » < « kāhā- + -ká + hō ») *whom*. For the plural forms, the « -ō, -hō » comes at the end of the inflected word: কারাও « kārā-ō », কাদেরও « kādēṛ-rō », etc. The NB. genitive has a peculiar form in the colloquial, কারুর « kārurṛ » (either = « kā-r-u » + additional genitive « -rṛ » ; or = « kā(hā)- + ō + -rá » > কাউর « kā-u-rṛ », with euphonic « -r- » : « kā-r-u-rṛ »).

**589.** The neuter indefinite is কিছু « kichu » which is found in other Magadhan (in Oṛiyā, however, as « kichi »). The OIA. « kim + -cid » occurs as « kiṁchi, kichi » ( = kicchi) in the Central and Eastern inscriptions of Aśōka, with the aspirate « ch », as opposed to stop « kiṁci » of the South-West (Girnar). This aspiration, so old, is peculiar: was it due to the influence of a possible masculine indefinite « *kacchi < kaścid »? The NIA. « kichu » also has the emphatic particle « hu »: « kiñchi-hu » (or « kiñci-hu »?) > « kichu ». (cf. Hoernle, 'Gauḍian Grammar,' § 465). The Oṛiyā « kichi » may represent the emphatic « hi » (< *kiñchi = kiñci + hi). The loss of nasalisation is very ancient. In Western Hindī, the form is

« kachu, kuch » (= « *kaṁ » used as neuter, +- « -cid, +hu=khu, khalu » ?), also « kichū ».

**590.** The relative যে « jē », যা « jā » is combined with কেহ কেউ, « kēhā, kēu » and কিছু « kichu » respectively to mean *whosoever, whatsoever*. This combination would seem to be recent in Bengali. The earlier way would be by periphrasis: *e.g.*, যে হোউক সে হোউক « jē hōukā sē hōukā » = NB. যে কেউ হোক্ « jē-kēu hōkā » *whoever it may be* ; or by adding the emphatic particle: *e.g.*, যেউ « jē-u », যেহো « jē-hō », as in the ŚKK.

### [I] The Reflexive and Honorific Pronoun.

**591.** OIA. « ātman » *self* changed to « atta- » in Early MIA. (Udīcya, Madhya-dēśa, Prācya). From « atta- » we would expect a neo-Māgadhī « *āta » : but this « atta », in Māgadhī as well as Ardha-māgadhī and Śaurasēnī, appears to have been overlaid by a cognate form « appa- » from South-Western MIA. (cf. « atpā » in Aśōkan Girnar : *ante*, p. 508). Pali shows only the basic Midland « atta- » ; and « atta- » is continued in the Second MIA. in Māgadhī and the rest, but by the Second MIA. period, the South-Western form established itself in the North and the East. The Second MIA. forms were : singular nominative « appā », instrumental « appaṇā », genitives « appaṇō », pl. « appāṇa », besides other ones (cf. Pischel, § 401). The nasal of MIA. has been preserved in NIA. in most cases, owing no doubt, to the base being regarded as being, in a vague way, « appaṇa- ».

In the Caryās, we have the following instances of the reflexive use of « ātman > apā, ăpaṇa, āpaṇa » :

3 : « āïla garāhaka apaṇē bahiā »
*The customer came, journeying all by himself* ;

6 : « apaṇā māṁsē hariṇā bairī »
*Because of its own flesh, the deer is a foe* ;

22 : « apaṇē raci raci bhava-nirvāṇā,
michē lōa bandhāvaē apaṇā »
*Creating again and again being and extinction by himself,*
*For naught man binds himself* ;

31 : « na jāṇami apā kahī gaï paiṭhā »
*I know not where the self having gone has entered* ;
32 : « apanē apā bujha tu nia-maṇa »
*By thyself understand thou in thy own mind* ;
39 : « disaï para-apyaṇā (= appaṇā) »
*Other and self are seen.*

In the Caryās, as can be seen from the above instances, « apā (= āpā) » is the nominative, « apaṇē » instrumental, « apaṇā » genitive and accusative. The OB. nominative « apā ( = āpā) » is an extended form of « *āpa » = lMIA. « *ăppă », Second and Early MIA. « ăppā » = OIA. « ātmā ». The oblique forms are regular OB. derivations of the MIA. « appaṇa » stem. The OB. nominative « āpā, apā (= *āpă) » is now rather obsolete in NB., the « -n- » oblique having encroached upon the realm of the nominative : « āpa̤ », without « -n- », meaning *self*, is preserved in the nominative in Oṛiyā (āpē). Instances of the old form আপ « āpa̤ » *self*, however, are found in Bengali : *e.g.*, আপ ভালো তো জগত ভালো « āpa̤ bhālō tō jāgāta̤ bhālō » *if self is good, the world also is good* (cf. Hindī. « āp bhalā tō jag bhalā ») ; আপ চাইতে পরের উপর দরদ « āpa̤ cāitē pārēra̤ upāra̤ dārād » *anxiety for another more than for oneself* ; cf. also আপি আপি « āpi-āpi » *all by oneself*, in baby language (cf. Oṛiyā « āpē-āpē »). But in Eastern and Western Hindī, it has been extended to mean the honorific pronoun as well : *e.g.*, Awadhī, both nominative and oblique, singular « āpu » plural « āp » = *your honour*, beside nominative « āpu », genitive « āpan », oblique « apanē » = *self, of self* ; Hindōstānī nominative and oblique singular « āp » *your honour, his honour*, plural « āp-lōg, āp-lōgō- », beside reflexive « āp », oblique « apnē », genitive « apnā, apnē, apnī ».

**592.** The extension of the sense from the Reflexive to the Honorific (Second) Personal Pronoun is a recent thing in NIA. It is absent in MIA. It is not found in OB. and eMB., nor in the older literatures in the other NIA. tongues. In Early Bengali documents ( *e.g.*, in the letter of c. 1555 A.C. from the Kōc king of North Bengal to the Ahom king of Assam, *supra*, p. 828), তুমি, তোমার « tumi, tōmāra̤ » are used as respectful or honorific forms, not আপনি « āpani » as in NB. or « āpuni » as in Assamese.

The Bihārī dialects employed, and even now employ, words like « āhā, ahā, ahaĭ; ais; raur; rauwā » (see *infra*), and Eastern Hindī also employed « raur », for the honorific of the 2nd person: these words correspond to the NB. মোশাই, মশায়, মহাশয় « mōśāi, māśāẏ, māhāśāẏ » and the Urdū « janāb, ḥuẓūr ». The use of the reflexive for the honorific second person is not an Eastern NIA. innovation: nor is it characteristic of the North-Western, South-Western, and Southern NIA.: *e.g.*, Panjābī (Eastern and Western) uses « tus(s)ī », the ordinary plural, for the honorific, and « āp » is an imposition from Hindōstānī; so Sindhī has « tavhī » (? = *tusī < *tussa- < *tuṣma-, yuṣma-), and the reflexive « pāṇᵃ » (= appaṇa < ātman-) is used as an honorific, as in the genitive « pāhₐ-jō », to mean *yours* as well as *yours and mine*; and in some of the dialects of Rājasthānī, and in Gujarātī, the reflexive base « āpā, āpaṇ- » is used, not to mean *you*, but *you and we* (Gujarātī, however, has « āp » as an honorific second person = *your honour*, declined like a regular noun, but in the plural and in the second person: this use of « āp » is possibly the result of Brajbhākhā or Hindōstānī influence through the Rājasthānī dialects: to denote *self*, New Gujarātī has the base « pōta- » <« *pōpa » < OWR. « apōpa » < Apabhraṁśa « *appahu-appa- »: cf. Tessitori, 'Grammar of OWR.,' § 92); and Marāṭhī employs the base « āpaṇ » as an honorific for all the three persons, as well as to denote the inclusive personal pronoun (1st and 2nd persons), like Rājasthānī and Gujarātī. Sinhalese partly agrees with the South-Western speeches in using the form « api, apa » (appa-) for the plural of the 1st personal pronoun, only it does not include the 2nd person. (The reflexive in Sinhalese is « tamā », a *sts.* form from « ātman »: Geiger, 'Litteratur und Sprache der Sinhalesen,' pp. 67, 69). Honorific use of the reflexive seems to be absent in the Himalayan (Pahāṛī) speeches; and it is not found in Gipsy dialects outside India.

The Eastern, Northern, Western, South-Western, and Southern NIA. speeches thus do not seem to have developed in themselves the extension of the Reflexive for the Honorific of a special pronoun: in the last two groups, the reflexive was used as an inclusive 1st personal pronoun. On the other hand, we find that the Midland speech, Western Hindī, uses the reflexive

base for the honorific of both the 2nd and 3rd persons. It is exceedingly likely that the Eastern and other speeches borrowed this use of the reflexive from the Midland dialects, and the Magadhan speeches especially restricted it to the 2nd person only, as they possessed an honorific form for the third. Probably this borrowing is not older than two centuries from now.

**593.** The forms for the base আপন «āpan-» in Bengali are:

| | OB. | Early MB. (ŚKK.) | NB. (Standard Coll.) |
|---|---|---|---|
| Nom. | apā (āpā), apaṇā, appaṇā | আপনে, আপুণী, আপুণি āpanē, āpuṇi, -I | আপনি āpni, আপুনি āpuni |
| Acc. | apaṇā | আপনে, আপনাক, আপনা, আপন āpanē, āpanā-kā, āpanā, āpana | ... ... ... |
| Ins. | apaṇē | (as Nominative) | আপনি āpni |
| Gen. | apaṇā | আপন, আপনা, আপনার āpanā, āpanā, āpanā-rā | আপন, আপনার, আপনকার āpanr, āpnā-rr, āpanr-kārr |
| Dative | ... | (as Accusative) | ... ... ... |
| Oblique base | ... | আপনা āpanā- | আপনা āpnā-. |

The nominative «āpani» as an honorific has its final vowel through analogy of «tini, ini, uni, jini» etc.: otherwise we would expect «āpanē», and this form does occur dialectally. The plural is made in NB. by adding «-rā, -digā, -dērr» etc. to the oblique, as in the other pronouns. There is a base form, *e.g.*, আপন পর «āpanr-pārr» *self and others*. The genitive আপনা «āpanā» (beside «āpanr») has the definitive «-ā».

**594.** There is the form আপস «āpasr» used in the plural, = *among themselves, mutually*, which is found also in W. Hindī and other NIA. The form is obscure, but it can be from a MIA. genitive «*appassa» (< *ātma-sya = ātmanaḥ), as Beames suggested (Comp. Grammar, II, pp. 330-331). It is used in Bengali in the locative as well as the genitive, but in a locative expression only: *e.g.*, আপসে «āpasē», আপসের মধ্যে «āpasērr mādhyē» *among themselves* (*ourselves, yourselves*). Can it be affiliated to a MIA. locative plural «appasu = ātmasu», as a solitary survival of a loc. pl. form in NIA.?

**595.** A blend of « āpa » and the Skt. « ātma- », pronounced [āttɔ], has given the MB. and NB. আপ্ত « āptá » *of self*, which has quite a currency in some compounds, *e.g.*, আপ্ত-জন « āptá-jáṇ » *relations*, আপ্ত-সুখী « āptá-sukhī » *seeing to one's own happiness*, আপ্ত-নারী « āptá-nārī » *one's own wife*, আপ্ত-গরজে < গরজিয়া « āptá-gōrjē < -gárāj-iyā » *selfish* (Perso-Arabic ǧarz, cf. Pers. xv ud-ǧarzī), etc.

**596.** Among dialectal forms for this pronoun may be noted only the S.E. Vaṅga (Chittagong) আঁওনে, আঁওনা « ãŏnē, ãŏnā », or আঁনে, আঁনা « ãnē, ãnā », with rather long « ã », which show the nasalisation of the NIA. « -p- » : « -p- > « -w- » > « w̃ ».

**597.** The *ts.* word নিজ « nijá, nijã » is used in NB. to denote *self*. It is found as a *tbh.* « nia » in the Caryās in some 3 places, but the *ts.* « nijá » is established in the ŚKK. (over a dozen times).

**598.** The Bihārī forms « rāur-, raur ; rā̆uwā ; āis-, ais- ; āhā-, ahā- » may be noted. These are used as honorific terms of address, and also as equivalents of *your honour*. « rāur » is found in Eastern Hindī, and is very common in Bhōjpuriyā : it is from a MIA. « lāüla », occurring, *e.g.*, in the 'Prabōdha-candrôdaya' ; the source is an OIA. « rāja-kula- » or « rāja-kulya- » *royal* (cf. Hoernle, 'Gauḍian Grammar,' § 447) : the Western equivalent of this word is « rāwal ». The word « rā̆uwā » is only an extended form of « rāū », which is from « rāja- ». The form « āis-, ais- » occurs in dialectal Maithilī ; the source may be a form like « ati-śa » *pre-eminent*, or « atîśa » *supreme lord* (cf. « Atiśa », or « Atîśa », the title of Dīpaṅkara Śrī-jñāna, the Buddhist scholar and saint of Bengal, c. 1000 A. C., whose original name was Candra-garbha : Śarat Chandra Dās, 'Indian Pandits in the Land of Snow,' Calcutta, 1893, pp. 50, 51, 60) : this can be compared with the use of « mahāśaya » in Bengali. The source of « āhā, ahā » is obscure : « ahā- » is found in Early or literary Maithilī, as nominative or vocative, and « ahā̆-, ahaĭ » are the oblique bases, « -ā̆, -aĭ » of which are the genitive and instrumental plural forms. Connexion with the OIA. « bhavān », MIA. « bhavaṁ » presents some phonetic difficulties. The form « ahā, ahā̆-, ahaĭ- » is used in Maithilī not for superiors

in age or status, but among equals: and it is very likely that the OIA. « āyuṣmān » > MIA. « āyasmā » (as in Pali) is the source: this would give an Apabhraṅśa « *āamha, *āmha, āhā ». There is no form corresponding to « āhā, āhaĭ-, āhā̆- ; ahā, ahaĭ-, ahā̆- » in Bengali, but it is possible that the personal affix « -ēhā̆, -ē » for the second person of the verb is connected with it (see *infra*, under Verb: 'Personal Affixes').

### [J] Pronominal Derivatives, Adjective and Adverb.

#### [I] Adjectives of Quality or Manner in মত- « -mātṛ », মন « -mānṛ ».

**599.** These are: তেমত, তেমন « tē-mātṛ, tē-mānṛ » *in that way, like that*; এমত, এমন « ē-mātṛ, ē-mānṛ » *in this way, like this*; ওমত, অমত, অমন « ō-mātṛ, ă-mātṛ, ă-mānṛ » *like that, in that way*; যেমত, যেমন « jē-mātṛ, jē-mānṛ » *like that, in the way that*; কেমত, কেমন « kē-mātṛ, kē-mānṛ » *like what? in what way?*. The affix is added apparently to the nominative bases of the various pronouns: for the 3rd personal pronoun the oblique base has influenced the form, though we have সেমত « sē-mātṛ » which is rather rare. For the remote demonstrative the form ও- « ō- » has been broadened to « ă ». The « -m- » in this affix is often pronounced as [w̃].

The source of « -mātṛ » in NB. and MB. is OB. « -manta » < OIA. « -mant-, -vant- »: cf. Vedic forms implying likeness or size, like « ētā-vant-, tā-vant- » *so great*, « yā-vant- » *as*, « I-vant- » *so great*, « kI-vant » *how far*, and Vedic and Sanskrit quantitatives like « i-yat, ki-yat » *so much, how much*. The « -manta » affix in this employ seems to be peculiar to the eastern Magadhan speeches only. Oṛiyā, as being more archaic than Bengali-Assamese, preserves the full form in the adjectives « tē-mānta, ē-mānta, jē-mānta, kē-mānta ». The group « -nt- » changed to « -t- » in Bengali (see *supra*, p. 502). The Oṛiyā adverbs « ti-māti, ē-māti, ji-māti, ki-māti » also show the « -t- < -nt- ».

The « -mānṛ » forms of Bengali and Assamese are irregular. It seems that quite early in the OB. period, when the full form « -manta » was current, through contamination with the pronominal adjectives of quality in « -hana » (see *infra*, p. 853), « -manta » came to have a variant « * -mana, * -maṇa ». It is already well-established in the ŚKK., so much

so that the proper « -mātā » affix is much restricted, কেমণে, কেমনে, কেমণ, কিমনে « kē-māṇē, kē-mānē, kē-māṇa, ki-māṇē », for instance, occurring some 20 times, and কেমতেঁ « kē-mātẽ » only twice. In NB., the « -t- » forms are archaic, even for the « sādhu-bhāṣā », and the colloquial knows only the « -n- » forms.

Bengali has also a form মতন « mātanṛ » *like, similar to* (see next para), which is a blend of « -mātā » and « -mānā ».

This affix « -mātā, -mānṛ, mātānṛ » quite early came to be regarded as a separate word in Bengali and Assamese, through confusion with the Skt. « mata, manas < √man » : *e.g.*, আমার মত(ন) « āmārṛ mātā(nṛ) » *like me*, তোমার মত(ন) « tōmārṛ mātā(nṛ) » *like you*, পুরানো মত(ন) « purānō mātā(nṛ) » *like old, oldish*. As a separate word, মত « mātā » is now frequently written মতো « mātō » (< « *-mantaẇa, manta + ka »), following the pronunciation. The independent use of « mātā, mānā » is fairly common in the ŚKK., where it generally occurs after and strengthens the pronominal adjective of quality in « -hānā, -hnā, -nā » : *e.g.*, কেন মণে, মনে, মতেঁ « kēnā + māṇē, mānē, mātẽ » *in what way* ; এহি মতেঁ « ēhi mātẽ » *in this way* ; যেহ্ন মনে « jēnhā mānē » *in such a way that* ; NB. poetic হেন মতে « hēnā mātē » *in this way*.

Early Assamese had the « mātā, mānā » forms : *e.g.*, Śaṇkara-dēva, « hṛdi-sthitā huā tumi jēnā kārābāhā swāmi, Hṛṣīkēśā, kāribā tēmānā » *remaining in my heart, just as you will make me do, Lord Hṛṣīkēśa, so shall I do* (Dēvēśwar Chaliha, ' Asamīyā Sāhityar Burañji,' Jorhat, Saka 1833, p. 123) ; « cāri dinā sēhi mātē thākiyā Iśwārā » *in that way, the Lord, staying for four days* (ibid., p. 133). Early Assamese also has forms like « jēntē, tēntē » etc. = « jēw̃āntē, tēw̃āntē < jēmāntē, tēmāntē ». In Modern Assamese, the full « -m- » or the altered « -w̃- » forms no longer occur, but contracted ones, « ēnē, jēnē » < « *ēmānē, jēmānē », pronominal adverbs, which seem to have merged into the « -hānā, -hēnā » forms (see *infra*).

With addition of the instrumental « -ē » we have corresponding adverbs : এমতে, এমনে « ēmātē, ēmānē » [æmote, æmone] *in this way*, কেমনে « kēmānē » [kæmone] *how* ? etc. ; but the adverbial use of the simple « mātṛ, mānṛ », without the « -ē » affix, is also found. There is in NB. also a locative use of the « -mān-ē » forms, in which the « -ē » is certainly the locative affix :

কম্‌নে « kāmaṇē » *where?*, যম্‌নে, যেমনে « jāmaṇē, jēmaṇē » *in the direction that*, এম্‌নে « ēmaṇē » *in this direction*, etc. (the forms « kā- » etc., rather than « kē- » etc., are probably due to the analogy of কই « kāi » etc., for which see *supra*. Contracted forms of these adverbs of direction are found in dialectal Bengali: *e.g.*, EB. কনে « kānē » (< kāōnē, kāwnē, kāmaṇē); এনে, এয়ানে « ēnē, ēānē » (< ēmānē) etc. Oṛiyā also has similar forms—« ēṇē, tēṇē » etc.

[II] Adjectives and Adverbs of Quality in হন, হেন, হু, ন « -hānā > -hēnā > -hnā > -nā ».

**600.** NB. has the following: হেন, যেন, কেন « hēnā, jēnā, kēnā », dialectally যেনে, কেনে « jēnē, kēnē » (with instrumental « -ē » affix). Besides there is a rare তেন « tēnā ». Of these, হেন « hēnā » alone is used as an adjective: *e.g.*, হেন কাজ « hēnā kājā » *such work*; cf. also যেন তেন উপায়ে « jēnā tēnā upāyē » *in any way possible, by some means or other*. কেন, কেনে « kēnā, kēnē » simply means *why* < *in what way*, and যেন, যেনে jēnā, jēnē » is also a conjunction = *so that, in order that*.

In eMB. (ŚKK.), the corresponding forms were (এ)হেন, তেহেন or তেহু, যেহেন or যেহু, কেহেন or কেহু « (ē-)hēnā; tē-hēnā, tēnhā; jē-hēnā, jēnhā; kē-hēnā, kēnhā », and these were adjectives as well as adverbs—the instrumental « -ē » affix being commonly used for the adverb: *e.g.*, কি নাম তাহার, কেহেন তার রূপ « ki nāmā tāhārā, kēhēnā tārā rūpā » *what is her name, what is her beauty like* (ŚKK., p. 11). In NB., the adjectives in « -mātā, -māṇā » have practically ousted the « -hēnā, -hnā, -nā » forms from adjectival use.

The eMB. « -hēnā » forms correspond to the Maithilī « ē-han, tē-han, kē-han » (< « *-hana »: the Bengali change of « *-hā- » to « -hē- » is due to the influence of the preceding bases « ē-, jē-, kē-, tē- »).

The Māgadhī Apabhraṁśa source of the Maithili and Bengali forms would be « *aïhaṇa- (or ēïhaṇa-?), *taïhaṇa-, *jaïhaṇa-, *kaïhaṇa- »; which would represent Second MIA. (Māgadhī) « *ēaïśaṇa-, *taïśaṇa-, *jaïśaṇa-, *kaïśaṇa- » (see *supra*, pp. 95, 555). OIA. has pronominal adjectives in « -dṛśa »—« tādṛśa-, ētādṛśa-, yādṛśa-, kīdṛśa- »

etc. This « -dṛśa- » affix became « -disa-, -diśa- », and then « -isa-, -iśa- » through loss of interior « -d- » in MIA. With a pleonastic adjectival affix « -na » (cf. Whitney, 'Sanskrit Grammar,' §§ 1223 g, 1245 f), this affix was extended, either in dialectal OIA. or in MIA., to give « yaïśaṇa (jaïsaṇa), taïśaṇa (taïsaṇa) » etc., beside « jaïsa-, taïsa- » etc. The OIA. vocalism of the pronominal bases has been regularised in MIA., through what process we do not know. The change of the sibilant to « -h- » in Maithilī and Bengali is peculiar and unexplained. Early Oṛiyā shows forms like « jē-sânâ », and Old Bengali like « aïsana ». The « -s- » forms occur in Magahī and Bhōjpuriyā, and in E. Hindī and W. Hindī, and in most forms of NIA. besides. The presence in OB. of the sibilant in these adjectives (as in « aïsana, kaïsẽ, jaïsō, taïsō, aïsa, kaïsẽ » in the Caryās) is certainly due to Western Apabhraṁśa influence (see *supra*, p. 115). Similarly in Early Maithilī we have the Western « -s- » forms side by side with the native « -h- » ones. Through the Brajabulī dialect the « -s- » forms were once more introduced into Bengal through W. Hindī influence, and from the 16th century onwards, the « -s- » was written ছ « ch »: *e.g.*, যৈছন « yâïchânâ = jâïsâna », অইছন ঐছন « âichânâ = âïsânâ », কৈছে « kâïchē » = Hind. « kâïsē », কৈছন « kâïchânâ = kâïsânâ ». The forms without « -n- », corresponding to the Western Hindī « aïsā, aïsī ; aïsē » etc., do not seem to occur in East Magadhan.

In the ŚKK. occurs the correlatives জৈসাণে, তেসাণে « jâïsāṇē, tēsāṇē », as in জৈসাণে রতি জাণবোঁ, তেসাণে কাহ্ন আণিবোঁ « jâïsāṇē rāti jāṇâbō̃, tēsāṇē Kānhâ āṇibō̃ » *when I shall understand love's sport, then I shall bring Kṛṣṇa* (p. 21). These correspond with Early Asamese « jâïsāni » (ŚKK., Comm., p. 447): and they are Śaurasēnī « -s- » forms borrowed in OB. which persisted with the earlier literary tradition in MB. and Early Assamese: probably some sort of confusion with a word like সমঅ « samaya = sawaya » also existed here.

[III] Nouns and Adjectives of Quantity in ত « -tâ » or তো « -tō ».

**601.** They are তত (তেত), এত, অত, যত (যেত), কত < *কেত « tâtâ, (tētâ [tæto]); ētâ; âtâ; jâtâ (jētâ = [jiæto]); kâtâ < *kētâ », also ততেক,

এতেক, [অতেক], যতেক, কতেক « tātēkṛ, ētēkṛ, ātēkṛ, jātēkṛ, kātēkṛ », with pleonastic « -ēkṛ » affix, as in Maithilī. These agree with Oṛiyā « tētē, ētē, sētē, jētē, kētē », and Assamese « tētē(k), ētē(k), kētē(k) » etc. Early Assamese also had forms in « -tā, -tō » like Bengali. Corresponding forms occurs in other NIA. speeches : *e.g.*, Hindōstānī « titnā, tittā ; itnā, ittā ; utnā, uttā ; jitnā, jittā ; kitnā, kittā ».

As sources of these in MIA., we have in Western Apabhraṁśa « tēttiu, ēttiu, jēttiu, kēttiu », Second MIA. « tēttia, ēttia, jēttia, kēttia », and First MIA. (Pali) « tattaka, ēttaka, kittaka ». These MIA. forms are derived from, or are connected with, Vedic quantitatives in « -yant- », like « i-yant- » *so much*, « ki-yant- » *how much*. It seems that formations made up of the pronominal base + the affix « -yant- (-yat-) » + an adjectival « -tya, -tiya » (cf. Pischel, 'Grammatik der Pkt.-Sprachen,' § 153) gave in Early MIA. forms[1] like « i-yatta-, *a-yatta- (*i-yat-tiya, *a-yat-tiya-) ; *ki-yat-ta- (* ki-yat-tiya-) ; *ya-yatta- (* ya-yat-tiya-) » etc., which were regularly altered into the Pali (with a pleonastic « -ka » as in « ētta-ka, kitta-ka »), Prakrit and Apabhraṁśa forms. The source-forms of Bengali would seem not to have had the « -ia » ending as in Western Apabhraṁśa (« ēttia, kēttia » etc. should give « *ētī, *kētī » in NIA.), but rather « -a-ka » ending, as in Pali (ēttaka > ēttaa > OB., MB., ētaẘa, ētā > NB. ētā, ētō [æto]). In Caryā 35 we have « ēta-kāla » (see *supra*, p. 808).

The above forms are also used as nouns in Bengali, as in other NIA., and as such for the genitive they take not the simple র « -rā- » affix, but the affix কার « -kārṛ », or the archaic form কের « -kērṛ ».

In Bengali, the form কতক, কতোক « kātākṛ, kātōkṛ » has an indefinite sense ( = kātā + ō, hō + -kā pleonastic : cf. kēu, p. 845). MB. has the emphatic কথো « kāthō » ( = kātā + hō, hu), which corresponds in formation to the Maithilī « kathū ».

[1] OIA. '-(t)tya' would be expected to become 'cc' in MIA. ; but a *sta.* 'tt' treatment is not unknown, cf. 'āditya-vāra > MIA. āitta-vāra > NIA. (Hindī) āit-wār, it-wār' *Sunday*. In the present case, the form with intrusive '-i-' (*e.g.*, '*ya-yat-tiya > yettia, jettia') certainly helped to prevent palatalisation of a corresponding '*ya-yat-tya-.'

[IV] Adverbs of Time in বে « -bē ».

**602.** These are তবে, এবে, যবে, কবে « tabē, ēbē, jabē, kabē » ; « ēbē » is archaic and poetic for NB., and it is also found as ইবে « ibē », অবে « abē », dialectally in NB. and occasionally in MB. In OB., they were respectively « tabē, ēbē, jabē, *kabē, *abē (?) »—the first three actually occurring in Caryās 46, 35 and 21 respectively. Equivalents in Oṛiyā are « tēbē, ēbē, jēbē, kēbē », while « abē » is not found. The difference in the vowel of the pronominal base between Oṛiyā (tē-, jē-, kē-) and Bengali (tā-, jā-, kā-) is to be noted. Modern Assamese does not possess these forms, but Early Assamese did, and the Early Assamese forms agree with the Oṛiyā ones. In Early and Modern Maithilī « taba, tabē, tabĕ; aba, abē, abĕ, ābē; jaba, jabē, jabĕ ; kaba, kabē, kabĕ » are found. In Western Hindī, the same forms are found as « tab, ab, jab, kab » (Hindōstānī), and as « tabai; abai, abē ; jabai ; kabai » (Brajbhākhā).

The forms in « -ē, -ai » are palpably locatives, with the locative affix « -ē, -ai < -ahi, ahī ». The source of the forms in Western Hindī and in the Māgadhan speeches would be Śaurasēnī and Māgadhī Apabhraṅśa forms like « *tabba- (*tĕbba-), *ĕbba-, *jabba- (*jĕbba-), *kabba- (*kĕbba) », locative « *tabbahi, (*tĕbbahi), *ĕbbahi », etc.

In Vedic the indeclinable « ēvá, ēvā́ » originally meant *thus* ; in later Indo-Aryan it became merely an emphasising particle. In the sense of *thus*, however, in later Vedic, the form « ēvā́m » came in, and this « ēvā́m » in all likelihood is but an extension of « ēvá, ēvā́ ». In Second MIA., « ēvā́m » became « ĕvvaṁ », in the sense of *thus*. In MIA., « ĕvvaṁ » seems to have occurred also as « ĕbbaṃ, *ĕbbā » which further seems to have developed a temporal sense from a modal one, and this temporal meaning was strengthened by putting it in the locative (*ĕbbahī, *ĕbbahi). Corresponding to « ēvá, ēvā́m > *ĕbbaṁ » which in the Apabhraṅśa stage easily affiliated itself to the pronominal base « ē- < ēta- », it is exceedingly likely that other analogous pronominal adverbs were evolved, like « *tēvá(ṁ), *yēvá(ṁ), *kēvá(ṁ) », in Early MIA., which would become « *tĕvvaṁ > *tĕbbaṁ » etc.; or « *tavvaṁ > *tabbaṁ »

etc. through substitution of the pronominal bases in « -a- », namely « ta-, ya-, ka- ». Thus all these are on the basis of « ēvá, evám > ĕvvaṁ ». The form « ab-ē, ab » would seem to be merely a weakening of « ēbai, ēbē ».

Western Apabhraṅśa as in Hēma-candra actually has forms which would presuppose the new formations « *tēva, *yēva, *kēva » on the model of « ēva » : and these forms show MIA. nasalisation of « -v- » : « eṁva = ẽw̃a ; teṁva = tẽw̃a, tiw̃a » ; jeṁva = jẽw̃a, jiw̃a ; keṁva = kẽw̃a, kiw̃a » (cf. Pischel, 'Grammatik der Pkt.-Sprachen,' § 261). NIA. representatives of these adverbs of manner are now found (see *infra*, p. 860). Locative forms of these occurred as adverbs of time in Western Apabhraṅśa : Hēma-candra actually cites « ẽw̃ahī = idānīṁ » (Pischel, § 261). This « ẽw̃ahī » of course cannot give the Bengali « ēbẽ > ēbē », or the Maithilī « abē », and Western Hindī « abaị » ; but a parallel MIA. formation « *ĕvva- > ŏbba-, ŏbbahī » alone can.

[V] Adverbs of Time in খন « khaṇḍ ».

**603.** These are তখন, এখন, যখন, কখন « tă-khaṇḍ, ē-khaṇḍ, jă-khaṇḍ, kă-khaṇḍ » = *then, now, when, when* ?, besides an অখন < ওখন « ă-khaṇḍ < ō-khaṇḍ » *then, at that time* which is used as a sort of indefinite addition after future verbs (*e.g.*, দেবোঅখন দেবো-খন, দেবে-খুন « dēbō-ăkhaṇḍ, dēbō-khaṇḍ, dēbō-khuṇḍ » *I shall give at some future time*, দেবে-অখন, দেবে-খন, দেবে-খুন « dēbē-ăkhaṇḍ, dēbē-khaṇḍ, dēbē-khuṇḍ » *he will give :* this influenced the past formations in the Standard Colloquial like দিলুম-খুন « dilumṇ-khuṇḍ » = *I gave then, and I gave* : see *infra*, Verb, 'Pleonastic Affixes'). The « khaṇḍ » is from the OIA. « kṣaṇa », which occurs in Bengali as a *sts.* ক্ষণ « [khæ:n, (k)khon] : « tat-kṣaṇam > takkhaṇa, tăkhaṇḍ » etc., with irregular absence of lengthening. This form of temporal adverb occurs in all the Magadhan languages. Cf. 'Prākṛta Pāiṅgala' (Bib. Ind. ed.), p. 304, « jakkhaṇa vīra Hamīra calē » *when Hamīr the warrior marches* ; p. 318, « Kāsī-rāa jakkhaṇa calē » *when the king of Kāsī marches.*

[VI] Adverbs of Place in থা « -thā ».

**604.** We have তথা ( সেথা ), হেথা, হোথা, যেথা ( যথা ), কোথা « tāthā (sēthā) ; hēthā; hōthā; jēthā (jāthā) ; kōthā », which have also locative forms তথায় ( সেথায় ), হেথায়, হোথায়, যেথায় ( যথায় ), কোথায় « tāthāy (sēthāy), hēthāy, hōthāy, jēthāy (jāthāy), kōthāy ». The Bengali সেথা « sēthā » is a new formation with a generalised « -thā » base added to the nominative form « sē », and « hētha, hōthā » are for « ēthā, ōthā » with prothetic « h- » (see *ante*, p. 556). OB. gives « ēthu », a form influenced by W. Apabhraṅśa, in Caryā 15.

These « -thā » forms are based on MIA. « tattha, ĕttha (*ŏttha), yattha > jattha, kuttha (*kŏttha) » which already occur in Pali, and thus date from the First MIA. period. The corresponding OIA. forms are « ta-tra, *i-tra = a-tra, *ava-tra, ya-tra, ku-tra ». The aspiration in the MIA. forms presents a difficulty. This may be due to the « -r- » (see *supra*, p. 438). Pischel refers « ŏttha » to the Vedic « itthā » (in Skt. « ittham ») = *thus* ('Grammatik der Pkt.-Sprachen,' § 107), and the rest apparently would follow analogically. But W. Geiger derives these from the « -tra » forms ('Pali Litteratur und Sprache,' §§ 9, 62), and cites cases from Pali where we have « -tth- < -tr- », like « sŏtthiya, sŏttiya = śrōtriya », and « ubhayattha = ubhaya-tra ». Can it be that we have the OIA. « √ sthā » here, in original forms like « *tat-stha, *yat-stha » etc. ?

Old locatives of these « -tha » forms like তথি « tāthi », যথি « jāthi » are used as oblique bases for their corresponding pronouns : see *supra*.

The MIA. forms were strengthened with the definitive « -ā » in OB. The « -thā » forms do not occur in Assamese and in Oṛiyā : the latter has « sēṭhi, ēṭhi, jēṭhi, kēṭhi »; and corresponding « -ṭh- » forms occur also in the Bihārī dialects (see *infra*, § 607).

Assamese has as adverbs of place « tāt (tātē), jāt (jātē), kāt (kātē) », which correspond to the Maithilī « tatay (tatē), jatay (jatē), katay (katē) », besides « ŏtay (ŏtē) » and « ōtay (ōtē) » ; and W. Hindī (Brajbhākhā) has « tita, kita ( kata ), jita » and « ita, itai, Itai » and

« uta ». The Maithilī forms occur in Brajabuli also. They are connected with the Western Ap. locatives like « tĕttahĕ, ĕttahĕ (tĕttahī, ĕttahī) » etc., noted by Hēma-candra : « tĕtta, ĕtta » etc. are apparently the OIA. « tatra, *itra = atra » etc., altered in MIA. in some Western dialect, without the aspiration which we find preserved in Pali « tattha » etc. and Bengali হেথা « hēthā » etc.

[VII] Adverbs of Place in খানে « khānē », etc.

**605.** Like সেখানে, এখানে « sē-khānē, ē-khānē » etc. These are late formations, being compoundings of « sē, ē, ō, jē, kōn্ » and the noun খান « khān্ » *place* ( < « khaṇḍa », see *supra*, pp. 365, 779 : there seems to have occurred some contamination with the Skt. « sthāna » as well as Pers. « xānah », both meaning *place*).

**606.** There are similar compounds with ধার, ধারে « -dhār্, -dhārē » = *side, edge, bank, limit, line* (*e.g.*, এধারে « ē-dhārē », ওধারে « ō-dhārē »), agreeing with the Hindōstānī « i-dhar, u-dhar » etc., and with Bhōjpuriyā « ihar, uhar » with weaking of « -dh- » to « -h- ». (Hoernle derives these latter differently : cf. p. 315 of 'Gauḍian Grammar'). The Maithilī « em-har, jem-har » etc. are connected.

**607.** Dialectal Bengali (W. Raḍha) shows ইদ্ধে, উদ্ধে « indhē, undhē » *here, there,* etc. which agree with the Bihārī (Maithilī) « indē » undē » or « inda, unda » etc. They seem to be connected with the Hindōstānī « yahā, wahā » etc., which are old MIA. ablatives, from Western Apabhraṅśa « *ēahā, *ōhā » < Second MIA. « *ēamhā, *ōamhā » < OIA. « ētasmāt, *avasmāt » etc. From Māgadhī Apabhraṅśa forms similar to those of Western Apabhraṅśa, the new Magadhan dialects could easily have « ihā, uhā, inha, unha » and then « indha, undha », locative « indhē, undhē » etc.

**608.** Dialectal Bengali preserves also some locative forms in « ṭhi, -ṭi », *e.g.*, সেঠি, এঠি, জেঠি « sēṭhi, ēṭhi, jēṭhi » as in South-West Bengali ; ইটি, সেটি « iṭi, sēṭi » in North Bengali. This « ṭhi » seems to come from an OIA. « sthāman » place (see *supra*, under ঠাঁই « ṭhāi », p. 762).

Oṛiyā also has it, both as « ṭhi » and as an extended « ṭhā-ra- » with the genitive affix.

**609.** The New Bengali correlatives যাই—তাই « jāi, tāi » *when—then, as soon as—immediately* are from the OIA. « yadā-hi, tadā-hi ».

**610.** OB. as in the Caryās shows some adverbs of manner in « -ma », unquestionably pronounced « -w̃a »: *e.g.*, jima » (Caryās 13, 19, 29, 30, 31, 41, 43) and « tima » (Caryās 9, 43), and also probably « kima » (Caryā 39). These are Western Apabhraṅśa forms borrowed in OB. Cognate forms in other NIA. speeches are—Eastern Hindī « jimi, timi » etc.; Western Hindī « jyaũ, tyaũ; jyõ, tyõ; jyũ, tyũ; jũ, tũ » etc.; Gujarātī « jēm, tem » etc. These are derived from Western Apabhraṅśa « jeṁva, teṁva, keṁva = jēw̃a, tēw̃a, kēw̃a » etc., which are nasalised modifications of OIA. « *yēva, *tēva, *kēva », formed on the analogy of « ēva » (see *supra*, p. 857. Cf. Pischel, 'Grammatik der Pkt.-Sprachen,' § 261; Tessitori, 'Grammar of OWR.', § 98 [3]).

## CHAPTER V

## THE VERB

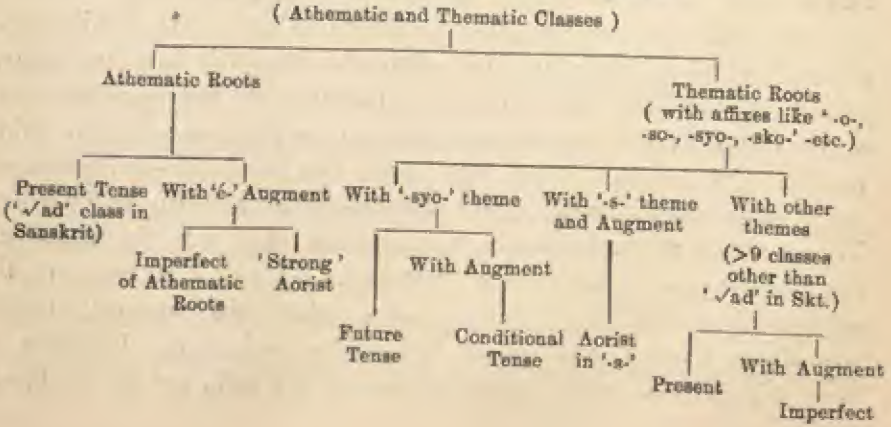
[A] Conjugation of the Verb in Indo-European, in OIA., and in NIA.

**611.** The ebaborate conjugation of the verb such as we find in Vedic and in Greek did not obtain in Primitive Indo-European. The conjugational system was exceedingly simple in the oldest period. There was no distinction of tenses as such, and the subjunctive and optative moods were just evolving out of the indicative. The verb root (in simple, extended, or reduplicated form), in the active voice, took up certain personal affixes, either added direct to the root, or with certain *themes*, or syllables like « -*o-, *-nu-, -*so-, -*to-, -*sko-, -*dho- » etc. which were added as links joining the root and the personal termination ; and sometimes there was a nasal infix, « -*ne-, -n- » which came in and modified the form of the root. The force of the affixed themes was to indicate the *aspect* or nature of the action, whether it was progressive or transitory, iterative or intensive, or indefinite. To express a state attained, as the result of a completed or perfected action, the verb root underwent a special modification in itself and further took up certain other personal terminations, slightly different and curtailed forms of the ones mentioned above. The conjugation of the verb in Primitive Indo-European thus fell into two parts, taking in view the kind of action (whether it was completed or not) and the kind of pronominal affixes it adopted accordingly. The paradigm of a root thus falls into two divisions—or *systems*—which have been named (i) the *Present-Aorist*, and (ii) the *Perfect*. These systems did not indicate time relation, but only the action in the present time, incomplete or perfected. If past time were to be emphasised, an adverbial particle « é », called the *augment*, which was always stressed, was placed before the verb form. In course of time this particle became loosely attached to the verb, and the combined

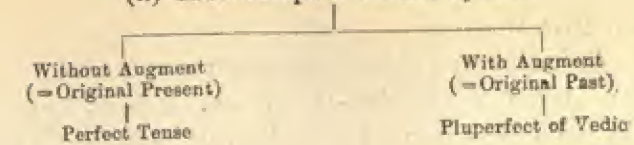
« *é » (> Indo-Aryan = « á ») and verb form resulted in the imperfect and aorist (as well as the ' plu-perfect ') tenses of Vedic and Sanskrit.

The themes or affixes which were added in between the root and the personal terminations (*e.g.*, Skt. « kar-ō-ti, krī-ṇā-ti, div-ya-ti, sah-a-tē, ga-ccha-ti < IE. *ǧʷ ṃ-sko-ti », etc.) had in Prim. IE. each its special meaning or force, but in the later phase of IE., the earlier *nuances* were to a great extent lost, and in several cases they took up distinct and well-defined values not known before. Thus the « -s- » theme came to denote the past tense in Italic, Celtic and Slav, and developed into the aorist tense of Greek and Sanskrit ; the « -so- » and « -syo- » themes developed into the future tense respectively in Greek and in Sanskrit and Baltic. The *Perfect System* gradually evolved into the perfect tense in most IE. languages : thus IE. « *√dɾk » *to see*, with a strong grade (*dórk), reduplicated (*de-dórk) and with the personal affix « -a », gave a form « *de-dórk-a », which was a present form,= *I am after completing the act of seeing*, form which easily developed the perfect or past sense of *I saw*, and the form became the perfect tense, as in Sanskrit (dadárśa) and in Greek (dédorka). The tense and mood forms of OIA. were developed in this way out of the simple *aspects* of IE. The tables below give the relation borne by OIA. tenses to the Prim. IE. forms :

(i) Indo-European Present-Aorist System.



(ii) Indo-European Perfect System




Originally in IE. there were two moods, the indicative and the imperative. From the indicative developed the conjunctive and the optative. The thematic vowels « *-ĕ-, *-ē-, *-ŏ-, *-ō- » which at first denoted some particular aspect of the action in the indicative, came to acquire the sense of a special mode, that of the conjunctive or subjunctive : and in some of the IE. languages they became well-established as modal affixes, deviating from their original aspect-indicating function. Similarly the affixes « *-yĕ-, *-yə-, *-ī-, *-oi- » came to be associated with the optative mood : originally ( like the « *-ĕ-, *-ē-, *-ŏ-, *-ō- » above, and the « -s- » of what later became the aorist, as well as « *-sye-, *-syo- » of what was later changed to the future ), « *-yĕ-, *-yo- » etc. indicated some aspect of the action, as much as « -nu-, -nā- » and the other *themes* which have not become specialised for a mood or tense and of which the proper force is no longer understood. And themes of the groups « *-yé-, *-yó- » and « *-éye-, *-éyo- » became respectively the affixes of the denominative and causative forms. The germs of these later modal and other developments in all cases existed in these aspect-indicating themes of Primitive IE.

**612.** Below is given a conspectus of all the conjugational forms of Vedic, from its own stand-point, and not in historical relationship to Prim. IE. :—the development and systematisation of the former from the latter has been of an intricate character.

This will indicate the extent of the losses sustained by Bengali, which is typical for all NIA.

A Conspectus of OIA. (Vedic) Verb-Forms.

Root : « car », or « cal » *to move, to walk.* (Finite forms given are of the 3rd person singular, unless otherwise stated).

## I. The Present System.

A. Indicative Mood:

(i) With Primary Personal Affixes = Present Tense:

(a) Active . cár-a-ti ( cár-a-si, cár-ā-mi, etc).

(b) Middle Voice: (1) Reflexive: cár-a-tē ; (2) Passive: car-yá-tē.

(ii) With Secondary Personal Affixes, preceded by the Augment = Imperfect Tense:

(a) Active: á-car-a-t.

(b) Middle: (1) Reflexive: á-car-a-ta ; (2) Passive: cf. á-hū-ya-ta.

(iii) With Secondary Personal Affixes, without Augment = Injunctive:

(a) Active: cár-a-t.

(b) Middle: (1) Reflexive: cár-a-ta ; (2) Passive: cf. sū-yá-ta.

B. Subjunctive Mood:

With Primary Personal Affixes = Present Subjunctive:

(a) Active: cár-ā-ti, cár-ā-t.

(b) Middle: (1) Reflexive: cár-ā-tāi, cár-ā-tē ; (2) Passive: cf. bhri-y-á-tē, uh-y-á-tē.

C. Optative Mood:

With Secondary Personal Affixes = Present Optative:

(a) Active: cár-ē-t.

(b) Middle or Reflexive: cár-ī-ta.

D. Imperative Mood:

(a) Active: 2 sg. cár-a, 2 pl. cár-a-ta.

(b) Middle: (1) Reflexive: 2 sg., cár-a-sva ; (2) Passive: cf. 2 sg., hū-yá-sva.

E. Participles of the Present System:

(a) Active: cár-ant-.

(b) Middle: (1) Reflexive: cár-a-māṇa ; (2) Passive: car-yá-māṇa.

II. The Aorist System, in Simple or Non-Sigmatic, Sigmatic (with « -s-, -sa-, -iṣ-, -siṣ- »), and Reduplicating forms of Roots.

A. Indicative Mood:

(i) With Secondary Personal Affixes *plus* Augment = Aorist (past).

(a) Active: á-cār-ṣ-ı-t, á-cār-ı-t, á-cı-car-a-t; cf. á-ruk-ṣa-t, á-vid-a-t.

(b) Middle: á-cār-ṣıṣ-a-ta, á-cār-a-ta, á-cı-car-a-ta; cf. á-vid-a-ta, á-bud-dha, á-stō-ṣ-ṭa, á-sthi-ta;
Passive: 3 sg. only: á-cār-i.

(ii) With Secondary Personal Endings, without Augment = Injunctive Aorist.

(a) Active: cár-ı-t; cf. dvik-ṣá-t, kār-ṣ-ı-t, bhū-t, dı-dhar-a-t, etc.

(b) Middle: cár-ṣıṣ-a-ta, cár-a-ta, cı-car-a-ta: cf. 1 sg. sthē-ṣ-am; páv-iṣ-ṭa; 3 pl. hā-siṣ-ur; vid-á-ta; vṛ-ta, 3 pl. sı-ṣap-a-nta etc.

B. Subjunctive Mood:

Subjunctive Endings added to Aorist Base, without Augment = Subjunctive Aorist.

(a) Active: cf. stṓ-ṣ-a-ti, stṓ-ṣ-a-t; kár-iṣ-a-t; yā́-siṣ-a-t; vid-á-ti, vid-á-t; kár-a-ti; sı-ṣadh-ā-ti.

(b) Middle: cf. stṓ-ṣ-a-tē; 3 pl. sán-iṣ-a-ntē; vid-á-tē; kár-a-tē.

C. Optative Mood:

(i) Optative Endings added to Aorist Base = Optative Aorist.

(a) Active: cf. vid-é-t; bhū-yā́-t; vōc-é-t.

(b) Middle: cf. bhak-ṣ-ı-ta, maṁ-sıṣ-ṭa; jan-ı-sıṣ-ṭá; ar-ı-tá.

(ii) Aorist « -s- » added after Optative Base « -yā-, -ı- » = Benedictive or Precative:

(a) Active: car-yā́-s: cf. gam-yā́-s, bhū-yā́-s.

(b) Middle: car-ı-ṣ-ṭa: cf. pad-ı-ṣ-ṭa.

D. Imperative Mood:

(a) Active: cf. 2 dual, mṛk-ṣá-tam; 2 sg. nê-ṣ-a, av-iḍ-ḍhi, sad-á, kṛ-dhí, bódh-i.

(b) Middle: 2 sg. dhuk-ṣá-sva; 2 sg. sák-ṣva; 2 dual, yā-siṣ-ṭám; 2 pl. sad-a-dhvam; 2 sg. kṛ-ṣvá, yuk-ṣvá.

E. Participles of the Aorist System:

(a) Active: cár-ṣ-ant-; cf. sák-ṣ-ant-, śuc-ánt-, gm-ánt-, kr-ánt-, sthā́-nt-, etc.

(b) Middle: cf. śuc-á-māna, kr-āṇá, budh-āná, yam-a-s-āná, mand-a-s-āná, etc.

### III. The Future System.

A. Indicative Mood.

(i) With Future «-syá-» Base and Primary Personal Endings = Future Tense.

(a) Active: car-i-ṣyá-ti.

(b) Middle: car-i-ṣyá-tē.

(ii) Augment Preterit of the Future, with Secondary Personal Endings = Conditional.

(a) Active: á-car-i-ṣya-t; cf. á-bhar-i-ṣya-t.

(b) Middle: á-car-i-ṣya-ta.

E. Participles of the Future System:

(a) Active: car-i-ṣyá-nt-

(b) Middle: car-i-ṣyá-māna: cf. stav-i-ṣyá-māna.

### IV. The Perfect System.

A. Indicative Mood:

(i) Primitive Indo-European Present of the Perfect System = Perfect in Sanskrit.

(a) Active: ca-cár-a.

(b) Middle: cēr-é, cf. tēp-é, da-dh-é,

(ii) Augmented Perfect = Imperfect of the Perfect System = Vedic Pluperfect:

(a) Active: cf. á-ca-cakṣ-a-t.

(b) Middle: cf. 3 pl. á-ca-kri-ran.

(iii) Injunctive Perfect, without Augment:

(a) Active: cf. ta-stambh-a-t.

(b) Middle: cf. di-diṣ-ṭa.

B. Subjunctive Mood:

Subjunctive Inflexions added to Perfect Base = Subjunc. Perfect.

(a) Active: cf. mú-mōc-a-ti, mu-muc-a-t.

(b) Middle: cf. ta-táp-a-tē, jú-jōṣ-a-tē.

C. Optative Mood:

(a) Active: cf. ja-gam-yā́-t.

(b) Middle: cf. va-vṛt-ī-tá.

D. Imperative Mood:

(a) Active: cf. ci-kid-dhí.

(b) Middle: cf. va-vṛt-svá.

E. Participles of the Perfect System:

(a) Active: cf. ca-kṛ-vā́ṁs, ja-gm-i-vā́ṁs.

(b) Middle: cf. tēp-ānā́, ja-gm-ānā́.

## V. Participles.

A. Active and Middle, as under the various Tense Systems above.

B. Past or Passive Participle: car-i-tá; cf. lī-ná, kṛ-tá.

C. Perfect Participle: car-itá-vant (a late formation).

D. Future Passive Participles and Adjectives: cár-ya, car-áyya, car-éṇya, *cár-tva, car-tavyà, car-i-tavyà, car-aṇ-íya.

E. Indeclinable Participle or Conjunctive: car-i-tvā́, car-i-tví; -cár-ya; cf. kṛ-tvā, kṛ́-tya.

## VI. Verbal Nouns and Infinitives:

cáras, car-ásē; cár-i-tu-m, car-i-tav-āí, cár-i-tav-ē, cár-i-tō-s; car-í, car-áy-ē; car-i-ty-āí; car-ádhy-āi; cár-am; -cár-a-m; car-áṇ-i; car-í-tra; car-á-tha; cf. also bhár-maṇ-ē, dā-ván-ē, dhū́r-van-ē, sā-táy-ē.

VII. Periphrastic Forms.

A. Perfect Active : car-ay-ām + āsa, -babhūva, -cakāra.

B. Future : caritā, 1 sg. caritāsmi.

VIII. Secondary Conjugations.

A. Passive : car-yá-tē (Present), á-cār-i (Aorist 3 sg.).

B. Causative : inflected forms like cār-áya-ti, cār-áya-tē, á-cār-aya-t, cār-ay-iṣyá-ti, cār-áy-ē-t, cār-áya-tu, á-cār-ay-i-ṣy-a-t, cār-yá-tē ; etc. ; Active Present Participle cār-áy-ant-, Passive cār-yá-māṇa, etc.

C. Denominative : cār-āyá-tē, cār-āyá-tē, etc.

D. Desiderative : cí-car-iṣ-a-ti, cí-car-ṣ-a-ti ; á-ci-car-ṣ-it ; ci-car-i-ṣyá-ti ; Causative-Desiderative—ci-car-iṣ-áya-ti ; etc.

E. Intensive : Indicative cár-car-i-ti ; also Optative, Imperative, Imperfect Indicative, etc. Present Active Participle, cár-i-car-ant- ; Passive Participle—cár-car-āṇa (cf. kán-i-krad-ant-, jár-bhur-āṇa), car-cūr-yá-māṇa.

**613.** Compared with the above elaborate system, that of the NIA. speeches shows a very great simplification. And Bengali (with Assamese) is perhaps more simplified than any of its sisters and cousins—the distinction in number for verb forms, which obtains in almost all NIA. speeches, the inflected passive, the « karmaṇi » and « bhāvē prayōgas » of W. Hindī, Panjābī, Rājasthānī etc., the negative conjugation of Khaskurā, etc., are all absent. The curtailment of the OIA. system has been carried out along the lines indicated below, to give that of Bengali :

I. The Present System : the OIA. *themes* have been in a few instances retained in the root in NB.

A. Indicative Mood :

(i) The forms for the Present Tense alone have been retained :

| | | | | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| OIA. calati | > NB. cālē : | OIA. calanti | > NB. cālēṇ ; |
| calasi | > cāli-s : | calatha | > cālā, cālō. |
| calāmi | > cāli : | (calāmaḥ | > cālō). |

D. Imperative Mood :

3 pers. calatu > cålåu > cålu, cålu-kạ; calantu > cålunạ;
2 pers. cala > cålạ; calata > cålå, cålō.

E. Participles :

(a) Active : calant- > calanta > cålåntå, cạlit- (=the base of the Conditional or Habitual Past).

(b) Passive or Middle : calamāna > cålānå (with Causative influence).

II. The Aorist System : entirely lost.

III. The Future System :

A. The Indicative future in « -ṣyá- » was inherited in OB., but NB. retains only the forms for the 2 person as a Future Precative, or Imperative with Future implication : « caliṣyasi > cålis, caliṣyatha > cålihå > cåliō > cōlō ».

IV. The Perfect System : entirely lost.

V. Participles :

The Past Passive Participle in « -tá, -itá », fortified in Late MIA. by the pleonastic « -illa » affix, gave the Past as well as Adjectival Base of Bengali, in « -ila », and also the Conditional Gerund in « -il-ē » ; without the « -ila », this OIA. « -(i)tá » participle in the source of the Bengali Verbal Voun in « -ā ».

The Future Passive Participle in « -(i)tavya » was altered into the Bengali Future Base in « -ibå », and of the Verbal Noun in « -ibā ».

The Conjunctive Participle affix « -ya » of OIA. lives in the Bengali Conjunctive affix « -i-yā ».

VI. Verbal Nouns :

Some have been preserved : « cålạ, cālạ, cål-ånạ » etc.

VII. Periphrastic Forms—not preserved.

VIII. Secondary Conjugations :

The Causative, in the MIA. form of « -āpa- », and the Denominative, are partially represented in the Bengali affix « -ā- ». The original ablaut grade of the Causative has occasionally been maintained.

The above are thus the comparatively few forms inherited by Bengali as a NIA. language. In MB. and OB. a few other relics of OIA. forms are found which are already tending to became obsolete. The losses have been to a great extent made good by newer formations (*e.g.*, by the development of compounded verbs, and the use of particles and help-words). The syntax too has altered, to help in fixing the language in its new and altered environment.

## [B] Bengali Verb-Roots.

### [I] Historical Classification.

**614.** The number of Sanskrit verb-roots, according to the grammarians, comes up to some 2,000 (1961, according to N. L. Westergaard's lists in O. Böhtlingk's 'Pāṇini,' Leipzig, 1887, pp. 62*-84*). Of these, only slightly over 800 have been found in literature (Vēdas, Brāhmaṇas, the Epics, and Early Sanskrit works), employed their conjugated forms. Of this number, again, some 200 belong to the Vēdas and the Brāhmaṇas alone, about 500 occur in both Vedic and Sanskrit, and less than 150 are found in the later literature alone (W. D. Whitney. 'The Roots, Verb-forms and Primary Derivatives of the Sanskrit Language,' German ed., Leipzig, 1886, p. 244). OIA. as in the Vēdas and the Brāhmaṇas has consequently registered less than 700 roots which were in living use as verbs, apart from those occurring only in nominal and other derivatives. This number, 700, can by no means be said to exhaust all the verb-roots in the speech of the OIA. period, but considering the extent of the Vedic and Brāhmaṇic literature, and fact that this literature touches upon almost all the aspects of the life of the times, the number of roots not represented cannot be very many.

Many of the 800 roots actually used in OIA. literature (Vedic and Early Sanskrit) are merely extensions of primitive roots, and in some cases, as we advance into the MIA. stage, are but Prakritic modifications of OIA. roots. The number of primitive roots inherited from IE. by OIA. will necessarily be rather small. Be it as it may, the absence of some 200 Vedic roots in Sanskrit shows that this inheritance was not retained

intact by the Aryan speech in India. Old roots changed their meaning, and went out of fashion; and the losses were made good by building up anew with the old materials, and in a few rare instances by possible borrowings from the non-Aryan speeches. The MIA. vernaculars employed a large number of derived forms as new roots. The spoken language reacted on the literary speech, Sanskrit, and numerous MIA. forms were adopted into Sanskrit in a slightly altered form, and were gradually accepted by the Sanskrit grammarians, and given an equal place with the primitives. There could be no rule to guide the caprice why some Prakrit roots were taken up and others rejected by Sanskrit: thus « bruḍ < buḍḍa, hiṇḍ, hikk, khēl, kaṭṭ, lag, piṭṭ » and a number of others have found a place in both the « dhātu-kōṣa » and the literature of Sanskrit, but other equally good Prakrit roots like « kaḍḍha < kṛṣṭa, lukka, cukka, phiṭṭa, cagh, bhar <smṛ, ghūl < ghūrṇa » were rejected. The grammarians of later ages (from the Second MIA. period) seem to have encouraged this practice to some extent. Sanskrit the language the Gods and the *Rishis* was the mother of all language, and this was apparent from the vernaculars of Northern India; consequently, vernacular words and roots must necessarily originate from those of Sanskrit: when the grammarians were agreed on this principle, at a time when the historic development of forms by phonetic and other changes was not fully understood, the Sanskrit « dhātu-kōṣa » began to grow in extent by the accession of new roots foisted on it by grammarians. Of the roots in the current « dhātu-kōṣas » a small number may even have been the creations of grammarians to explain words of doubtful etymology; but the bulk of them may legitimately be regarded as having been in actual use in IA., though not in its oldest period. Thus in addition to the aristocratic roots of direct IE. origin like « as, bhū, sthā, gam, yā, ad, mṛ, dṛś, dram, cal, pat, dhā, div, mṛj, snih, duh » etc., the « dhātu-kōṣas » give as good Sanskrit humbler roots of late and obscure origin, like « 'gu(ṇ)li' vēṣṭanē, cūrṇīkaraṇē'pi; 'ḍipa' kṣēpē|; 'bha(ṇ)ḍi' parihāsē; 'kha(ṇ)ḍi' manthē; 'capa' kalkanē; 'juḍa' prēraṇē; 'caha' pari-kalkanē; 'khiṭa' uttrāsanē; 'lōḍṛ' unmādanē; 'jimu' adanē; 'huḍṛ, hōḍṛ' gatāu; 'ḍiṇa' vihāyasa-gāmanē; 'muṭa'

sañcūrṇanē; 'dhakka' nāśanē; 'bukka' bhāṣaṇē; 'kaṇa' nimīlanē; 'kaḍḍa' kārkkaśyē; 'laḍa' vilāsē; 'aḍḍa' abhiyōgē; 'aḍa' udyamē; 'ṭuṭa' alpa-bhāvē », etc., etc., which have in almost all cases NIA. equivalents, and can in the majority of cases be explained easily as secondary formations from words derived from primitive Aryan roots; the origin of quite a number of them, however, remains obscure.

**615.** The number of verb-roots in Bengali is 1,056, according to the excellent grammar of Paṇḍit Nakuleśwar Vidyābhūṣaṇa (4th ed., Calcutta, Bengali year 1315). This includes original or primitive roots, causatives, and a number of denominatives used chiefly in literature, and excludes onomatopoetics. A Bengali « dhātu-kōṣa » of about 1,500 roots has been easily compiled by me on the basis of Jñānêndra-Mōhan Dās's dictionary (see *supra*, p. 218): this includes onomatopoetics, and a number of obsolete roots not used in NB., beside a large number of Sanskrit denominatives used in high literature. The number will be much larger if proper *tbh.* roots in early Bengali literature and in the present-day dialects are all brought together.

Roots in Bengali, as in other cognate IA. speeches, can be classified on the lines indicated below, taking into consideration their origin, and partly also their function:

1. Primary Roots
   - Primary Roots inherited from OIA. (*tbhs.*): (a) Simple Roots, (b) Prefixed Roots.
   - Primary Roots from Causatives in OIA.
   - Primary Roots re-introduced from Sanskrit (*tss.* and *stss.*)
   - Primary Roots of doubtful origin (*dēśī ?*)
2. Secondary Roots
   - Causatives in « -ā- ».
   - Denominatives
     - Native (*tbh.*)
       - (a) Early (inherited)
       - (b) MB. and NB. (coined)
     - *Tatsama.*
     - Foreign.
   - Compounded and Suffixed (*tbh.*)
   - Onomatopoetic.
   - Doubtful.

## (1) Primary Roots.

**616.** Primary Roots in Bengali, at a rough computation, number about 300. Strictly speaking, denominatives derived from MIA., which number about 100, may be classed under primary roots, since they have been inherited as roots by Bengali and behave exactly like primitive roots derived from OIA. (*e.g.*, a root like কাড় « kāṛ » *snatch away* < « kaḍḍha = kṛṣṭa ») : these might have been denominatives in MIA., but the nouns or adjectives which were their sources are in many cases obsolete in Bengali.

**617.** There are a little less than 200 roots in Bengali which can mostly be traced right up to primary roots of OIA. (Vedic and Sanskrit, and in some cases only to the early Prakrits). Examples are, of unprefixed roots : « আছ āch (MIA. acchati, IE. * es-sko-ti) ; ইচ্ছ ich (icchati) ; কষ kāṣ *tighten* (kṛṣ) ; কর kār (kṛ) ; কাঁদ kād *weep* (krand) ; কাঁপ kāp (kamp) ; কাট kāṭ (kṛt) ; কিন kin (krīṇāti) ; কুঁদ kūd (kūrdati) ; খন khān (khan) ; খা khā (khād) ; খুঁজ khūj *seek* (? kṣudyatē) ; খেল khēl (khēlati) ; গণ, গুণ gān, guṇ (gaṇ) ; গিল gil (gil, gir) ; চর cār *graze* (car) ; চল cāl (cal) ; চি ci *awaken* (cit, cf. cētayati) ; চু cu (cyav) ; চুন (cinōti) ; চুম cum (cumb) ; ছা chā (chād) ; ছাড় chāṛ (chard) ; ছিঁড় chīṛ ( chinḍ, chindati ) ; ছেঁচ chēc (sic, siñc) ; জপ jāp *persuade* (jalp) ; জাগ jāg (jāgṛ) ; জি ji (jīv) ; জিন jin (jīnāti) ; জ্বল jwāl = জল jāl (jval) ; টান ṭān (tan) ; টুট ṭuṭ (truṭ) ; †ডহ ḍāh (dah) ; ঢাক ḍhāk (MIA. ḍhakk) ; তর tār (tṛ) ; তাজ tāj (tarj) ; তুল tul (tul) ; †ডশ ḍāś (daṁś) ; দল dāl (dal) ; দুল dul (cf. dōla) ; দুহ duh (duh) ; দুষ duṣ (duṣ) ; দে dē (dā) ; দেখ dēkh (MIA. dekkh < dṛkṣ) ; ধর dhār (dhṛ) ; ধ্বস dhwās = ধস dhās (dhvas) ; ধা dhā (dhāv) ; ধো dhō (dhāv) ; †ধুন dhun (dhvan) ; নাহ nāh (snā) ; নে nē (nī) ; নু, নো nu, no (nam) ; পচ pāc *to get rotten* (pac) ; †পি pi (pibati) ; পিঁজ pīj (piñj) ; পুছ puch (pṛcchati) ; পূজ pūj (pūj) ; ফাট phāṭ *split* (OIA. sphāṭ < *sphḷt) ; ফুট phuṭ (ibid) ; বাঁট bāṭ *distribute* (vaṇṭ) ; বট bāṭ *remain, be* (vṛt) ; বর bār (vṛṣ ?) ; বাঁচ bāc *live* (vañc) ; বোল bōl (brū) ; বস bās (vas) ; বহ bāh (vah) ; বাঁধ bādh (bandh) ; বিঁধ bīdh (vyadh) ; বুঝ bujh (budh) ; বুল bul *wander about* (val) ; ভজ bhāj (bhaj) ; ভর bhār (bhṛ) ; ভাজ bhāj *fry, roast* (bhṛjj) ; ভাঁজ bhāj *fold*

(bhañj); ভূষ bhūṣ (bhūṣ); মহ mâh *churn* (math); মজ mâj *sink, get juicy* (majj); মিশ miś (miśr); মিল mil (míl); মাড় mâṛ (mṛd, mard); মাখ mâkh (mraks); মল mâl (mard); যা jâ (yā); যাচ jâc (yāc); যুঝ jujh (yudh); রাখ râkh (raks); লহ lâh (labh); লখ lâkh (laks); লাগ lâg (lag); লাজ âj (lajj); লাল lâl (lal); লুঠ luṭh (luṇṭh); শুষ śuṣ (śuṣ); শুন śun (śṛṇōti); শুঁক śũk (śuṇgh); শো, সো śō, *lie down* sō (svap); সহ sah (sah); সর sâr (sṛ); †সি si (sIv); সিজ sijh *be boiled* (sidh); শোহ, সোহ sōh (śubh); হের hêr *scrutinise, gaze* (cf. âkheṭa *hunting*) », etc., etc.

Of prefixed roots, examples are « আ â (ā-yā); আস, আইস âs, âis (ā-viś); আওজ âoj *make half-shut* (ā-vṛj); আঁচা âcā (ā-cam); আন ân (ā-nī); আছাড় « âchâṛ » *dash, throw down with force* (ā-chard); উছল uchâl *overflow* (ut-śal); উঠ uṭh (ut-sthā); উতর utâr *reach* (ut-tṛ); উপেখ upêkh (ut-pra-Iks); †উই ui *rise, as the sun* (ud-i); উজা ujā *flow up, as a river* (ud-yā); উপচ upâc *flow over* (ut-patyatē); উপজ upâj (ut-padyatē); উলহ, উল, উর ulâh, ul, ur *descend* (ut-labh); নিবা, নিভা nib(h)ā (nir-vā); নিখর nirâkh (nir-Iks); নিসর nisâr (niḥ-sṛ); নিহাল, নিহার nihâl, nihâr (ni-bhāl); †নিবড় nibâṛ *finish* (nir-vṛt); †নেউট nêuṭ *return* (ni-vṛt); পাখাল pâkhâl (pra-kṣāl); পরখ pârâkh (pari-Iks); পরিখ pârâkh *serve food* (pari-viś + sparśa); পর < পহির pâr < pâhir (pari-dhā); পরিহর pârihâr (pari-hṛ); পস, পইস pâs, pâis (pra-viś); পোঁছ põch *wipe* (pra-uñch); পোহা pohā *dawn* (pra-bhā); বস, বইস bâs, bâis (upa-viś); ভিজ bhij *get wet* (abhi-añj); বিক bik *sell* (vi-krI); †সাঁতর sãtâr *swim* (saṁ-tṛ); সামাল sâmâl *gather up, save* (sam-bhāl); সঁপ, সোঁপ sãp, sõp (sam-arp) »; etc., etc.

**618.** The primary roots have all come to Bengali through the MIA., and as such they bear the stamp of the phonetic modifications of the various periods. The ten classes (gaṇas) into which the Sanskrit grammarians have arranged OIA. verb-roots, taking into consideration their *themes*, became levelled down to one in Apabhraṁśa, and all original thematic affixes which were added to the root in the present system were lost in MIA., being either dropped or incorporated with the root. In some instances, however, a characteristic theme could not be dropped; and the presence of the « -ya- » theme is indicated by the result of its assimilation with the consonant of the root. Bengal

primary roots inherited from OIA. have preserved only a few traces of these themes : thus—

1. « -ya- » theme : *e.g.*, « সিঝে sijhē (sidh-ya-ti) ; নাচে nācē (naccaï, nṛt-ya-ti) ; যুঝে, জুঝে jujhē (yudh-ya-ti) ; শুষে śuṣē (śuṣ-ya-ti) ; বুঝে bujhē (budh-ya-ti) ; সমুঝে samujhē (sam + budh-ya-ti) ; টুটে ṭuṭē (truṭ-ya-ti) ; মানে mānē *honours* (man-ya-tē) » ; etc.

2. « -nō- » theme : « চুনে cune *culls, selects* (ci-nō-ti) ; শুনে śunē (śṛ-ṇō-ti) ; ধুনে dhunē (dhu-nō-ti) » ;

3. « -nā- » theme : « কিনে kinē (krī-ṇā-ti) ; জিনে jinē (ji-nā-ti) » ; (cf. জানে jānē = jānāti) ;

4. The « -cch- » theme (= IE. * -sko-), not recognised by Sanskrit grammarians, occurs in the roots « আছে āchē (acchati, * es-sko-ti) ; †ইছে ichē (icchati) ; †পুছে puchē (pṛcchati) ; পহুঁছে pȧhũchē (pahuñcaï, pahucchaï, * prabhucchati, *pro-bheu-sko-ti) ».

Original Passive forms, with « -yá- » affix of the Passive, *e.g.*, « উপচয় upȧcȧy *overflows* (utpatyátē) ; †উপজয় upȧjȧy (utpadyátē) ; OB. dīśaï (dṛś-yá-tē) ; রোচে, রুচে rōcē, rucē *is pleasing* (rucyátē) », etc., may be noted here.

The « -n- » infix of OIA. remains as a nasalisation of the root vowel in Bengali forms like « ছিঁড়ে chīṛē (chiṇḍ-a-ti, chi-n-d-a-ti) ; ভাঁজে bhā̃jē (bha-ñ-j-a-ti) », etc. Cf. « বাঁধে bā̃dhē (* bandh-a-ti) ; রাঁধে rā̃dhē (randh-aya-ti) ».

**619.** Apart from phonetic modification and decay, and the analogical tendency which brought about a general uniformity in the stem seeking to marshal the roots under one head, primary roots underwent certain modifications in MIA which would appear erratic and inexplicable. These have been described by Hoernle in his paper on Hindī Roots (JASB., 1880, Part I, p. 35ff.). Phonetic changes which altered « samarpayati » to « sāpē », « vismarati » to « bichurē », « upaviśati » to « bȧsē », « svapiti » to « śōy », « abhyajyatē » to « bhijē » « prōñchati » to « pō̃chē, mōchē » are sufficiently clear : and the analogical tendency levelling down the diversities in the forms of roots is plain enough. The striking thing is that in MIA., the bases

of active roots are frequently derived, not from the active form in OIA., but rather from the passive one, and in some cases apparently from the future base rather than that of the present. Causative bases of OIA. also supplied the simple root forms of MIA. and NIA. The deponent forms in MIA. can be explained as taking up a reflexive character, from which the active sense easily evolved, and this was sometimes accompanied by slight semantic changes: *e.g.*, « abhyajyatē » *is anointed* > *anoints oneself* > ভিজে « bhijē » = *gets wet*; « tapyatē » > MIA. « tappaï » *is heated* > *heats oneself*, > তাপে « tāpē » *gets hot*; « namyatē » *is bent, gets bent, bends* > নামে « nāmē » *descends*; « brūyatē » *is said* > « *buryati > bŏllaï » > বোলে, বলে « bōle, bālē » *says*; etc. A number of derivatives from passive participles are similarly used actively. Certain roots in OIA., ending in « ś, ṣ » (also other consonants —« c, j, h »), change the final consonant to « k » before the « -sya- » in the future, resulting in « -k-ṣya- » for the future base. The MIA. change of « -k-ṣya » was « -kkh- » or « -cch- ». In some instances, it seems that on the model of MIA. bases like « puccha = OIA. pṛcch, gaccha, pĕccha = pra+√ikṣ, accha, yaccha, *pahuccha, *pahuñca = NIA. pahūch- », certain roots employed for the present their future bases in « -ccha- < -k-ṣya- ». (Hoernle, *op. cit.*). Thus OIA. « ā+krak-ṣya-ti », from « √kṛṣ », would give « ā+kacchaï > ā-acchaï, *aẏacchaï, * āyañcaï » in MIA., which apparently was the source of Hindī « aiñcaï, aĕcaï » *draws*, Bengali হেঁচড়ায় « h-ĕc-ṛ-ā-y » *drags* (with prothetic « h- », and « -ṛ- > -ḍ- » extension). Such future > present bases do not, however, seem to have been as numerous in MIA. and NIA. as Hoernle makes them out to be (*op. cit.*).

**620.** There are slightly over 50 roots in Bengali which were originally causatives in OIA. The old ablaut modification (guṇa) of the root vowel is preserved in Bengali, and the meaning has in many cases been slightly modified. These old causatives have become primary roots in Bengali, and a regular causative form with the « -ā- » affix has been built up both from this causative-primary and its basic root: *e.g.*, « patati » > পড়ে « paṛē » *falls*, « pātayati » > পাড়ে

« pāṛē » *causes to fall, fells, gets a thing down* ; whence new formations in « -ā- »—পাড়ায় « pāṛāy » *causes to fall*, and পাড়ায় « pāṛāy » *causes to fell, causes to get something down from high*. The root পাড় « pāṛ » has become, so far as NB. is concerned, an independent form, with the sense of *taking down a thing*. Examples of these causatival formations: †উঘারে « ughārē » (udghāṭayati); †উপাড়ে, উপড়য় « upāṛē > upaṛāy » (utpāṭayati); গালে « gālē » *strains, causes to flow off* (gālayati), beside গলে « gālē » *melts, slips through like water* (galati); MB. গোঙাএ « gōṁāē » *passes time* (gamayati); চাবায়, চিবায় « cābāy, cibāy » *chews* (carvayati); চালে « cālē » *causes to move* (cālayati), beside চলে « calē » *walks* (calati); ছোঁড়ে « chōṛē » *casts, throws from a distance as a ball*, beside ছুটে « chuṭē » *runs* (Dhātupāṭha = √chuṭ—chōṭayati *splits, cuts*); টানে « ṭānē » *pulls* (caus. < √tan); তারে « tārē » *saves* (tārayati), beside তরে « tarē » *crosses, is saved* (tarati); †তাঁএ, তাঁওয়ে « tāĕ, tāwē » (tāpayati); ধারে « dhārē » from earlier উধারে « udhārē » *borrows, remains a debtor* (uddhārayati), besides ধরে « dharē » *holds*; থোয় « thōy » *places* (sthāpayati); MB. নোঙে « nōṁē », NB. নোয় « nōy » *bends* (« nāmayati », confused with « namati ») ; পায় « pāy » (« prāpayati », in the sense of « prāpnōti ») ; পসারে « pasārē » *extends, spreads out* (prasārayati); পারে « pārē » *is able, succeeds* (pārayati); পুরে « pūrē » (pūrayati); ফাড়ে « phāṛē » *splits* (sphāṭayati); বাহে, বায় « bāhē, bāy » (vāhayati); বাটে « bāṭē » *pounds (spices) with a stone roller* (vartayati); বারে « bārē » *shields, stops* (vārayati); MB. ভায়ে « bhāẏē » *appears* (bhāvayati), beside MB. হোএ « hōē » (bhavati); মারে « mārē » *kills, strikes* (mārayati), beside মরে « marē » (*marati = mriyatē) ; মাপে « māpē » *measures* (old *sts.* = *māppēi < māpayati: cf. Hindī nāpe *measures* = nāppēi = jñāpyatē); মোহে « mōhē » (mōhayati); রাঁধে « rādhē » *cooks* (randhayati); টালে « ṭālē (ṭālayati), beside টলে « ṭalē » (ṭalati); সারে « sārē » *repairs* (sārayati *arranges, nourishes*) besides সরে « sarē » *moves, goes to* (sarati); হারে « hārē » *is defeated* (hārayati) beside হরে « harē » *takes away, steals* (harati); cf. *dēśī* ঢালে « ḍhālē » *pours* beside ঢলে « ḍhalē » *reels*; etc., etc.

**621.** A number of roots, which do not at all look like secondary formations, cannot be traced to any OIA. (Sanskrit) form;

although it is extremely likely that they are in most cases *tbhs*. Analogous forms occur in the «dhātu-kōṣas» in some cases, but that is no help in determining the origin. A few resemble Dravidian roots of similar meaning, and these may be of Dravidian origin: *e.g.*, এড় «ēṛ = ēḍ» *give up*; নড় «nāṛ = naḍ» *move, walk* (< OIA. nṛt *dance* > MIA. naṭ, naḍ ?); কুদ «kud» *leap* (cf. Skt. kūrd); মুড় «muṛ = muḍ» *fold, wrap*; dialectal শাপড় «śāpāṛ = śāpaḍ» *eat, gobble up, finish* (*e.g.*, ভাত শাপড়ান «bhāṭa śāpāṛānā» *finishing one's meal of rice*): roots exactly similar in form and meaning to all of the above are found in Tamil. Roots that would come under this group of obscure etymology would be, among others—

«আঁচ ãc *guess*; আঁট ãṭ *tighten*; কাচ kāc MB. *dress*, NB. *wash clothes*; কুঁড় kūṛ *pound*; কুঁদ kūd *carve*; খস khās *slip off*; খাট khāṭ *work, labour, put money on a trade*, or *lend at interest* (in the last sense a late Skt. «√khaṭṭ» has been found: see Jñānêndra Mōhan Dās's Dictionary, under খাটান); খুঁট khūṭ *scratch, rub, rub gently with the finger-tips or nails, peck with the beak*; খুল khul *loosen, open, open bolt*; গাদ gād *ram in*; ঘির ghir *surround*; ঘুচ ghuc *come at an end, be finished*, cf. Assamese ঘুচ gus *enter*; চট cāṭ *be angry, get ruffled or cracked*; চাহ cāh *look at, ask* (OIA. «cakṣ»?: cf. Aśōkan «caghati» = *strives, wants* < OIA. «*cagh» = IE. root?); চাঁচ cãc *scrape*; চাট cāṭ *lick* (OIA. caṣṭa. √cakṣ?); চাপ cāp *press*; ছাঁক chãk *strain*; ছাঁট chãṭ *clip off*; ছাপ chāp *print, press*; ছিপ chip *hide*; ছুট chuṭ *run*; জোখ jōkh *measure*; জুট juṭ, জুল jul *meet together*; ঝল, ঝুল jhal, jhul *hang*; ঝুঁক jhūk *lean out*; ঝাঁপ jhãp *plunge*; ঝাল jhāl *mend a metal pot, clean a well*; ঝুঁজ jhūj *ooze*; টস্ ṭas *drip* (onomat.?); টাঁস ṭãs *be finished, die*; টাঁক, ṭãk, টেঁক ṭẽk, টিক ṭik *endure, repair*; টাক ṭāk *taste* (cf. টাকরা ṭākarā *palate*); টিপ ṭip *pinch with the fingers*; ঠেল ṭhēl *push*; ডাক ḍāk *call, shout*; ডুব, বুড় ḍub, buṛ *sink, drown*; তাড় tāṛ *hustle, pursue*; থুড়, থুর thuṛ, thur *mince* (cf. thurv *kill*); পট pāṭ *be in agreement*; পিঁজ pij *card cotton*; পুড় puṛ *burn* (cf. Skt. √ puṭ); পুত, পুঁত put, pūt *bury*; ফির phir *turn*; বাঁচ bãc *live* (Skt. vañc); বাছ bāch *select, choose*; বিহা, বিআ bi(h)ā *give birth to*; ভাস bhās *float* (< Skt bhās *shine*

> *appear ?*); রহ rāh *remain* (? arh); রট rāt *spread* (*as a rumour*); রড় rār *run*; লড় lār *fight*; লুস, লুষ lus, luṣ *gorge oneself*; সাঁট sāṭ *ibid*, also *tighten*; হাঁট hāṭ *walk* (cf. Skt. hiṇḍ, Gujarātī hēḍ-vū); etc.

**622.** MIA. borrowings from Sanskrit may be included under the inherited or the proper *tbh.* element of Bengali. After Bengali emerged from Māgadhī Ap., as a distinct speech, and literature began to be produced in it, the habit of borrowing from Sanskrit obtained a greater impetus. A practice grew up in Bengali literature from very early times of adopting Sanskrit roots bodily into the language, like the adoption of *ts.* nouns and participles. This practice received a fresh support during the age of Vaiṣṇava renaissance in the 16th century, and again in the 19th century, in the hands of modern poets like Madhusūdan Datta. This use of Skt. forms, even when their *tbh.* counterparts were in actual use, is not peculiar to Bengali alone: we find it in the medieval vernacular poetry of all Aryan India. It was the inevitable effect of a revival of classical studies—in grammar, literature, law, theology and philosophy, the results of which were brought to bear upon the vernaculars. The revival of Brahmanic studies strengthened the position of Sanskrit, which had throughout retained a living touch with the vernaculars as their natural feeder. We thus find from Middle Bengali times *ts.* roots or bases like « আহ্ব āhwa, কীর্ত্ত kīrtta, গর্জ্জ garja, চুম্ব cumba, তিষ্ঠ tiṣṭha, ত্যজ tyaja, ধ্যা dhyā, ধ্বন dhwan, নম nam, নির্ম্মা nirmā (*sts.*, নিরমা nirāmā), নির্ণি nirṇi, নিশ্চি niści, প্রণম praṇam, বদ bad (vad), বন্দ banda (vand), বর্জ্জ barja (varj), বর্ত্ত barta (vart), ভঞ্জ bhañja, ভর্ৎস bhartsa, ভিদ bhid, মর্দ্দ marda, যজ yaj, রাজ rāj (the last two may be *tbhs.*), শোভ śōbh, সেব sēb (sē-a), স্মর smar, হিংস hiṁsa » etc., etc. to be in common use, side by side with *tbh.* equivalents in many cases. These *ts.* roots, although understood by most people, figure mainly in literature, and only a few have been adopted in the colloquial, like তিষ্ঠ « tiṣṭha » (cf. তিষ্ঠাইতে দেওয়া tiṣṭhāitē dēwā > Standard Coll. তিষ্ঠুতে দেওয়া tiṣṭhutē dēwā=*let one remain at peace*), বর্ত্ত « barta » (cf. বাঁচিয়া বর্ত্তিয়া > বেঁচে-ব'র্ত্তে থাকা bāciyā-bārtiyā > bēcē-bōrtē thākā *to remain alive and well*, বর্ত্তিয়া > ব'র্ত্তে যাওয়া bārtiyā > bōrtē jāwā *to feel saved, to get a new existence*). The number of such common *ts.* roots comes up to some 100; but it is often difficult to determine

whether they are *ts.* roots, or denominatives, as frequently the base in Bengali shows « guṇa » of the Skt. root characteristic of noun forms.

(2) Secondary or Derivative Roots.

**623.** The Causatives are the most characteristic of this class. They have the affix « -ā- » which comes from the Second MIA. « -āva- » = First MIA. « -āpa- », which is only a generalisation of the « -pa- » affix found in the causative of some OIA. roots ending in « -ā », *e.g.*, √dā > dā-pa-ya-, hā > hā-pa-ya-, mā > mā-pa-ya-, yā > yā-pa-ya-, sthā > sthā-pa-ya-, snā > snā-pa-ya- », etc. Their verbal nouns as well as infinitives and passive participles have the affix আন, আনো « -ānā, -ānō ». Almost every primary root and denominative which is not already a causative in form can have its causative in « -ā- ». A number of denominatives (especially in the case of bases in three syllables, ending in ড় « -ṛ- », original or affixed) have become obsolete, their places being taken by causative formations which are used without causative meaning: *e.g.*, আঁকাড় « ākāṛ » *embrace, hold with both hands* (aṅka-ḍa : cf. aṅka-pālikā *embrace*), proper verb form আঁকাড়ে « ākaṛē », causative extension * আঁকাড়াএ > আঁকড়ায় « ākāṛāē > ākaṛāy » ; উখাড় « ukhāṛ », উখাড়ে « ukhāṛē » > *উখাড়াএ, উখড়ায়, উখড়োয় « *ukhāṛāē > ukhaṛāy, ukhaṛōy » *roots out* ; উজাড় « ujāṛ » *desolate*, উজাড়ে « ujāṛē » > *উজাড়াএ « *ujāṛāē », উজড়ায়, উজড়োয় « ujaṛāy, ujaṛōy » *makes desolate, ransacks* ; উগার « ugāṛ » > উগারে « ugārē », *উগারাএ « *ugārāē » > উগরায় উগরোয় « ugaṛāy, ugaṛōy » *vomits* ; তাকে « tākē » *gazes* (tarkayati) > তাকায় « tākāy » ; হাঁকাড়ে « hākāṛē » *shouts, hits* > *হাঁকাড়ায় « *hākāṛāē » > হাঁকড়ায়, « hākaṛāy, beside হাঁক্‌রায় « hākṛāy » *belabours* ; etc., etc. The causatives present a numerous class in Bengali, the proper « -ā- » causatives numbering some 400.

**624.** Denominatives are made up from nouns and participle adjectives, these nouns and participles being treated exactly like roots. A vowel ending the noun or participle base is dropped. IA. developed early this habit of making roots out of nouns and adjectives, without adding the denominative-forming affix « -āya- ». According to the Skt. grammarians (who doubtless were guided by vernacular Prakrit usage in

this respect), any noun-stem could be used as a verb-stem. With the decay of inflected past forms, the past participles became, after the present base, the most important. In some cases there was a very great difference in form between these two outstanding parts of the verb. The levelling tendency in MIA. simplified matters by making the passive participle the basis of a new present formation, which in course of time ousted the old present: since in Late MIA., the latter often appeared (from point of view of MIA.) irregular and peculiar. Equally frequently the reverse process took place. Thus, OIA. « upaviśati » and « upaviṣṭa- » gave MIA. « uvaïsaï » and « uvaïṭṭha », but « uvaïṭṭha » assumed the function of the present, so that in NIA. (Hindōstānī) we have present « baiṭhē » (rather than « baisē »), and pass. participle « baiṭhā »; and in the OIA. group « śṛṇōti, śruta » > MIA. « suṇaï, sudō > suō », « suṇaï » made « suō » obsolete by bringing about the creation of a new form « suṇiō », so that in Hindōstānī we have present « sunē » and pass. part. « sunā ». The simple « -a » verbal noun, as presenting the root in a very intelligible form, also often supplied a basis for the new conjugation.

The Kōl and Dravidian speeches might have been responsible for the wide development in IA. of the practice of forming denominatives. Anyhow, it was a late MIA. characteristic which has come down to Bengali. Denominatives in « -ā- » are now freely formed, even from foreign nouns and adjectives.

**625.** As for the *tbh* (and *dēśī*) denominatives of Bengali, absence of literary records does not allow us to fix with certainty when they were first employed as verbs—whether in the pre-Bengali period, or in later times. The forms without « -ā- » seem to be earlier. Examples are: « উগে ugē *rises* (uggaa, udgata); উজাড়ে ujāṛē *clears* (*ujjhāḍa, * ud-jhāṭa *with trees cut down*); MB. উনাএ unāē *gets hot* (uṇha, uṣṇa); উভে, উবে ub(h)ē *is volatile* (ubbha, ūrdhva; ubbhaa, udbhṛta); MB. উমাএ umāē *steams* (umha, uṣma); কহে, কয় kāhē, kāy (kahēï, kathayati); কাড়ে kāṛē *snatches away, robs* (kaḍḍha, kṛṣṭa); কামায় kāmāy *earns, shaves* (« kamma, karma »: Second MIA. « kammaï » *cuts*; connexion with Pali « kappēti » *trims*, as suggested by R. Morris, 'Pali, Sanskrit and Prakrit

Etymology,' Transactions of the 9th International Congress of Orientalists, London, 1893, Vol. I, pp. 494-495, not likely); কালায় kālaẏ *gets black, blackens* (kāla); কুড়ায় kuṛāy *gathers* (kūḍa, kūṭa); খোয়ায় khōẁāy *gets lost* (*khaẁa, khaa, kṣaya); গাড়ে gāṛē *buries* (*dēśī* gaḍḍa : ? < garta); গাবায় gābāy *vaunts* (gabba, garva); গাহে, গায় gāhē, gāy *sings* (gāhēï, gāthayati < gāthā); গুছায় guchāy *arranges* (guccha); ঘোলে ghōlē *mixes thoroughly as liquids* (ghŏlla = ghūrṇa); ঘামে ghāmē *sweats* (gharma); চিনে cinē *recognises* (cihna); চোরায় cōrāy *steals* (cāura); চেতায় cētāy *comes to senses* (cittāvēi, citta-); চিরে cirē *slits, pie rees* (cīra, cīvara); ছাঁদে chādē *grips, holds tight, binds* (chanda); ছিনে chinē *snatches away* (chinna); জিতে jitē *wins* (jitta < jitá); ছিটায় chiṭāy *sprinkles* (chiṭṭa-,? kṣipta); জুতে, জোতে jutē, jōtē *hitches ox or horse to vehicle* (jutta, yukta); টকে ṭakē *gets sour* (ṭakka=takra); ঠাটায় ṭhāṭāy *stiffens* (ṭhaḍḍha < *ṭhaṭṭha : stabdha ?); দাঁড়ায় dāṛāy *stands* (daṇḍāyatē); তাকে tākē *gazes* (takkēi, tarkayati); তাতে tātē *gets hot* (tatta, tapta); তিতে titē *gets wet* (tinta, √tim); থামে thāmē *comes to a standstill, stops* (thambha, stambha); থিরায় thirāy (sthira) থিতায় thitāy *subsides as a residue* ( *sts.* ? < sthitá); দুখায় dukhāy *pains* (dukkha, duḥkha); ধুঁয়ায়, ধোঁয়ায় dhūāy, dhōāy *smokes* (dhūẁa, dhūma); পাকে pākē *ripens* (pakva); MB. পতিয়াএ, পইতায় pātiyāē, pāitāy *believes* (*sts.* < pratyaya); পইঠে pāiṭhē *enters* (païṭṭha, praviṣṭa); পিটে piṭē *beats* (piṭṭa, piṣṭa); বাঁকে bākē (baṇka = vakra); বাখানে bākhānē *explains, praises* (bakkhāṇa, vyyākhāna); বাজে bājē *is played, as music* (vajja, vādya); মাগে, মাঙ্গে mā(ŋ)gē *begs* (maggaï, maggēi, mārgati, mārgayati); মাতে mātē *becomes intoxicated* (matta); মূতে mūtē (mūtra); মুদে mudē *closes, as eyes* (mudrā *seal*); রুঠে ruṭhē *angers* (ruṭṭha, ruṣṭa); রুধে rudhē *prevents, forbids* (ruddha); শুখায় sukhāy *dries* (suṣka); সেঁতায় sētāy *gets wet* (* sinta, sitta < sikta), etc., etc. *Tadbhava* derivatives of NIA. origin in Bengali can be exemplified by forms like • আঁধারা ādhārā (andhakāra); আউলা, আলা, এলা āulā, āīlā, ēlā *make dishevelled* (ākula); আলগা ālagā *loosen* (ālagga, ālagna); আঁতকা ātaṅkā *be seized with a sudden fright* (ātaṅka); ইটা iṭā *stone, hit with pellets* (iṣṭaka); উঁচা ūcā *raise, level as a weapon* (ucca-); আগুআ, আগুয়া, আগা, এগো āguā, āīgā > ēgō *advance* (agra+uka); কষা kaṣā *tighten* (karṣa); কাঁধা kādhā *to shoulder* (skandha); কিলা kilā

*give blows with the fist* (kilą *fisticuff*); খেঙ্‌রা khēŋrā *strike with a broom*; খেপা khēpā *become mad*; গালা gālā *abuse* (gāli=garhikā); চাপড়া cāpą̄ḍā *pat* (cāpȧṛą *patting with the flat of the palm*); ঘনা ghȧnā *deepen* (ghana); ঘুমা ghumā *sleep* (ghumą *sleep* : see p. 482 *supra*); গোঁজা gō̃jā *tuck inside* (cf. gō̃ją *a peg*); চড়া cȧṛā *slap* (cȧṛą *a slap*); ছোঁচা chō̃cā *wash after evacuation* (śāuca); জুতা jutā *strike with the shoe* (jutā *shoe*); ঝাঁটা jhā̃ṭā *strike with a broom*; ঢেউআ ḍhēuā *dash water in a tank or stream* (ḍhēu *wave*); তলা tȧlā *sink deep* (tala); তাসা tāsā *play cards* (slang : tāsą *playing cards*); তেওড়া tēoṛā *make deformed* (tri-vṛta); দাঁতা dā̃tā *gnash teeth, show teeth* (danta); MB. নিন্দা nindā *sleep* (nidrā); পাদা pādā *break wind* (parda); পাছুআ > পেছো pāchuā > pēchō *fall back* (paścāt); বিষা biṣā *fester as a wound* (viṣa); ভাঙ্গা bhāŋ(g)ā *break* (bhaŋga); রাঙ্গা rāŋ(g)ā *redden* (raŋga); লাঠা lāṭhā *belabour with sticks* (lāṭhi < yaṣṭi ? < * lak-ṭhi = * lak-, * lag- [cf. lak-uṭa, lag-uḍā + yaṣṭi); শাণা śāṇā *whet* (śāṇa); হাতা hātā *receive in hand to one's advantage* (hasta); MB. হুমা humā (hōma) », etc., etc., The noun base not infrequently ends in « -u » : thus আগুয়া > এগো « āg-u-ā > ēgō » *advance*, পাছুয়া > পেছো « pāch-u-ā > pēchō » *recede*, পারুআ > পেরো « pār-u-ā > pērō » *cross*, etc.

The *tbh.* derivatives convey mainly an instrumental or acquisitive sense.

Common *tbh.* roots of this class number some 200 in Bengali.

**626.** Sanskrit denominatives, in *ts.* or *sts.* forms, like Skt. roots and participial forms, occur from the oldest Bengali onwards. Almost any Sanskrit noun, preferably in « -a », which is not the name of a concrete object, can be used as a root in the language of Bengali poetry. About 100 denominatives of this class are in common use in the Bengali. A few of this have developed characteristic vernacular or *sts.* forms from MB. onwards, *e.g.*, তেয়াগ « tēyāgȧ » < « tyāga », বরণ « bȧrȧṇȧ » < « varṇa », দরশ « dȧrȧśȧ » < « darśa », পরশ « pȧrȧśȧ » < « sparśa » etc.

Examples of *ts.* demonstratives : « agrasara, ādara, ādēśa, ākula, āghāta, ānanda, ālāpa, āśīṣa, ucchēda, uttāpa, uddhāra, unmōca, ulaŋga citra, trasta, dvēṣa, dvandva, dāna, dīpa, nāda, nīrava, niścaya, niṣphala,

nistāra, parihāra, pradāna, praṇāma, pramōda, prasāra, prasāda, praśama (*ts.* root, pra + √śam ?), puraskāra, bhāti, bhāva, vikāsa, vighōṣa, vināśa, vistāra, vēṣṭa, rāga, yōga, lēpa, saṁhāra, santōṣa, stuti » etc., etc.. we have even a word like « prati-vidhitsā » turned into a denominative root, প্রতিবিধিৎস « prāti-bidhitsā- », in poetry (*e.g.*, in Madhusūdan Datta and in Giriś Chandra Ghōsh).

**627.** Foreign denominatives number barely 20. They are almost all from the Persian (or Perso-Arabic): *e.g.*, অর্শা « ārśā » *be entailed as property* (°arsah); কবলা « kāblā » *make agree or accept* (slang: < qabūl); কুলুপা « kulupā- » *lock up* (qufl = *lock*); খতা « khātā » *cast accounts, estimate* (xatt); খামচা, খিমচা « khāmṭcā, khimṭcā » *pinch* (Ar. xams = *five* : *pinch with the five fingers* ?): গুঁতা « gūtā » *butt with horns* (gutah *plunge*); গুজরা « gujṛā » *pass time* (guẕār); জম « jām » *gather*, জমা « jāmā » *collect* (jam°); MB. তপাস « tāpās » *seek* (tafaḥḥus : see *supra*, p. 213, footnote 2); তোয়া « tōā » *flatter* (? tawājah); দাগ, দাগ « dāg, dāgā » *mark* (dāg); নরমা « nārṃā » *be soft* (narm); গরমা « gārṃā » *be hot* (garm); ফস্‌কা « phāsḳā » *slip from hold* (fasx); বদলা « bāḍḷā » *change* (badl); MB. মানা « mānā » *forbid* (man°); সাবাশ « sābāś » *cry bravo* (śābāś < śāḍ-bāś); etc., etc.

There are no denominatives proper from the other foreign sources, Portuguese and English. English verbs like *edit, manage, quote, note, agree*, etc., as well as nouns and adjectives, are freely compounded with Bengali roots like « kār, dē » to form verbs, in the familiar speech of persons educated in English, but such words by themselves are not used as verb roots, with or without the « -ā- », as in the case of Persian words. Slang is responsible, however, for one or two genuine denominatives, *e.g.*, in student slang in Calcutta one can hear পাসানো, পেস্থনো < পাস্থয়ানো « pās-ānō, pēsunō < pās-u-ā-nā » *to pass* < English *pass*.

**628.** Compounded and Suffixed Roots.

There are over 125 roots which are derivative, being made up of either two roots combined, or a root preceded by a noun or adverb, or in the majority of cases, of a root (primary or denominative)

modified by a suffix. Instances of the first type (two roots combined) can be easily analysed. The second root which is suffixed is commonly আসা, আইসা « ā(i)sā » *come*. Thus, we have দেখসে, দেখসা « dēkhā-sē, dēkhā-sā » *come and see* found from early MB. times, = দেখ + আইস « dēkh + āïs » *see* and *come*, and ŚKK চড়সা « cāṛāsā » *come and mount* (√cāṛ + √āïs). We have also occasionally a similar combination with গা from গিয়া « gā < giyā » (করগা, খাওগা « kārā-gā, khāo-gā » *go and see, go and eat*). We have beside a combination of রহ « √rāh » *to remain* and সহ « √sāh » *to endure*, in the imperative only—contemptuous র'স্ « rōsṣ », ordinary রোসো « rōsō » < « rāhā sāhā » *wait*, in the Standard Colloquial. The above forms strictly speaking are not roots,—they are merely compounded forms, contracted and stereotyped. Besides, they do not occur in all persons and tenses, but only in the imperative. Of the second type (noun or adverb and root) are found some instances, also from eMB., like আগুছা « āguchā (< *āgusā, āgu + √āïs) » *advance*, রাকাড়া > রাকড়া « rā-kāṛā > rākāṛā » *shout, raise a shout*, and the negative forms নার « nār < nā + pār » *fail, not succeed*, নহ « nāh < na + √*ah, hā » *not be*.

The periphrastic forms composed of a noun (*tbh.*, *ts.* or foreign) and a root like « kār » *do*, like দর্শন করা « dārśāṇṣ kārā » *to see*, গমন করা « gāmāṇṣ kārā » *to go*, do not come under this.

**629.** The bulk of these secondary compounded roots are suffixed. We have these suffixes: (i) ক « -k- », (ii) ট « -ṭ- », (iii) ড় « -ṛ- », (iv) র, ল « -r-, -l- », and (v) স, চ « -s-, -c- » (cf. G. A. Grierson, 'On the Irregular Causals in the Indo-Aryan Vernaculars,' JASB., 1896, Part I). These modified the meaning of the original root or denominative base in various ways,—as an intensive or continuative, frequentative or approximative affix. Corresponding forms occur in the other NIA. speeches. These roots may again be described as denominatives from nouns ending in « -k-, -ṭ-, -ḍ- (-ṛ-), -r-, -l-, -ś-, -c- ».

**630.** Of these affixes, (i) ক « -k- » in Bengali indicates, generally, the suddenness of the action, or its continuity: it is thus an intensive. Its origin has been discussed before (see *supra*, pp. 679 ff.). Examples in Bengali: চুক « cuk » *be at an end* (*cyut-kṛ); কোঁচকা « kōcaṣkā »

*wrinkle* (kuñc); খিঁচকা « khĩcḍkā » *pull, nag* (cf. খেঁচ khẽc *pull* : ? « krakṣyati < √kṛṣ », whence MIA. « kacchaï, kañcaï », vowel influenced by « ā-krakṣati > *ākacchaï > āyañcaï > NIA. aĩcai ») ; চলকা « cālḍkā » *spill, as water from a vessel full to the brim* (cal) ; চুলকা « culḍkā » *scratch* (√cal ? cf. চুলবুল cul-bul *wander*) ; চানকা « cānḍkā » *glance, make eyes, draw the eyes as in a picture* ; (? *cayaṇa-kka, cētana-) ; চুমুকা « cumukā » *sip, touch vessel with lips* (cumb) ; ছিটকা « chiṭḍkā » *sprinkle* (chiṭḍ = *drop, sprinkling*) ; so চমকা « cāmḍkā » *be bright, dazzle, be startled as at a sudden flash or noise* ; জমকা « jāmḍkā » *be showy* ; টপকা « ṭāpḍkā » *jump over* ; টসকা « ṭāsḍkā » *drip, run out* ; ঠমকা « ṭhāmḍkā » *caper, walk with a dancing gait* ; ঢুলকা « ḍhulḍkā » *wave a fly-flap* ; তড়কা « tāṛḍkā » *be in fits* ; থমকা « thāmḍkā » *be at stand-still* ; থকা « thākā » ibid ; থাকা « thākā » *remain* ; দমকা « dāmḍkā » *come as a gust of wind* ; ধমকা « dhāmḍkā » *rebuke* ; নড়কা « nāṛḍkā » *move about* ; বখা < বহকা « bākhā < bāhḍkā » *be borne away* > *go astray* ; ভড়কা « bhāṛḍkā » *be confused, fear* (bhraṣṭa) ; মচকা « mācḍkā » *break with a noise, sprain* ; মুচকা « mucḍkā » *smile, wrinkle* ; লটকা « lāṭḍkā » *hang* ; সট্‌কা < সড়কা « sāṭḍkā < saṛḍkā *slink away* (sṛta) ; হড়কা « hāṛḍkā » *slip one's foot, be slippery* ; হেঁচকা « hẽcḍkā » *drag* ; etc.

A few words of other origin have come in line with these « -k- » denominatives : *e.g.*, আঁতকা « ātḍkā » *be filled with sudden fear* (*sts.*, < ātaṅka, ā-√tañc) ; উসকা « usḍkā < ukḍsā » *trim a lamp, incite* ( ? utkarṣa) ; কড়কা « kāṛḍkā » *rebuke* (cf. « kaḍakkha- = kaṭākṣa- », whence NIA. [Hindī etc.] « kaṛḍkhā » *war-song* < *challenge* < *glance of contempt* : confusion with, or influence of কড়া « kārā » *stiff* likely) ; ফসকা « phāsḍkā » *slip*, from the Persian (see p. 884) ; চট্‌কা « cāṭḍkā » *rinse* by metathesis from কচটা, কছটা « kāc(h)ṭā » (next para.) ; etc.

**631.** The affix (ii) ট « -ṭ- » is the « -ṭḍ- » affix (No. 41), noted at pp. 684 ff. *supra*. It indicates continuity of the action. Examples : কছটা, কষটা « kāchḍṭā, kāṣḍṭā » *rinse* (karṣa-varta-) ; ঘষটা « ghāṣḍ-ṭā » *rub along* (gharṣa-varta-) ; চিপটা « cipḍṭā » *press down* ; so জাপটা « jāpḍṭā » *embrace, hold with both arms* ; ঝাপটা « jhāpḍṭā » *struggle* (MIA. * jhappa, jhampa) ; দাপটা « dāpḍṭā » *be aggressive* (darpa) ; পাশটা « pāśḍṭā » *pass by* (pārśva-

varta-); রপটা « rāpṣṭā » *gad about*; লপটা or লিপটা « lāpṣṭā, lipṣṭā » *stick on*, etc. Cf. MB. নেউটা « nēuṭā » *return* (nivartt-) which is of different origin.

**632.** (iii) The ড় « -ṛ- » affix is the pleonastic ড় « -ṛ- », discussed before as Formative Affix No 46 (pp. 689 ff.) The sense is sometimes intensive, but generally it is merely pleonastic. In some instances the sense is continuative or approximative, and then the ড় « -ṛ- » would seem to be connected with « √vṛt », either as a phonetic modification of « -ṭ- < vaṭṭa, vṛtta » above, or it is the same ড় « -ṛ- » as Formative Affix No. 44 (pp. 687-688 *supra*): thus ঘেঁষড়া, ঘষড়া « ghēṣṣṛā, ghāṣṣṛā », দাবড়া « dābṣṛā » beside ঘষটা « ghāṣṣṭā », দাপটা « dāpṣṭā » above; হেঁচড়া « hēṁcṣṛā » *pull*, see *supra*, p. 878; in আওড়া « āoṛā » *repeat*, তেওড়া তোবড়া « tēoṛā, tōbṣṛā » *disfigure*, and MB. নিবড়া « nibāṛā » *finish*, we have the OIA. « √vṛt ». Examples of « -ṛ- »: আঁকড়া « ākṣṛā » *embrace* (see *supra*, p. 880); আঁচড়া « ācṣṛā » *scratch*, (? √añc *wander, bend, curl* + -ḍa-); কুঁকড়া, কোঁকড়া, কুঁচড়া, কোঁচড়া « kũkṣṛā, kõkṣṛā, kũc-, kõc- » *crumple, wrinkle, be curly* (kuñc); খেদড়া « khēdṣṛā » *hustle* (cf. খেদা « khēdā » *drive away*, Hindī and Bengali noun « khēdā » *'kheddah,' enclosure to which wild elephants are driven and caught*: *sts.*, < « √khid » *torment*?); খিঁচড়া « khīcṣṛā » *feel tense or annoyed* (see « khīcṣkā », *supra*, p. 886): ঘাবড়া « ghābṣṛā » *be frightened* (connected with ঘাপটা « ghāpṣṭī » etc., p. 685); চাপড়া « cāpṣṛā » *slap, pat* (carpaṭa); চিমড়া « cimṣṛā » *dry up, reduce to skin and bone* (√cip > *civ > *ciw, cim); চুমড়া « cumṣṛā » *flatter* (cumb), also চুমরা « cumṣrā »; জোবড়া, জাবড়া « jōbṣṛā, jābṣṛā » *blotch* (cf. জবজবে « jābṣjābē », *onomatopoetic to denote the idea of stickiness and moisture*); তাংড়া, তামড়া « tāṅṣṛā, tāmṣṛā » *save up, store up* (Yōgeś Chandra Vidyānidhi, Bengali Dictionary, VSPd., gives a late Sanskrit « 'tryaṅgaṭa-' śikya-bhēdē », = Marāṭhī « tāgaḍ » *bind the feet*: Monier Williams, « tri-aṅgaṭa » *three strings suspended to either end of a pole for carrying burdens*); থাবড়া « thābṣṛā » *slap* (cf. থাবা « thābā » *paw*); থুবড়া « thubṣṛā » *give a blow, fall down on the face* (Dhātu-kōṣa √thurv *kill*: cf. থুড়া « thuṛā » *pound, cut into small bits*); দাঁদড়া « dādṣṛā » *be aggressive* (dvandva + ṭa), also দাঁদলা « dādṣlā »; দুমড়া « dumṣṛā » *bend, crumple* (< ?); দৌড়া « dauṛā » *run* (drava + -ḍa); নিঙড়া « niṅgṣṛā < niṅgāṛā » *wring wet clothes* (niñj); নেংড়া « nēṅṣṛā- » *limp* (cf. লেঙ « lēṅ[g]ṣ » *foot, kick*); নেবড়া « nēbṣṛā

*smear* (*sts.* < lēpa); পাকড়, MB. পাখড় « pākāṛḍ, -khāṛḍ » *seize* (? parka +-ḍa : √pṛc *mix, unite*); পাছুড়া « pāch(u)ṛḍ » *dash, toss, clean corn* (< ?); মুচড়া « mucḍṛā » *wring* (cf. macḍkā, mucḍkā: onomatopoetic); মুষড়া « muṣḍṛā » *be dispirited* (cf. muṣ *steal, rob*: cf. the expression « hanta muṣitāḥ vayam » *alas, we are done for!*); রগড়া « rāgḍṛā » *rub* (< *beat*? cf. late Sanskrit « drakaṭa, dragaḍa » *drum*; Yogeś Chandra Vidyānidhi, Beng. Dictionary); হাঁকড়া « hākḍṛā » *drive* (MIA. hakka *shout*); হাতড়া « hātḍṛā » *feel with the hand* (hasta); হুমড়া « humḍṛā » *push through eagerness, fall face forwards* (connected with হামা « hāmā » *crawl*); etc., etc. It would be seen that the « -ṛ- » roots are mostly very obscure, and these suffixed forms or roots, a most characteristic element inherited by NIA. from MIA., constitute a problem of prime etymological importance. From these roots with the ড় « -ṛ- » affix are to be distinguished roots like আছাড় « āchāṛ » *dash, throw down with force* (ā-chṛd); উজাড় « ujāṛ » (see page 881, *supra*, with a variant আজাড় « ājāṛ » *empty a vessel*); উপাড় « upāṛ » (utpāṭayati); etc.: but উখাড় « ukhāṛ » may represent « utkhāta +-ḍa ».

**633.** (iv) The affixes র, ল « -r-, -l- » represent the OIA. adjectival and pleonastic affix occurring both as « -ra, -la » (see *supra*, pp. 697-698). In compounded denominatives, the force is that of approximation or resemblance, or connexion. The « -r- » form in some instances may be a modification of ড় « -ṛ- » above; and in other cases it may be for « -ārḍ formative < -ākāra », implying resemblance (Affix No. 18, *supra*, pp. 668-669). Similarly the « -l- » form may represent the adjectival « -āl̤ḍ » (No. 19, p. 669). Examples: আগলা « āgḍlā » *watch* (arga-la-); উঁচলা, ওঁছলা « ūcḍlā, ōchḍlā » *sift* (uñch); খোসলা « khōsḍlā » *peel* (khōsā *skin of fruit*); চোমরা, চুমরা « cōmḍrā, cumḍrā » *flatter* (cumb); চোবলা « cōbḍlā », ছোবলা « chōbḍlā » *bite as a snake* (cf. চোপ « cōpḍ » *blow*: see p. 482 *supra*); ঝাঁকরা « jhākḍrā » *shake* (see p. 479 *supra*); ঝামরা « jhāmḍrā » *be pale, dry up* (p. 480); ঠাওরা, ঠাহরা « ṭhāorā, ṭhāhārā » *look over, scrutinise, examine a thing that is standing still* (ṭhāha, ṭhāwa < √sthā); ডুকরা « ḍukḍrā » *shout, lament loudly* (cf. ḍāḳ *shout*); থেঁতলা « thēṭḍlā » *pound, batter* (cf. থেঁত thēṭā *pounded*); নাগলা « nāgḍlā » *reach* (lāga+-āla-); দাঁদলা « dādḍlā » *swagger* (dvandva); পিকলা « pikḍlā » *spit, squirt out*

(onomatopoetic); ফুসলা « phusḍlā » *wheedle, lead astray by whispering in the ear* (onomatopoetic); ফুকরা « phukḍrā » *shout out, lament loudly* (onomatopoetic: « phukka » *puffing, blowing*, cf. Hindī « pukār » *shout*); বাউলা « bāolā » *fan, winnow* (vāta); হাঁকরা, হাঁকারা « hākḍrā, hākārā » *shout, give a blow* (MIA. hakkāra *shout*); হামলা « hāmḍlā » *be eager, fall down on all fours in eagerness* (cf. hammati *crawls*); etc., etc. This affixed « -r-, -l- » of course is not to be confused with original « -r-, -l- » in forms like আঙুলা « āṇgḍlā » *to use fingers* (aṇguli); †উভরা « ubhḍrā » *bring down, pour* (udbhārayati); নিকলা « nikḍlā » *get out* (niḥ + kṛ); বাতলা « bātḍlā » *explain* (from Hindōstānī, a causative in « -lā- »); etc.

**634.** (v) The affix স, চ « -s-, -c- » is the affix of resemblance (No. 55, p. 699). Examples with it are কপচা « kāpḍcā » *chatter like a bird* (kḷp); গুমসা « gumḍsā » *be stuffy* (< grīṣma? : cf. গুমট « gumāṭḍ » *stuffy weather*); so চকসা « cākḍsā » *become clear, as sky* (see p. 699); চুপসা « cupḍsā » *be lean, be hollow* (p. 699); ঝলসা « jhālḍsā » *roast* (see p. 479); লেঙ্গচা « lēṇgḍcā », নেঙ্গচা « nēṇgḍcā » *limp* (see p. 699); ধামসা « dhāmḍsā » *rummage as a bed* (cf. MB. ধামালি « dhāmāli » *horseplay, sport*); বালসা « bālḍsā » *get fever as a baby* (bāla); ভাপসা « bhāpḍsā » *smell fœtid* (bāṣpa); ভেঙ্গচা, ভাঙ্গচা « bhēṇgḍcā, bhāṇgḍcā » *make faces* (bhaṇga); etc., etc.

**635.** Onomatopoetics also fall under denominatives. These can be classed under two heads—Onomatopoetics Proper, and Roots Reduplicated or Repeated, which produce a jingle. Onomatopoetics Proper can also be either simple or reduplicated.

It is evident that in the early stages of IA., onomatopoetics were not so common. Compared with the Vedic, the MIA. dialects are specially rich in onomatopoetics.

Vedic has registered about a dozen onomatopoetics formed by repeating a root to produce a jingle, or by compounding an imitative word with a root of action or existence (cf. Whitney, Sanskrit Grammar, § 1091; see also *supra*, pp. 175, 200). Onomatopoetics were included in the category of *dēśī* words by Prakrit grammarians, as they cannot show counterparts in Vedic or Sanskrit. We have onomatopoetics

of two types in the speech of Ancient India (Vedic, Skt., and the Pkts.): *simple,* like the Sanskrit nouns « jhaṇ-kāra, guñj-ana, kūj-ana », Pkt. verbs « jhaṇkārēi, *guñjaï, kūjaï »; and *reduplicated,* like Late Skt. « khaṭ-khaṭāyamāna, maḍamaḍāyitā, pharpharāyatē », etc., Pali « halahalā, kiṇikiṇāyati, capucapu », etc., and Prakrit « caḍapaḍanta, cuhūcuhū, tharahara- », etc. It would be seen that in Sanskrit the onomatopoetics are treated as denominatives in « -āya- », but in MIA., we have the direct use of the stem as root.

Onomatopoetics of the reduplicating type are found in abundance in all NIA. languages. In Bengali, onomatopoetic reduplications are ordinarily used as adverbs, absolutely i.e., without any affix, and modify a verb of action: *e.g.,* চক্‌চক্ করে « cāk̤-cāk̤ kārē » *glitters;* or they are employed as gerundives in « -iyā », also standing in adverbial relation to the verb of action, *e.g.,* কন্‌কনাইয়া < কন্‌ক'নিয়ে উঠে « kān̤-kānāiyā > kān̤kōniē uṭhē » *gives a throbbing pain.* A group consisting of a reduplicated or simple onomatopoetic and a verb like কর « kār » *to do* may be regarded as a compound verb formation.

There are over 125 common onomatopoetics in Bengali which are used as verb-roots. The list of onomatopoetics given in Rabīndra-nāth Tagore's 'Śabda-tattwa' comes up to 651, which includes words of all kinds that would come under this head. By change of the vowel, the same consonant group can be made to take numerous forms, which are slightly differentiated in meaning. Thus টক্‌টক্ « ṭāk̤-ṭāk̤ » *tick of a clock,* টিক্‌টিক্ « ṭik̤-ṭik̤ » *tick of a watch, nagging in a mild way,* টুক্‌টুক্ « ṭuk̤-ṭuk̤ » *gentle battering with a tiny hammer,* ট্যাক্‌ট্যাক্ « ṭyāk̤-ṭyāk̤ » [ṭǣk̤ṭǣk] *jangle, unpleasant remarks,* টিক্‌টাক্, টুক্‌টাক্ « ṭik̤-ṭāk̤, ṭuk̤-ṭāk̤ » *gentle blows with alternation of sound,* টকাটক্ « ṭāk̤āṭāk̤ » *quick one after another,* etc. The proper significance and use of the onomatopoetic forms in the psychology and art of Bengali speech has been discussed by Rabīndra-nāth Tagore in 'Śabda-tattwa' and by Rāmēndra-sundara Trivēdī in 'Śabda-kathā.'

Examples of Onomatopoetic Verbs in Bengali.

A. Onomatopoetics Proper:

(i) Simple : চিল্লা « cillā » *shout* ; চুঁয়া « cūā » *scorch in cooking, be fried black* ; টুপা, টুসা « ṭupā, ṭusā » *drip* ; ফুক « phuk » *whiff, smoke, puff* ; ফোঁসা « phōsā » *hiss* ; হাঁক « hāk » *shout* (MIA. hakka) ; হাঁচ « hāc » *sneeze* (cf. OB. « bhāñjī » as in Sarvânanda) ; etc.

(ii) Duplicated : কট্‌কটা « kāṭ-kāṭā » *sense of biting or breaking pain* ; কটমটা « kāṭ-māṭā » *look with glaring eyes* ; কড়মড়া « kāṛ-māṛā » *gnash one's teeth* ; কুড়মুড়া « kuṛ-muṛā » *chew something crisp* ; কাঁচকাঁচা « kyāc-kyāc » *creak* ; খটখটা khāṭ-khāṭā » *rattle, knock* ; গড়গড়া « gāṛ-gāṛā » *roll* ; গেঁগা « gẽgā », গেঙা « gẽṇā » *groan, have a dried-up throat or choked voice in speaking* ; চড়চড়া > চচ্চড়া « cāṛ-cāṛā, cāccāṛā » *striking with a cane, sense of whipping pain* ; ঝলমলা « jhāl-māl » *dangle, be bright* ; ঝমঝমা « jhām-jhāmā » *make a hollow ringing noise, tinkle as anklets, patter as heavy rain* ; ঠকঠকা « ṭhāk-ṭhākā » *knocking sound* ; তড়বড়া « tāṛ-bāṛā » *clatter as galloping horses, chatter* ; থিকথিকা « thik-thikā » *sense of teeming as with maggots* ; পিলপিলা « pil-pilā » *sense of being over-crowded* ; ফরফরা « phār-phārā » *flutter* ; বজবজা « bāj-bājā » *sense of being moist and rotten* ; বিড়বিড়া « biṛ-biṛā » *mutter* ; মচমচা « māc-mācā » *crackle in the mouth* ; সপসপা « sāp-sāpā » *sense of being wet and uncomfortable* ; হড়হড়া « hāṛ-hāṛā » *sense of being slippery and uncanny* ; etc., etc.

B. Roots Repeated.

(i) Complete repetition : জলজলা « jāl-jālā » *be brilliant* (jval) ; টনটনা « ṭān-ṭānā » *sense of binding pain* (ṭan = ṭān) ; টলটলা « ṭāl-ṭālā » *be clear and ready to run off, as water* (ṭal) ; ধুকধুকা « dhuk-dhukā » *pant* (cf. dhūk *pant, gasp*) ; সড়সড়া « sāṛ-sāṛā » *feel creepy, as with an insect crawling over the body* (sāṛ < sṛta) ; গলগলা « gāl-gālā » *ooze or flow out, as blood* (gal) ; গনগনা « gān-gānā » *burn brightly* ( < gan < agni ? cf. Pali gini) ; etc.

(ii) Modified repetition, where another root of similar sense and assonance echoes the preceding one : চুলবুলা, চিলবিলা « cul-bulā, cil-bilā » *be fidgety, be eager to move away* ( « cāl, bul » : cf. চলাবুলা « cālā-bulā » *wander about, move and walk*) ; টলবলা « ṭāl-bālā » *be shaky and moving* (ṭal, bāl = bul < Skt. val) ; দলমলা « dāl-mālā » *shake and pat* ( « dal, mal » : cf. দলাইমলাই « dālāi-mālāi » *currying a horse*) ; etc., etc.

**636.** In addition to roots which easily affiliate themselves to one or the other of the above classes, there are a few roots of which the origin has not been found out, and which from their look are secondary formations : *e.g.*, কাঁচা « kā̃cā » *bring to a failure, make 'cutcha'* ; গজা « gȧjā » *sprout* ; MB. গাহা « gāhā » *cauker* ; গুটা, গুড়া « guṭā, guṛā » *gather up, as a net or line* ; গুঁড়া « gũṛā » *pound* ; জিরা « jirā » *cool one self, rest* ; টাঙ্গা « ṭāŋ(g)ā » *hang on high* ; বিলা « bilā » *distribute* ; হেদা « hēdā » *pine away* ; লেলা « lēlā » *set a dog on a person* ; etc. In some cases they appear to be *dēśī*.

In a number of *dēśī* and *tbh.* roots, we find a wide range of vowel change : চিপসা and চুপসা « cipȧsā, cupȧsā » *get shrivelled* ; জাবড়া, জোবড়া « jābȧṛā, jōbȧṛā » *smudge, blotch* ; etc. This, as well as other variations, like nasalisation or the absence of it, and interchange of consonants, etc., have been noticed under *Phonology*. The dislocation of the MIA. tradition in Bengali spelling from the very beginning, through Sanskrit influence, has been responsible for the state of chaos which exists in the spelling of verb-roots (as of other forms) in Middle and New Bengali. Dialectal modifications are not properly discriminated and kept in their proper place. The result is that we have the same root spelt differently, *e.g.*, গোঙা and গোয়াঁ « gōŋā, gōyā̃ » (=gȧw̃ā) *pass* ( gam-aya- ), শু and সু « śu, su » *sleep, lie down* (svap), নেউটা and লেউটা « nēuṭā, lēuṭā » *return* (ni-vṛt), আইশ, আইস, আস « āïś, āïs, ās » *come* (ā-viś), etc., etc.

## [II] Formal Classification of Roots.

**637.** The proper classification of roots in Bengali, viewed from the formal aspect, is not with regard to their affixes (because they are always the same—the Bengali verb presents only *one* conjugation, and apparent irregularities are only the result of recent phonetic changes), but with regard to the modifications of the root-vowels and also of the affix-vowel in the case of the causatives and denominatives. These modifications are the result of Epenthesis-cum-Umlaut and Vocalic Harmony (*supra*, pp. 378 ff.). Roots have [i, e, u, o] when the following affix has a high vowel, [i, u] ; and these are lowered respectively

to [e, æ, o, ɔ] in the case of a low vowel [e, o, a, ɔ] following; and [æ, ɔ] are changed to [e, o] through the influence of a following [i, u].

The principal parts of a Bengali verb, judging from these vowel modifications, can be taken to be (i) Inferior Imperative, which is identical with the Root; (ii) 3rd pers. Present; (iii) 3rd pers. Past; or 3rd pers. Future; (iv) Present Participle, and (v) Conjunctive in « -iyā ». All the variations a root can undergo are found in the above forms. To classify formally the Bengali verb, it is best to take the Standard Colloquial in which the phonetic advance has been the greatest. The « sādhu-bhāṣā » spelling does not consider the present-day vowel changes and contractions, and conjugation in the « sādhu-bhāṣā » means only a rigid and regular adding of a series of affixes.

Below are given in phonetic transcript the groups into which the Standard Colloquial verbs would range themselves: the spelling in Bengali is not uniform, as has been noted before.

Class I (a): Roots in « -å- » [ɔ] closed by a consonant:

(i) [kɔr] *do*; (ii) [kɔre]; (iii) [korle, kolle < *kɔrile; korbe < *kɔribe]; (iv) [korte, kotte]; (v) [kore];

(i) [bɔl] *say*; (ii) [bɔle]; (iii) [bolle; bolbe]; (iv) [bolte]; (v) [bole].

Class I (b): Roots ending in « -å- » [ɔ], originally in « -åh » [ɔɦ]:

(i) [rɔ < rɔɦ] *remain*; (ii) [rɔĕ]; (iii) [roilo; roibe, rɔbe]; (iv) [roite]; (v) [roe];

(i) [ɟɔ < ɟɔɦ] *suffer*; (ii) [ɟɔĕ]; (iii) [ɟoile; ɟoibe, ɟɔbe]; (iv) [ɟoite]; (v) [ɟoe]. Similarly [dɔ, bɔ < dɔɦ, bɔɦ] *burn, bear*; etc.

(i) [ɦɔ < *ɔɦ] *be*; (ii) [ɦɔĕ]; (iii) [ɦolo; ɦɔbe]; (iv) [ɦote]; (v) [ɦoe].

Class II (a): Roots ending in « -ā » [a]:

(i) [kha] *eat*; (ii) [khaĕ]; (iii) [khele, khelo; khabe]; (iv) [khete]; (v) [kheče];

Class II (b): Roots in « -ā- » [a] ending in a consonant:

(i) [mar] *beat*; (ii) [mare]; (iii) [marle, malle, marlo, mallo; marbe]; (iv) [marte, matte]; (v) [mere].

Class II (c) : Roots in « -ā » originally closed by « -h » [aɦ > a] :

(i) [ga < gaɦi] *sing* ; (ii) [gaď] ; (iii) [gaile ; gaibe] ; (iv) [gaite] ; (v) [geče < *gaiɦa, gaɦia].

Class III (a) : Roots in « -i » (rare, archaic) :

(i) [ʃi] *live* ; (ii) [ʃie] ; (iii) [ʃilo ; ʃibe] ; (iv) [ʃite] ; (v) [ʃie]. So [pi] *drink*, etc.

Clas III (b) : Roots in « -i- », ending in a consonant :

(i) [mil] *unite, be found* ; (ii) [mele] ; (iii) [millo ; milbe] ; (iv) [milte] ; (v) [mile].

Class IV (a) : Roots in « -e » (irregular) :

(i) [de] *give* ; (ii) [dæď] ; (iii) [dile ; debe] ; (iv) [dite] ; (v) [die] ;

(i) [ne] *take* ; (ii) [nəď] ; (iii) [nile ; nebe] ; (iv) [nite] ; (v) [nie].

Class IV (b) : Roots in « -e- » ending in a consonant :

(i) [khel] *play*, inferior imperative [khæl < *khelə] ; (ii) [khæle] ; (iii) [khelle ; khelbe] ; (iv) [khelte] ; (v) [khele].

Class V : Roots in « -u- » ending in a consonant :

(i) [ʃun > ʃon] *hear* ; (ii) [ʃone] ; (iii) [ʃunle ; ʃunbe] ; (iv) [ʃunte] ; (v) [ʃune] ;

(i) [khūʃ > khōʃ] *search* ; (ii) [khōʃe] ; (iii) [khūʃle ; khūʃbe] ; (iv) [khūʃte] ; (v) [khūʃe].

Class VI : Roots in « -o » :

(i) [ʃo] *lie down* ; (ii) [ʃoď] ; (iii) [ʃulo ; ʃobe] ; (iv) [ʃute] ; (v) [ʃue] ;

(i) [do] *milk* ; (ii) [doď] ; (iii) [duile ; duibe, dobe] ; (iv) [dute, duite] ; (v) [due] ; (irregular ; « -o < -uh »).

Class VII : Causatives and Denominatives in « -ā » (see also *supra*, under *Phonology*, 'Umlaut') :

(i) [kəra] *cause to do* ; (ii) [kəraď] ; (iii) [kərale ; kərabe] ; (iv) [kərate] ; (v) [korie] ;

(i) [ʃaða] *cause to go* ; (ii) [ʃaðaď] ; (iii) [ʃaðale ; ʃaðabe] ; (iv) [ʃaðate] ; (v) [ʃaie].

(i) [ʤina > ʤena] *cause to recognise* ; (ii) [ʤinaĕ > ʤenaĕ] ; (iii) [ʤenale ; ʤenabe] ; (iv) [ʤenate] ; (v) [ʤinie].

(i) [dækha] *show* ; (ii) [dækhaĕ] ; (iii) [dækhale ; dækhabe] ; (iv) [dækhate] ; (v) [dekhie] ;

(i) [ʃona] *cause to hear* ; (ii) [ʃonaĕ] ; (iii) [ʃonale ; ʃonabe] ; (iv) [ʃonate] ; (v) [ʃunie].

### [III] Roots and Verbal Nouns in Bengali.

**638.** Although roots are essentially the creations of grammarians, conceived as the foundation of a number of words, there is always present, even among the uneducated speakers of an inflexional language, what may be called *root-consciousness*. Often the barest form, identical with the grammarian's root, is found to be in use in speech, even in highly inflected languages. Thus in Sanskrit, we see that « dṛś » means *a seeing, a seer* ; so « bhuj, bhū, pṛcch » are used as nouns ; and similarly « vṛt » is *that which turns*, and « vid » occurs as a noun in the sense of *knower*. The nominal inflexions were of course added in Sanskrit, although, as a result of phonetic decay, it would so seem that in the nominative singular the bare root itself without any formative affix added was the word. And in the modern IE. languages like English, French, Persian, Hindī, Bengali, what was originally a combination of root + affix has commonly been reduced to the bare root through phonetic decay. As a consequence in NIA. what at first sight looks like the root unmodified by any inflexion, features as a verbal noun, and also as the inferior imperative. Historical grammar will tell us that originally such forms ended in an affix, « -i » or « -a », which is now lost. In Dravidian, the simple root is used for the imperative singular : in modern Hindī and Bengali, we have the same thing resulting as the *finale* of a long history ; although it looks like an approximation to the Dravidian usage. Instances of such phonetically decayed *Root-Nouns*, as they may be called, are fairly common in Bengali. These occur either singly, or with another root-word of similar meaning, and are in the accusative or nominative relation to the verb with which they are employed : *e.g.*, সাজ « sāj » as

in সাজ করা « sājʼ kārā » *array*; ফাট « phāṭʼ » *crack* as in ফাট ধ'রেছে « phāṭʼ dhōrēchē » *it has got a crack*; পচ « pācʼ » *rottenness*; চির, চিড় « cirʼ, ciṛʼ » *mark or line of a crack*; পাক ধরা « pākʼ dhārā » *become ripe, tend to ripen*; ডুব « ḍubʼ » *a dipping*; তাক লাগা « tākʼ-lāgā » *gaze, be struck with wonder*; খাখা করা « khā-khā kārā » *be eager to eat* (but cf. খাউ খাউ করা « khāu-khāu kārā », *supra*, pp. 678-679); চল « cālʼ » *circulation*; রহ-সহ or রহ-ঠেহ করা « rā(hā)-sā(hā), rā(hā)-ṭhā(hā) kārā » *to wait and watch*; ভাঙ্গচুর « bhāṅ(g)ʼ-curʼ » *breaking and pulverising*; ভুলচুক « bhulʼ-cukʼ » *mistakes and omissions*; তোলপাড় « tōlʼ-pāṛʼ » *raising and felling* = *turning upside down, agitating*; মারধর « mārʼ-dhārʼ » *striking and seizing*; ধর-পাকড় « dhārʼ-pākāṛʼ » *seizing and catching*; মারকাট « mārʼ-kāṭʼ » *striking and cutting down*; ভাঙ্গ-গড় « bhāṅ(g)ʼ-gāṛʼ » *destroying and building*; দেখ-মার « dēkhʼ-mārʼ » *seeing and striking, attacking at sight* (cf. in a daily paper—জার্ম্মানী দেখ-মার নীতি অবলম্বন করিল « Jārmmānī dēkhʼ-mārʼ nīti abalam-banʼ kārilā » *Germany has adopted the policy of 'hit at sight'*); so উঠ-বস « uṭhʼ-bāsʼ » *rising and sitting*; হার-জিত « hārʼ-jitʼ » *lose and win*; চল-বুল « cālʼ-bulʼ » *walk and wander*; হাঁক-ডাক « hākʼ-ḍākʼ » *shout and yell*; কাট-ছাঁট « kāṭʼ-chāṭʼ » *cut and trim* (*as of garments*); ফাট-ফুট « phāṭʼ-phuṭʼ » *crack and split*; etc., etc. These Root-Nouns also form compounds with other nouns: *e.g.*, ছাড়-পত্র « chāṛʼ-pātrā » *passport*. See also under 'Verbal Nouns,' *infra*. For Root Imperatives, see under 'Moods,' below.

### [C] Kinds of Verbs: Intransitive and Transitive.

**639**. Verbs in Bengali are either intransitive or transitive. In their outward form, however, there is no distinction between the two classes. Intransitive roots are chiefly primary ones, although those of secondary origin also occur. *E.g.*, « āch, kād, kāś, khēl, gāl, cāl, cu, jwār = jār, jwāl = jāl, ji, jā, jujh, jhār, ṭuṭ, ṭal, mil, hil » etc. Also old denominatives like « pāk, ruṭh, tāt, bāk, māt, phās, thām » etc.; and new denominatives « kulā, ghumā, dāṛā, bāhirā, śukhā, sēṭā » etc. All primary intransitive roots can be made transitive by adding the causative « -ā- ».

**640**. The initial stress of Bengali has in most cases obliterated the means of differentiating between the intransitive and transitive

(causative) forms of roots by making long the quantity of the root-vowel of the latter, and keeping short the quantity of that of the former. This means still obtains in the Bihārī dialects, and in Eastern as well as Western Hindī: *e.g.*, Bihārī «kăṭab» *get cut*, causative «kāṭab»; «dĭsab» *be seen*, «dīsab» *show*; «găṛab» *be interred*, «gāṛab» *inter*; Hind. «pălnā» *be reared*, «pālnā» *rear*; «nikălnā» *get out*, «nikālnā» *cast out*; etc. These intransitives with a short vowel are frequently new forms in NIA., built out of the old causatives with a proper long vowel (cf. R. L. Turner, 'The Loss of Vowel-Alternation in Indo-Aryan,' in the 'Proceedings and Transactions of the 2nd Oriental Conference,' Calcutta, 1922, p. 492). But the «-ā-» affix is indispensable in Bengali for the causative, or transitive form of an intransitive root, and quantity of the root-vowel does not count.

**641.** The transitive verb depends largely on its object. In Bengali, as in other NIA. languages, only inanimate nouns can properly be said to have an accusative case,—i.e., only these do not take a dative affix like «-kē, -kō» etc.: *e.g.*, জল আনো «jal̤ ānō» *bring water*, ভাত খায় «bhāt̤ khāy» *eats rice*, কাঠ কাটে «kāṭh̤ kāṭē» *cuts wood*, etc. Animate nouns when really in the accusative case take the dative affix «-kē, -rē» in NB. when they are personal and definite: but they do not take the dative affix, and thus behave like inanimate nouns, when the object signified is general, vague or indefinite: গোরু চরায় «gōru cārāy» *grazes cattle*, but গোরুটাকে বাঁধো «gōru-ṭā-kē bādhō» *tie the cow*. The accusative apparently governed by an intransitive verb in Bengali is properly a dative, or a locative: *e.g.*, বাড়ী চলো «bāṛī calō» *come home*; জলকে চল «jal̤-kē cal̤» *come to the water* (=*river, tank*); ঘরকে গেল «ghar̤-kē gēlā» *went home*, etc.

The extension of dative the post-position to the accusative is a NIA. development. The NIA. «bhāvē prayōga» or neuter construction of the transitive verb, in the past tense, as in Hindī «us-nē ghōṛī-kō dēkhā» *by-him with-reference-to-the-mare it-was-seen* (as opposed to the «karmaṇi» or passive construction, «us-nē ghōṛī dēkhī» *by-him mare she-was-seen*), was not a characteristic thing in MIA.: it could be established only when the dative post-position came to be attached to the accusative for precision, as the inflexion of the latter was lost. Bengali সে মানুষকে দেখিল «sē mānuṣ̤-kē dēkhilā» *he*

*with-reference-to-the-man saw* and সে মানুষ দেখিল « sē mānuśa dēkhilā » *he man saw* are in their formation analogous respectively to the « bhāvē » and « karmaṇi » constructions of Hindī, etc., only the Bengali development has been to make them both active (with the proper nominative rather than instrumental), and definite in case of the post-positional form. The loss of OIA. affixes brought in the employment of post-positions for clearness and definiteness. The accusative did not possess any remarkable inflection—the OIA. « -am » had dwindled away to zero in Bengali and other NIA. When the dative post-position was taken up by the accusative, it was to supply this want of an affix; and it brought in greater definiteness. In Apabhraṅśa and in Avahaṭṭha we have the accusative (for the animate noun) without post-position, *e.g.*, in the 'Prākṛta-Paiṅgala,'— « girivara-saaṇaṁ ṇamaha Haraṁ » *salute ye Hara dwelling in the noble mountain* (p. 313, Bib. Ind. edition); « gōla (= gōḍa)-rāa jiṇi » *having conquered the King of Gauḍa* (p. 423); « Bali chali » *having cheated Bali* (p. 586); etc.: but « rajja Suggivaha dijja » *gave the kingdom to Sugrīva* (p. 576), where we have the dative-genitive. In the OB. of the Caryās, we have the same thing: « guru pucchia jāṇa » *ask the* guru *and know* (2): « sadguru pucchi » *asking the good master* (4); etc. In MB. and NB., in some cases the old accusative survives: *e.g.*, বন্দো মাতা সুরধনী « bāndō mātā surādhānī » *I worship mother S.*; রাম ভজো মন « rāmaṁ bhājō mānaṁ » *adore R., O mind.* But already in the ŚKK., we find the NB. characteristic of using the dative affix for the accusative established. Bengali in this respect came in line with the other NIA. languages which developed largely the neuter construction: thus রাধাক দেখিআঁ « Rādhā-kā dēkhiā » *seeing R.*, পুছিল রাধাকে « puchilā Rādhā-kē » *asked R.* (p. 135); বড়ায়িক ছাড়ী কেহ্নে হৈবো একাকিনী « bāṛāyi-kā chāṛī kēnhē hāibō ēkākinī » *why should I be alone, leaving the old woman?* (p. 147); etc.

**642.** One intransitive verb, compounded with a noun or adjective, behaves like a transitive in NB.: the verb বাস « bās ». Originally it meant *to feel, to like, to regard, to hold.* The source of it seems to the common OIA. root « vas » *to dwell*, with the long, or causative grade « vās, vās-aya » used as

active; but there seems to have merged in it also the other OIA. roots « vaś » *desire, wish for*, and « vas » *love*, as well as « vāṣ » *put on garment*. In NB., the words ভালো, বাসা « bhālō, bāsā » = *well* and *like* have formed a compound verb-root, transitive, = ভালবাসা, ভালোবাসা « bhālâ-bāsā, bhālō-bāsā » *to love*. The compound মন্দ-বাস « mândâ-bāsa » *dislike* also is heard in NB. But in MB., বাস « √bās » was an ordinary root, which was used with other nouns, or was used impersonally: *e.g.*, ভয় বাসি, ডর বাসি মনে « bhâya bāsi, ḍâra bāsi mânē » *I am afraid in my mind*; শরীরে বাসি বল « śarīrē bāsi bâla » *I feel strong in body*; কৌতুক বাস কি « kâutuka bāsâ ki » *do you think it as queer?*; অদ্ভুত হেন বাসি « âdbhuta hēnâ bāsi » *strange as it were it appears to me*; না দেব কড়ি তোমার মনে বাসে « nā dēbâ kâṛi, tōmāra mânē bāsē » *it strikes you as if I shall not pay the money*; লাজ বাসে « lāja bāsē » *feels shy*; কোপে না কহিলা মোর মনে বাসে « kōpē nā kâhilā, mōra mânē bāsē » *appears in my mind that he spoke not in anger*; বাসি ভাত ব্যঞ্জনে জিহ্বায় রস বাসে « bāsi bhāta byâñjanē jihwāy rāsa bāsē » *the tongue feels moist (with relish) with cold rice and curry*; আমার আগেতে নৃত্য করিতে বাস ঘৃণা « āmāra āgē-tē nṛtya kâritē bāsâ ghṛṇā » *holdest in scorn to dance before me*; ধন্দ হেন বাসে « dhândâ hēnâ bāsē » *it seems as if it were a maze*; হাটিতে না পারে চান্দ পাএ বাসে বান্ধা « hāṭitē nā pārē Cāndâ, pāē bāsē bāndhā » *C. cannot walk, feels as if fastened by the feet*; etc., etc. (the examples given above are from the 'Padmā-purāṇa' of Vijaya-gupta, but instances abound in all MB. writers). The nouns in apparent accusative relation with « √bās » like ভালো, মন্দ, ভয়, ডর, বল, কৌতুক etc. above, are properly adverbial in nature, rather than true accusatives.

### [D] Moods: Optative, Subjunctive, Imperative.

**643.** NB. possesses but two moods, Indicative and Imperative. The Imperative occurs in the second and third persons only, and in the present tense. It is sometimes quite properly called the 'Imperative Tense.' An old future for the second person is used as a Precative or Future Imperative. For the Infinitive, there are some verbal nouns. The other moods of OIA.— Subjunctive or Conjunctive, Optative, Injunctive, and Precative, are entirely lost in Bengali.

**644.** In the well-known « āryā » or distich giving rules for working land-measures, attributed to the mathematician Śubhaṇkara (under whose name the old Indian system of arithmetic and square and cubic measures as practised in the village schools in Bengal passes), we have an optative or precative form লিজ্জে « lijjē »: কুড়ুবা কুড়ুবা কুড়ুবা লিজ্জে, কাঠায় কুড়ুবা কাঠা লিজ্জে « kuṛubā kuṛubā, kuṛubā lijjē: kāṭhāy kuṛubā, kāṭhā lijjē » *kuṛubā* (= kuḍava, '*bighā*' *measure* = ⅓ *acre*) × *kuṛubā, take* (*the result*) *as kuṛubā*; *kāṭhā* (= $\frac{1}{20}$*th of a bighā*, '*cottah*') × *kuṛubā, take as kāṭhā*. Here « lijjē » *take*, is properly an optative or precative = *let one take*, representing a Late MIA. « *lahijjaï, lahĕjjaï », which is made up of the optative form for the 3rd singular, « lahejja, lahijja » (= OIA. «* labh-yā-t, *labh-iyā-t » for « labh-I-ta »), *plus* the affix for the indicative 3rd present « -i » (< OIA. -ti). The OIA. « -yā- » optative or precative became « -ĕyya » in First MIA., which gave later MIA. « -ĕjja, -ijja », and assumed the personal terminations « -mi, -si- (also -hi), -ti > -i » etc. of the indicative, and sometimes « -tu > -u » of the 3rd person imperative (*e.g.*, 'Prākṛta-Pāiṇgala,' p. 427—« sō tuha Saṇkara dijjaü mōkkhā » *may he, Śaṅkara, grant you liberation*, where « dijjaü » = « dĕjja, dijja [< dadyāt] » + « -u [< tu] » of the imperative. Cf. Grierson, JRAS., 1910, pp. 162-163); and as a distinct tense form—the 'Optative Tense'—it existed in Late MIA. This optative in « -j- » is preserved as a respectful imperative in the Midland and Western NIA. languages—*e.g.*, Hindōstānī « kījiyē » *please do*, Gujarātī « marjē, mārjō », etc.; but it is not found in the Eastern languages, being conspicuous by its absence in the Caryās, and in MB. in general. লিজ্জে « lijjē » of Śubhaṇkara is only a stray form which has found a place in a technical verse. It is not unlikely however, that the « -ijja- » optative existed in Māgadhī Apabhraṅśa. The 'Prākṛta-Pāiṇgala' verses with the « -ijj- » forms (see *supra*, p. 124) could from that assumption be connected with the East. There is a NIA. inflected passive in « -ĭj-, -I-, -ij-, -i- », which is quite a different thing, being derived from the OIA. passive affix « -yá- ». A connexion between the MIA. inflected passive in « -ijja- < -yá- » and the MIA. « -ij-, -j- » imperative was suggested by Hoernle, but Tessitori has shown how this MIA. form is

only the old optative ('Comp. Grammar of the Gauḍian Languages, §§ 480, 481, 499; 'Notes on the Grammar of OWR.,' §120).

**645.** In MB. the optative sense is expressed by the indicative with the pronominal adverb যেন « jēnâ » used as a conjunction = *so that* (see *supra*, p. 853); and sometimes the instrumental of the pronoun যা « jā » *that*, যাতে « jātē » *so that*, is also similarly employed: *e.g.*, আমি যেন দেখি « āmi jēnâ dēkhi » *so that I may see, may I see*; সে যাতে করে « sē jātē kārē » *so that he may do, may he do*. There is also a periphrastic form with the root পা « pā » *obtain* or পার « pār » *be able*: *e.g.*, যেন আমি দেখ্‌তে পাই, or পারি « jenâ āmi dēkhtē pāi, pāri » *may I see*. The conjunctives যেন, যাতে « jēnâ, jātē » have no fixed place in the sentence. This idiom is found as early as the ŚKK.: *e.g.*, p. 168, সে যেহ্ন আহ্মাক বাহাএ দধিভার « sē jēnhâ āmhā-kâ bāhāē dâdhi-bhārâ » *may she make me carry the load of curds*; p. 186, সাবধানে লঅ যেহ্ন না ছাড়াএ ঘোল « sābâdhānē lâà jēnhâ nā chāṛāē ghōlâ » *take it carefully, that the whey may not scatter*; p. 211, কেহো কাহাকো যেহ্ন না করে উপহাস « kēhō kāhākō jēnhâ nā kārē upâhāsâ » *may no one taunt another*. In other MB. works also this construction figures: *e.g.*, 'Caitanya-Bhāgavata,' p. 204 (ed. Atul Krishna Goswāmī), মোর কাম্য—যেন দেখা পাই « mōṛ kāmya, jēnâ dēkhā pāi » *my desired object—may I get a sight*; etc., etc. The conjunctive or adverbial participle in ইলে « -ilē » implies a condition, and it can be used with an optative force: *e.g.*, গেলে দেখা হয় « gēlē dēkhā hây » *an interview might take place if one went*. In this idiom, however, the optative sense is not always implied: *e.g.* OB. Caryā 2, « rāti bhaïlē Kāmaru jāi » *she goes to Kāmarūpa (would go, may go) when it becomes night*; ŚKK., p. 397, যে বুধি করিলে রহে আহ্মার জীবন « jē budhi kârilē rahē āmhārâ jībânâ » *by doing such contrivance with which my life may endure* (or *will endure*), etc.

**646.** The Subjunctive Mood, which was of so great importance in Vedic, was dropped in Classical Sanskrit, although it lingered on in Early MIA. (cf E. Müller, 'Pali Grammar,' p. 108). Bengali in common with other NIA. (except Assamese) possesses a Present Participle form which is used for the Past Subjunctive or Conditional, as well as Past Habitual: *e.g.*, (যদি) করিতাম (করিতে, করিত) « (jâdi) kâritāṃ (kâritē, kâritâ) », Oṛiyā

« mu kārānti (tu kārāntu, sē kārāntā) » *if I (you, he) did*, etc.; so Maithilī « ham karitahu, sē karitai », Western Hindī « maĩ kartā, ham kartē » etc.

The subjunctive is formed in Bengali with the help of the conjunction যদি « yadi, jādi » *if*, a *ts.* which has ousted the OB. *tbh.* « jaï ». Occasionally in early Bengali (as in early 19th century prose), the conjunction যে « jē » *that* is used. A similar use of « jaï » or « yadi » occurs in OB.: *e.g.*, Caryā 5, « jaï tumhē, lōa hē, hoïba pāragāmi » *if ye, O men, will be goers across*; 41, « jaï tō mūḍhā acchasi, bhāntī puccha-tu sadguru-pāva » *if thou art ignorant, ask thou about thy mistakes at the foot of the good master*; in eM॥., ŚKK., p. 137, যদি মোরে পুছে আইহনে « jādi mōrē puchē Āïhānē » *if Ā. were to ask me*; p. 244, তোহ্মা দেখি যদি মোর বিচলিল মনে « tōmhā dēkhi jādi mōrā bicālilā mānē » *if by seeing you my mind is moved*; p. 289, আনল শরণ কিবা করিবোঁ যদি না দিবে বচনে « ānalā śārāṇa kibā karibō jādi nā dibē bacānē » *if you do not give word, I reck not I shall seek refuge in fire*; p. 351, যদি কাহ্নাঞি কর পার, হএ মোর তবৈসি নিস্তার « jādi Kānhāñi kārā pārā, hāē mōrā tābēsi nistārā » *if you get me across, O Kṛṣṇa, then indeed may come my salvation*; etc.

This use of « yadi, jaï » is common in the Apabhraṅśa and Avahaṭṭha: cf. 'Prākṛta-Paiṅgala,' p. 211, « sēra ĕkka jaï pāvaü ghittā » *if I could get a seer of ghee*; p. 465, « jaï ĕtthi digantara jāïhi kantā » *if the beloved one were to go to a foreign land even now*; p. 430, « jaï jaḍḍā rūsaï, cittā hāsaï pēṭē aggī thappiā » *if cold rages, the heart contracts, and fire is put on the stomach*; etc., etc.

**647.** The Imperative Mood, or 'Imperative Tense,' has the following affixes:

New Bengali:

First Person: Same as those for the Indicative Present.

Second person: Inferior (=Original Singular) has a form identical with the bare root: *e.g.*, কর্ « kar-ঃ », চল্ « cal-ঃ »; Ordinary, used with inferiors and equals (= Original Plural) has root + « -ā » or « -ō »: কর, করো « kar-ā, kar-ō », চল, চলো « cal-ā, cal-ō ».

Honorific (= Originally 3 plural) = root + উন্ « -unṛ » : করুন্, চলুন্ « kâr-unṛ, câl-unṛ ».

Third Person : Singular, now also Plural : root + উক্ « -u-kṛ » : করুক্, চলুক্ « kâr-u-kṛ, câl-u-kṛ ».

Honorific (= Original Plural) : root + উন্ « -unṛ » ; করুন্ চলুন « kâr-unṛ, câl-unṛ ».

Early Middle Bengali :

First Person : Same as for Indicative Present.

Second Person : Singular and Plural অ, « -â » ; অহ, হ « -âhâ, -hâ », and হা « -hā » : *e.g.*, কহ « kâh-â », লঅ « lâ-â », সুত « sut-â » (= *sleep !*), দে, নে < দেঅ, নেঅ « dē, nē < *dêâ, *nêâ » ; করহ « kâr-âhâ », চিন্তহ « cint-âhâ », জাহ, বাহ « jā-hâ », দেহ « dē-hâ », খাহ « khā-hâ », নিষধহ « niṣâdh-âhâ », থোহ « thō-hâ » ; খাহা « khā-hā », বাহা « jā-hā ».

Third Person : Singular and Plural : উ, অউ « -u, -âu » with or without pleonastic ক « -kâ » (উক, অউক « -u-kâ, -âu-kâ) » : rarely, honorific অন্ত « ântâ » : *e.g.*, জীউ « jī-u », পসু « pâsu = pâïs-u », « dē-u », ধর « dhâr-u », খণ্ডউ « khâṇḍ-âu », তেজুক « têj-u-kâ < *têj-âu-kâ »), থাকু « thâku (< *thâ-u-kâ ») ; দেন্ত « dē-ntâ » (only instance in the ŚKK.). (Also forms in ইউ « -iū », for which see *infra*.)

Old Bengali :

Second Person : (i) « -a » : « jāṇ-a (Caryās 1, 44) ; sun-a (2) ; cāl-a (3) ; phāl-a (4) ; bāha-a (13) ; bāh-a (14) ; mār-a (21) ; kar-a (28, 41) ; bindh-a (28) ; pēkh-a (30, 46) ; bhōl-a (37) ; dhar-a (38) ; pasar-a, bas-a (39) ; bhaṇ-a (40, 42) ; phuḍ-a (47) ; hēr-a, chāḍ-a (50) ; accha = āch-a (37) » ;

(ii) « -a-tu » : « pucch-a-tu (5) ; bāh-a-tu (8) ; bujh-a-tu (33) » ;

(iii) « -aha, -ha » : « bindh-aha (28) ; bhul-aha (15) ; chēv-aha (45) ; (bāhaa, Caryā 13 = bāh-aha ?) » ;

(iv) « -hu, -u »: « lā-hu (1); hō-hu (6); lē-hu, jā-hu, lō-u = lēhu, lē-u ? (32); dhahu = dhara-hu ? (38); jā-u (38); chāḍ-u (50) »;

(v) « -hī »: « hō-hī, jā-hī » (5).

Third Person: « -au »: « kar-au » (22);

Passive Third Person: « -iu », as in « ghōl-iu (12), marāḍ-iu ? (12), saṁkēl-iu, jā-iu, (15); caṭār-iu ? (26) ».

**648.** OIA. employed the corresponding subjunctive forms for the imperative 1st person: singular « -āni », dual « -āva », plural « -āma ». These have not survived in MIA. and NIA. The OIA. imperative 2 sg. had « -a » as well as « -hi ». This « -a » was continued through MIA. and OB. down to eMB., after which it fell off from pronunciation: OIA. « cal-a » > NIA. « cal-a » > OB. « cal-a » > eMB. « cal-à » > lMB., NB. « cal-ḍ »,. This old singular is now used as the inferior imperative, both singular and plural: তুই, তোরা চল « tui, tōrā calḍ ». This « -a » affix was fairly common for the ordinary imperative, and in the general confusion of numbers, it seems to have been extended to the plural as well from the OB. period. The « -a » certainly assimilated with the root vowel, when the root ended in a vowel, before the eMB. stage: witness ŚKK. দে, নে = NB. দে, নে « dē, nē », < « *dēà, *nēà », inferior forms beside the ordinary NB. দেও or দাও « dēo, dāo » and নেও, নাও « nēo, nāo » < eMB. « dēà, nēà < dēha, nēhà ». [1]

The affix « -hi » of OIA. seems to have been continued down to OB. in the strengthened form « -hī », as in the Caryā « hō-hī, jā-hī »: and possibly in a form like করী « karī » in the ŚKK., as in প্রভু হয়িআঁ হেন নাহি করী « prābhu hàyiā hēnà nāhī karī » *do not do so, being the lord* (p. 236),

[1] This loss of inflexional vowels occurring immediately after the root ending in a vowel seems to have taken place in Old Bengali, and possibly earlier still. Thus, for example, Tibetan tradition gives as an Old Bengali (or Old Magahī ?) sentence of the 11th century 'bhālā hoo (=hōu ?), nāth(a) Atīśa, bhāt onā, bhāt onā (= bhāta anā < aṇa < MIA. *ānāpaya!=Skt. ānāyaya)' *may it be well, Master Atīśa, get (them) bring rice*, with which a beggar-boy accosted Dīpaṅkara Śrījñāna Atīśa distributing alms and food at Vikramaśīlā. (Śarat Chandra Dās, 'Indian Pandits in the Land of Snow,' Calcutta, 1893, p. 60.)

we have traces of « -hI », or of its influence (but see *infra*, under 'Inflected Passive'). But this « -hI » is lost to NB. The « -hi (-hI) » affix for the imperative seems to have been foreign to the eastern speech, which preferred « -a ». In MB. we have one or two instances of this « -hi (-āhi) » affix for the imperative, as a relic from MIA.: *e.g.*, Kṛttivāsa (VSP., I, p. 497)—আপনি ধার্ম্মিক তুমি ধর্ম্ম বুঝাহি আনে « āpāni dhārmikṣ, tumi dhārmā bujhāhi ānē » *you yourself are a righteous person, you explain the* dharma *to another.*

The OB. forms in « -tu », like « pucch-a-tu », are cases of pure agglutination arising out of an emphatic employ of the pronoun « tu (< tvam) ». As a stereotyped form it was extended to the plural or honorific also (*e.g.*, Caryā 5, « jaï tumhē, lōa hē, hōiba pāragāmi, pucch-a-tu Cāṭila anuttara-sāmī », translated at p. 262 *supra*).

The OIA. affix for 2 sg. *ātmanē-pada* was « -sva ». This gave a vocalised « -ssu » in First MIA. (Pali), which was used even with *parasmāi-pada* roots (E. Müller 'Pali Grammar,' p. 107; W. Geiger, 'Pali-sprache,' in the Grundriss, § 126). From « -ssu » came the Second MIA. « -su ». Pischel, however, holds that the Second MIA. « -su » arose by analogy: the Indicative had in MIA. the singular forms « -mi, -si, -ti > -di, -i », plural « mō, -tha > -dha > -ha, -nti », and by the juxtaposition of the 3rd personal forms, Indicative « -ti > -i, -nti » beside Imperative « -tu > -u, -ntu », the 1st and 2nd person singular also came to have in the Imperative « -mu, -su » beside the Indicative « -mi, -si » (cf. 'Gramm. der Pkt.-sprachen,' § 467).

The OB. forms in « -hu, -u » were used both for the singular and the plural, but probably they were singular at first, and it seems not unlikely that the « -hu, -u » affix originated from the « -su » form, in the pre-Bengali stage: « *cala-sva > cala-ssu > cala-su » might have given « cala-hu » in OB., with the obscure change of « -s- » to « -h- » remaining unexplained. Or a blend of *ātmanē-pada* « cala-su », *plus* « calāhi, calahi » (with *parasmāi-pada* « -hi » affix) may have given « calahu », and « calasu » + « cala » similarly may have resulted in « calu ».

The forms « calahu, jāhu, hōhu » etc. may equally be the original plural, with the « -ahu » affix, as in Śaurasēnī Apabhraṁśa, originating as follows: OIA. Indicative 2 plural « calatha » > MIA. Imperative « calaha, calahu »,

the « -a » changing to « -u » in MIA. probably through analogy of the 3rd plural « -ntu ».

This « -u » affix was also extended to the 2nd person of the other tenses—to the past in « -il- » and the future in « -ib- » in dialectal Bengali, and to the singular 2nd person of the present, simple past, habitual past, and future in Oṛiyā.

The « -u » imperative is quite common in Apabhraṅśa, *e.g.*, 'Prākṛta-Pāiṉgala,' p. 463, « ē atthirā dĕkkhu sarīrā gharu jāā » *see, all this is unstable,—the body, house, wife.*

The Imperative 2nd plural affix in OIA. was « -ata ». This fell together with the Indicative 2nd plural « -atha » as early as the First MIA. period, and « -atha » became in Second and Late MIA. « -adha, -aha ». OB. inherited this as « -aha », and this অহ « -åhå » continued down to eMB., and is even now used in NB. as an archaic, literary form (*e.g.*, আপন পাঠেতে মন করহ নিবেশ « āpanạ́ pāṭhē-tē månạ́ kåråhå nibēśạ́ » *direct your mind to your own studies*; পশ্চাদ্ভাগ দেখহ « påścādbhāgạ́ dēkhåhå » *see back*, as in Calcutta tramway tickets a few years ago). The contraction of « -åhå » to « -ǻ, -å », however, took place in the spoken language as early as eMB., and this « -aha < -ǻ » did not coalesce with the root when it ended in a vowel, unlike the « -ă » of the original singular. Final « -ǻ > -å » also occurs as « -ō » in NB., and is as a matter of fact written ও « -ō » after vowels: জাহ, জাঅ > জাও « jāhå, jāå > jāō » *go!*; খাহ, খাঅ > খাও « khāhå, khāå > khāō » *eat!*; নেহ, নেঅ > (নেও) ন্যাও > নাও « nēhå, nēå > nēō [næo] > nāo » *take!*; so হও « håō » *be!*; জীঅহ > জীহ, জীঅ > জীও « jīåhå, jīhå, jīå > jīō » *live*, which even occurs as জীউ « jīu » through the influence of the preceding high vowel (cf. 'Māṇik Candra Rājār Gān,' জীউ জীউ রাইঅত ধর্ম্ম দেউক বর « jīu jīu rāiåtå, dhårmå dēukạ́ bårạ́ » *live, ye farmers, may Dharma grant this boon*: the « -u » here, however, can equally be the other imperative affix « -hu, -u »). With roots ending in consonants the affix « -åhå » becomes also « -ō, », and it is written either অ or ও: কর, চল or করো, চলো,—the pronunciation is generally [o] although the old tradition makes it অ in writing.

MIA. also changed « -aha » to « -ahu »: this has been noted before.

Early MB. « -hā » is only the « -ha » affix affected by the « -ā » of the root, as in « khā-hā, jā-hā ».

**649.** The OIA. affix « -tu » for 3 pers. sg. gave « -u » in OB. From eMB. times, the pleonastic ক « -kă » came to be added to this form (see *infra*, 'Pleonastic Affixes'). Oṛiyā and Bihārī do not employ this « -kă ». In MB., forms with « -kă » are almost as common as those without; in NB., the « -kă » is universal, and after the loss of the « -u- », this consonant has become the distinctive affix for this form: *e.g.*, যাক্, খাক্, নিক্, দিক্ « jāk, khāk, nik, dik », etc. The group « -u-kă » modified its spelling in accordance with the epenthesis of « -i-, -u- », *e.g.*, MB. জাকু, পাকু, হকু, দেকু = জাউক, পাউক, হউক, দেউক « jāukă, pāukă, hāukă, dēukă » etc. (see *supra*, p. 383).

The plural form of the imperative 3 pers. in OIA., « -ntu », seems to have continued down to OB. The normal development in MB. and NB. ought to have been « -ˇtu, -ūt, -ˇt », but we actually find উন « -ună ». The expected « -nt- > -ˇt- » has been ousted by « -n- » which is certainly the nominal plural affix extended to the verb (see *supra*, pp. 725-726).

OB. and eMB. have as a living form a passive imperative in « -iu, -iū », which is discussed below (under 'Passive in Bengali').

**650.** Forms for the Imperative in the other Magadhan speeches may be compared:

| | Assamese | Oṛiyā | Maithilī |
|---|---|---|---|
| 1. | kărŏ; | 1. kărĕ—karū; | 1. dēkhiai, dēkhū; |
| 2. | kăr, *honorific* kărā; | 2. kără—kărā; | 2. dēkh, dĕkhahŭ; |
| 3. | kărōk. | 3. kăru—kăruntu. | 3. dēkhaŭ, dēkhathŭ. |

The Assamese « kărā » represents « karaha, karāhā »; and « kărōk » = « karau + -ka ». The Oṛiyā and Assamese 1st person is borrowed from the indicative. Oṛiyā 2 plural « kărā » is from « karaha ». The Maithilī « dēkhiai » is extended from the indicative, and the other form « dēkhū » seems to have the « -ū » from « -mu, -mō », the Apabhraṅśa imperative 1 sg. and pl. forms. The plural « -ntu » is represented by « -thŭ », like the indicative « -nti > -thĭ ».

**651.** NB. « sādhu-bhāṣā » has for the second person a future imperative, precative, and prohibitive in ইয়ো « -i(y)ō » which is found from the earliest period. In OB. and eMB. the form was ইহ « -ihā, -ihā́ ». It is a relic of the old inflected or sigmatic future of OIA.: singular « calişyasi » > « * calihasi, calihisi » > Bengali চলিস « câliṣ́ », plural « calişyatha » > « calihaha » > চলিহ « câlihā́ » > চলিঅ, চলিয় « câliā, câliyā́ » > চলিয়ো, চলিও, চল্যো, চ'লো « câli(y)ō, câl'yō, câ'lō = [ʧolo] ». NB. Standard Colloquial has this « -iyā́, -iyō » affected by Umlaut. The « -işya- > -ih- » future was current in OB. and in eMB. (along with the « -itavya > -ib- » future) in the three persons, but only the second person has survived in NB. (see *infra*, under 'Future Tense'). In the Caryās, as instances of the « -ih- » future imperative, we have « hōhisi, mārihasi » (Caryā 23). It is exceedingly common in the ŚKK. and other MB. works: *e.g.*, « আসিহ āsihā́, চাহিহ cāhihā́, করিহ kārihā́, ছাড়িহ chāṛihā́, তোষিহ tōṣihā́, দিহ dihā́, ধরিহ dhārihā́, নিবেদিহ nibēdihā́, পুছিহ puchihā́, রাখিহ rākhihā́ » etc. In latter MB., epenthesis is noticeable, as usual: *e.g.*, রাখিহ, রাখিঅ « rākhi(h)ā́ » becomes রাইখ, রাখ্যা « rāikhā́, rākhyā́ = rāĩkhā́ »; so দাণ্ডাইহ « dāṇḍāihā́ » as দাণ্ডায়া « dāṇḍāiā́ > dāṇḍāyyā́ », etc., etc.

The same future imperative occurs in Maithilī and other Bihārī dialects, *e.g.*, Maithilī « dēkhihāh < dēkhihahu », Bhōjpuriyā sg. « dēkhihē » plural « dēkhihā́, dēkhihau ». In the Bihārī dialects, the ordinary future in « -b- » can be similarly employed, as much as in Bengali. A similar imperative use of the sigmatic future does not seem to occur in Assamese and Oṛiyā.

A future imperative for the second person only can be noted, in Old Western Rājasthānī, in Western Apabhraṅśa and in Second MIA. and in all these it occurs generally with the negative particle « mā » (L. P. Tessitori, 'Grammar of OWR.,' § 121).

**652.** The verbal form গা, গে « gā, gē » added to the imperative is found from the MB. period onwards to express the imperative in the immediate future, with a slight precative sense: *e.g.*,

1. আমি, আমরা করিগা, করিগে « āmi, āmṛā kāri-gā, kāri-gē »;
2. তুই, তোরা কর্‌গা, ক'র্‌গে « tui, tōrā kāṛ-gā, kōr-gē », করিস্‌গা, করিস্‌গে « kāriṣ́-gā, -gē »;

তুমি, তোমরা করগা, করগে « tumi, tōmṛā kărā-gā, kărā-gē »;

3. সে, তারা করুক্‌গা, করুক্‌গে « sē, tārā kărukṛ-gā, -gē »;
তিনি, তাঁরা, করুন্‌গা, -গে « tini, tārā kărunṛ-gā, gē » (also second person honorific with আপনি, আপনারা « āpṛni, āpṛnārā »).

Cf. MB., Kṛttivāsa,' Ayōdhyā-kāṇḍa,' p. 17: সীতারে কহিল—'ফল করগা ভক্ষণ' « Sītā-rē kahilā—phāḷṛ kărā-gā bhākṣāṇṛ » *said to Sītā, 'go eat this fruit'*; 'Uttara-kāṇḍa,' p. 20!, সেই শস্যের ফল তুমি খাওগা আপনি « sēi śāsyērṛ phāḷṛ tumi khāō-gā āpāni » *you yourself go and eat the fruit of that grain*; etc. Carey in his 'Bengali Dialogues' (Calcutta, 1818) translates forms in « -gā » as a simple future in the 1st person, and as an imperative in the 2nd and 3rd; *e.g.*, উনিও সামগ্রী আয়োজন করুন্‌গা, আমিও করিগা « uni-ō sāmāgrī āyōjāṇṛ kărunṛ-gā, āmi-ō kări-gā » *let him get things ready, and I will do the same* (p. 42). We can compare this affix of Bengali with the future suffix « -gaṳ, -gō, -gā, -gī, -gē, -gI » of the Western Hindī and Panjābī dialects.

The Western « -gā, -gē, -gI » etc., are from the passive participle « gata > gaa ». For the Bengali « -gā, -gē », the source may equally be the same « gata », but the indeclinable participle গিয়া « giyā » *having gone*, certainly had something to do with it: the change of the root-vowel in the contemptuous second person ক'রগে [korge] can be explained only as being from করিয়া [kŏr gia]. We can compare the use of গে « gē » < গিয়া « giyā » (not গা « gā ») with the simple past and the future tenses in the Standard Colloquial, with the force of *though, nevertheless, however, even now, immediately*: *e.g.*, সে ক'র্‌লে গে [ʃe korle ge] *and then he did*, তুমি ক'র্‌বে গে [tumi korbe ge] *and you will do*.

## [E] Voice: the Passive in Bengali.

### [I] The Inflected Passive in Bengali.

#### [1] Passive Indicative.

**653.** Primitive Indo-European does not seem to have possessed a passive conjugation. In the Aryan (Indo-Iranian) period the passive developed out of the middle or reflexive, but it was confined to the present stem

and to the third person singular of the aorist only. The distinctive affix of this inflected passive was « -yá- » in the present stem, and the personal terminations of the middle voice were employed. Old Indo-Aryan (Vedic and Sanskrit) has preserved this passive. In Middle Indo-Aryan, the conjugational system underwent the greatest decay imaginable, but the passive was retained, being found in the present indicative and optative imperative; and a few forms like passive aorist and future were built up in Second MIA.

The « -yá- » affix occurs as « -ya-, -iya, -iyya-, -Iya- » in First MIA. and as « -ijja- » or as « -Ia- » in Second and Third MIA., or is assimilated with a preceding consonant. The middle inflections of course are changed for those of the active; and the passive is extended to a number of neuter roots, forming deponents. The NIA. languages inherited the « -ijja- > -Ija- » or « -Ia-, -ia- » passive from Apabhraṅśa, but it is not preserved in all of them. Early in the history of NIA., the analytical mode of expressing the passive came into being, and in most of them the old inflected passive fell into desuetude. The languages of the West have preserved it, but those of the Midland, the South and the East have either entirely lost it or have only retained it as an obsolete or archaic form. Western Panjābī, Sindhī and Rājasthānī, for instance, employ « -Ij- » or « -I-, -i- » to form the passive; *e.g.*, W. Panjābī « mārdā < mārănda- » *striking*, « mārindā » *being struck*; « cāhdā » *wanting*, « cāhidā » *being wanted*; « paṛhē » *reads*, « paṛhīē » *is read*; Sindhī « karīje » *is done*, « paṛhīje » *is read*; Mārwāṛī « karaṇō » *doing*, « karījaṇō » *being done*. 'Modern Gujarātī has *é* only in *-íe*, a 3rd sing. present passive form which is used in a reflexive sense as a substitute for the 1st plur. active [*i.e.*, « hũ karũ » *I do* < « aham karōmi », but « amē karīē » *we do* < « asmābhiḥ kriyatē » instead of from « vayam kurmaḥ »], and in all other cases substitutes the potential passive in *é*.' (L. P. Tessitori, 'Notes on the Grammar of OWR.' § 136: R. L. Turner suggests another explanation of the Gujarātī « -Iē », as being from « -imaḥ », through « -imō > -imu > -I > -I », + « ē » of the 3 pl. [-anti > -ahiṁ >

-è], to distinguish it from the absolutive in « -i » < earlier « -ia » [JRAS., 1916, p. 227, foot-note]).

**654.** The western languages are thus more conservative in the matter of preservation of this inherited form. The Midland language has curtailed the old passive, but relics do occur in it: *e.g.*, Braj-bhākhā « mārai » *strikes*, « māriyai » *is struck*. Bhandarkar and Tessitori have given instances from the Early Awadhī of Tulasī-dāsa. (R. G Bhandarkar, 'Wilson Philological Lectures,' Bombay, 1914, p. 227 ; Tessitori, 'Grammatical Forms in Old Baiswari,' JRAS., 1914.) The modern Hindī respectful imperative or precative forms like « kījiyē » *please do* have in all likelihood been influenced by the passive, if they are not of passive origin (cf. Hoernle, 'Gauḍian Grammar,' § 480, 481, 499). An expression like Hind. « kapṛā cāhiyē » *cloth to sell* is a passive one, where « cāhiyē » = *is wanted*. Compare the Bengali চাই in কি চাই « ki cāi » *what do you want?* (literally, *what is-wanted?*), তোমার আসা চাই « tōmārṛ āsā cāi » *you must come* (literally, *your coming is-wanted*) : Bengali « cāi », Hindi « cāhiyē » are from a Middle Indo-Aryan passive from « *cāhia(d)i » =Old Indo-Aryan « *ca(g)hyátē » : compare these with কি চাও « ki cāŏ » *what do you want* and তুমি আসিতে চাও « tumi āsitē cāŏ » *you must come*, where « cāŏ » = চাহ « cāhā », 2nd pers. (plural), present and imperative, = « cāhaha » (=Skt. « -atha » and « -ata »). The « -i-, -i- » or « -ijja-, Ija- » affix for the passive is quite common in the dialects of the 'Prākṛta-Pāiṅgala,' which represent the stage immediately before Modern Hindī : and the loss of this affix is quite a remarkable feature in Western Hindī when compared with the neighbouring Rājasthānī and Panjābī. The « -Ij-, -ij- » passive was also quite frequent in Early Marāṭhī, as Bhandarkar has noticed it (R. G. Bhandarkar, 'Wilson Philological Lectures,' pp. 226-227) ; but it seems to have died out in Modern Marāṭhī.

**655.** It would be interesting to see how far the inflected passive is preserved in Old and Middle Bengali, and in other Magadhan languages.

The language of the 'Dōhā-kōṣas' (see *supra*, p. 112) shows some cases of the « -i- » or « -ijja-, -Ija- », as well as the assimilated passive:

*e.g.*, 'Bauddha Gān Ō Dōhā,' p. 89, « purāṇē vakkhānijjaï » *it is discribed by the Purāṇa*; p. 103, « sō ē māï kahiajē » *that has been declared by me*; ibid., « sō paramēsuru kāsu kahijjaï » *for whom is that supreme lord (to be) described?*; p. 105, « visaya ramanta ṇa visaa vilipyaï (=vilippaï) » *enjoying the world, yet the world is not attached to him*; p. 106, « dēva pi (=vi) jjaï (=jaï) lakṣa (=lakkha) vi dīsaï, apyaṇu (=appaṇu) mārīī sa [ki] kariaï » *? if the deity is seen face to face, self becomes dead: he (=by him) what can be done?*; p. 107, « jāva ṇa dīsaï » *until it is seen*; p. 109, « kāsu kahijjaï » *to whom is it (to be) declared?*; p. 129, « aïsō sō nibbāṇa bhaṇijjaï, jahi mana mānasa kiṁ pi na kijjaï » *Nirvāṇa is described to be such that there nothing is done of the mind or of the qualities of the mind*; p. 130, « jaï pavana-gamana-duārē [diḍha] tālā vi bhijjaï, jaï tasu ghōrāndhārē mana diva hō kijjaï » *if the strong lock at the door for the passage of the wind is shut* (« bhijjaï », cf. Bengali root ভেজ « bhēj » *to shut*=? Skt. « abhy-ajyatē »), *if in that, in the deep gloom, the mind is made as a lamp*: etc.

In this Western Apabhraṅśa dialect, the « -ijja- » affix is more common than the « -ia- », and it is in full force as a passive form. The Old Bengali of the Caryā-padas has a number of instances of the inflected passive, but the affix is « -i(a)- », not « -ijja- » or « -ija- »; besides there are a few of the assimilated « -yá- » forms: *e.g.*, Caryā 1, « saala sa[mā]hia kāhi kariaï » *what is attained by all* samādhi*?*; 6, « hariṇā hariṇira nilaa na jāṇī » *the abode of the stag and of the doe is not known*; ibid., « hariṇāra khura na dīsaa (=dīsaï) ». *the stag's hoof is not seen*; 26, « pāviaï » *is obtained*; « bhāviaï » *is thought of*; 32, « duhiē » *is milked*; 46, « cchijaï » (=chidyatē) *is cut*; etc.

The analytical passive with root জা, যা « √jā < yā » *to go* following the verbal noun in « -ana » has already become established in the language of the Caryās; and the analytical « √jā » passive in NIA. seems to have been influenced by, if not actually developed out of, the older inflexional « -ij- » form.

It would seem that in Māgadhī Apabhraṁśa, the two forms « -ia- » and « -ijja- » occurred side by side: and « -ia- » seems to be the genuine Magadhan affix, and « -ijja- » borrowed through the influence of the Western speeches, and not native in the East. The « -ia- » was preserved in OB. and in MB., although as an obsolete form in the latter, and its real nature seems to have been lost to the speakers quite early.

The examples of the « -ia- » passive in the 47 Caryās are not so few, there numbering some twenty. In Middle Bengali literature we find similar relics of the inflected passive—a linguistic survival which seems not to have been noticed before. The affix loses prominence as the language progresses, and is ultimately merged into the 1st and 3rd personal affix; and in this way the passive verb is transformed into the active one.

There are numerous cases of the passive in « -i(a)- » in the ŚKK.: for instance—

p. 19, যত নানা ফুল পান করপুর সব পেলাইল পাএ।
উঠিআঁ বড়ায়ি রাধাক বুইল—হেন কাম না করিএ॥
« jatā nānā phulā pānā kārāpurā sabā pēḷāīlā pāē:
uṭhiā Bāṛāyi Rādhā-kā builā—'hēnā kāmā nā kariē' »
*All the various flowers, betel-leaves and camphor and all she threw away with her foot. The Old Lady got up and said to Rādhā, 'you should not do so'* (lit. *such a deed should not be done:* « kariē ») ;

p. 57, আইহন বীর তিন লোকেঁ ভালে জাণী॥
« Āihanā bīrā, tinā lōkē bhālē jāṇī »
*That Ā. is a hero is known* (jāṇī) *well in the three worlds ;*

p. 59, দান সাধিএ রতিপতিআশেঁ।
« dānā sādhiē rāti-pāṭiāsē »
*The toll is demanded* (sādhiē) *with the expectation of dalliance (with thee) ;*

p. 118, ভুখিল হয়িলেঁ কাহ্নাঞি দুষ্ট হাথে না খাইএ।
« bhukhilā hāyilē, Kānhāñī, duī hāthē nā khāiē »
*When one is hungry, O Kānha, one should not eat* (« khāiē », lit. *it should not be eaten*) *with both hands ;*

p. 137, আপণা রাখিয়ে আপণে।
« āpāṇā rākhiyē āpāṇē » (=ātmā rakṣyātē ātmanā)
*Self is (to be) preserved by self ;*

p. 145, নাএর আন্তরে গেলী চন্দ্রাবলী রাহী।
তার পাছে আর যত গোআলিনী সহী॥
কথো দূরে গিআঁ দেখিএ একখানি নাএ।
সত্বর হয়িআঁ রাহী তার পাস যাএ॥
« nāērā āntārē gēlī cāndrābālī Rāhī,
tārā pāchē ārā jātā gōālinī sāhī.
kāthō dūrē giā dēkhiē ēkā-khāni nāē :
sātwārā hāyiā Rāhī tārā pāsā jāē »
*In search of a boat went Candrāvalī Rādhikā ;*
*After her, all her milk-maid friends ;*
*Having gone some distance, a boat is seen* (dēkhiē).
*Quickly Rādhikā goes to its side ;*

p. 184, বোলেঁ চালেঁ না পাইএ পরার রমণী।
« bōlē cālē nā pāiē pārārā rāmāṇī »
*Another's wife is not won* (pāiē) *by talk and* (*gallant*) *ways ;*

p. 185, গোপত কাজত কাহ্নাঞি ছয় আখি বারী।
« gōpātā kājā-tā, Kānhāñi, chāyā ākhi bārī ».
*In a secret deed, O Kānha, six eyes are barred* (bārī) ;

p. 236, ত্রিভুবন নাথ তোহ্মে হরি। প্রভু হয়িআঁ হেন নাহিঁ করী॥
« tribhubānā-nāthā tōmhē Hāri, prābhu hāyiā hēnā nāhī kārī »
*You are Hari, the Lord of the three worlds ; being the Master, you should not do so* (lit. *it should not be done* : « kārī ») ;

p. 289, পুনমীর চান্দ তোহ্মার বদন ঘুসিএ জগতজনে গ।
« punāmīrā cāndā tōmhārā bādānā ghusiē jāgātā-jānē, lā ».
*O, your face is proclaimed* (ghusiē) *by the people of the world to be the moon of the full-moon night ;*

p. 367, সোণা ভাঙ্গিলেঁ আছে উপাএ জুড়িএ আগুন তাপে।
পুরুষ নেহা ভাঙ্গিলেঁ জুড়িএ কাহার বাপে॥
« sōnā bhāṇgilē āchē ūpāē, juṛiē āgunā-tāpē :
puruṣā-nēhā bhāṇgilē, juṛiē kāhārā bāpē ? »

*If gold is broken, there is a way—it is joined* (juṛiē) *by the heat of the fire; but if a man's love is shattered, by whose father (=by what man) can it be joined ?*

There are numerous other instances of a similar type in the ŚKK. The general tendency will be to explain the forms in ইএ « -iē » as being in the ই « -i » of the first person, and the এ « -ē » only as a final lengthening for reasons of metre. But পাইএ, করিএ « pāiē, kariē » etc., are true inflected passives, and it will be seen that in the instances quoted above, the passive construction gives the correct explanation of the passages rather than the active first person : পাইএ, করিএ etc., thus represent the Caryā forms like « pāviaï, kariaï », =Sanskrit « prāpyátē, kriyátē ». The passive was already dying out in Old Bengali; and in Middle Bengali it would be easily confused with the active first person from similarity in form. We may recall as a parallel instance the Gujarātī use of the passive third person singular as the first person plural active, as in « amē utārīē, amē cālīē », etc., which have been explained as being really passive forms (see *supra*, p. 910). The same thing seems to have happened in Central Magadhan, in the « -iai » forms for the 1st person of the verb. The passive in its origin is connected with the reflexive, and the transition to the active is always easy. More so in the early periods of Bengali, when there was a confusion between the instrumental and the nominative, from which the language even now is not wholly free.

The transition from the decaying passive, which was less and less properly understood, to the active was quite a matter of course : from after the ŚKK. onwards, we find frequent use of « -iē » in active forms, for the 1st person generally.

The passive use of the neuter verb is also common in Old and Middle Bengali : *e.g.*, ŚKK., p. 364, পুণ্য কইলেঁ স্বগ্গ জাইএ, নানা উপভোগ পাইএ « puṇyā kāīlē swāggā jāīē, nānā upābhōgā pāīē » (=gamyatē, prāpyatē) *practising virtue, heaven is attained, and many enjoyments are obtained.*

Examples of the inflected passive are frequent in Middle Bengali literature. A few are given below:

From poems by Caṇḍīdāsa (VSP., II, pp. 968 ff.): নীল মুকুতার হার মনোহর শোভিত দেখিএ গলে « nīlẽ mukutārẽ hārẽ mānōhārẽ śōbhitā dēkhiē gālē » *a charming necklet of blue pearls is seen beautifully in her neck*; অবলা পরাণে এত কি সহিএ « ābalā pārāṇē ētā ki sāhiē » *can so much be endured in the life of a weak woman?*; ক্ষুরের উপর রাধার বসতি, নড়িতে কাটিএ দে « kṣurērẽ upārẽ Rādhārẽ bāsāti, nāṛitē kāṭiē dē » *Rādhā's abode is on (the edge of) a razor, her body is cut at the (slightest) movement*; মানুষে এমন প্রেম কোথা না শুনিএ « mānuṣē ēmānẽ prēmẽ kōthā nā śuniē » *such love in man has nowhere been heard of*; from the 'Caitanya-caritāmṛta' of Kṛṣṇa-dāsa Kavirāja (VSP., II, p. 1223): সনাতন কৈল গ্রন্থ ভাগবতামৃতে। ভক্তি-ভক্ত-কৃষ্ণ-তত্ত্ব জানি যাহা হইতে॥ হরিভক্তিবিলাস গ্রন্থ কৈল বৈষ্ণব আচার। বৈষ্ণবের কর্ত্তব্য যাহা পাইয়ে পার॥ « Sānātānẽ kāilā grānthā Bhāgābātāmṛtē, bhākti-bhāktā-Kṛṣṇā-tāttwā jāni jāhā hāĭtē: Hāri-bhākti-bilāsẽ grānthā kāilā bāiṣṇābẽ-ācārẽ, bāiṣṇābērẽ kārttābyā jāhā pāiyē pārẽ » *Sanātana made the book* Bhāgavatāmṛta, *from which are known the doctrines of* bhakti *and* bhakta, *and the nature of Kṛṣṇa*; *he made the book* Hari-bhakti-vilāsa, *on Vaiṣṇava ritual, in which the duties of a Vaiṣṇava are made to cross over, as it were* (i.e. *described in detail*); from 'Bhāgavata,' by Daivakī-nandana Siṅha. (VSP., II, p. 844): যে অঙ্গে দেখিএ সেই অঙ্গে অলঙ্কার « jē āṅgē dēkhiē sēi āṅgē ālāṅkārẽ » *jewels on every limb that is viewed*; বিনি না পুছিলে কারো না জানিএ জাতি « bini nā puchilē kārō nā jāniē jāti » *no one's family is known without asking.*

**656.** Instances like the above are fairly common in Early Bengali literature, and further quotations are not necessary. Maithilī and Oṛiyā, too, show similar forms, and some instances may be given:

Maithilī: Vidyāpati (VSPd. edition), p. 6, « lakhaĭ na pāria, jēṭha kanēṭha » *cannot be distinguished, (whether) old (or) young*; p. 9, « jata dēkhala, tata kahahi na pāria » *all that was seen cannot be described*; p. 19, « paṛhabi na pāria ākhara-pāti » *the rows of letters cannot be read*; p. 21, « sē nahi dēkhala jē diya upāmā » *that has not been seen with which a*

*comparison can be made*; p. 30, « saba taha sunia aisana bēwahārā » *that such is the usage is heard from all*; p. 39, « Madhu-ripu sama nahi dēkhia sohāwana, jē dia tanhika upāma rē » *nothing handsome like the Foe of Madhu is seen, with which his comparison can be made*; p. 44, « na jāniya kiya karu mōhana cōra » *what this charming scamp may do is not known*; p. 499, « kajjala-rūpa tua Kāli kahiaō...Gaṇgā kahiē pāni... Bramhā-ghara Bramhānī kahiē, Hara-ghara kahiē Gaurī » *in favour like lamp-black, thou art called Kālī; she is called Gaṅgā when in watery form; in the home of Brahmā, is called Brahmāṇī; is called Gaurī in the home of Hara*; etc.

Oṛiyā: Jagannātha-dāsa's 'Dhruva-caritra' (Contai edition): p. 5, « kāmpii (=kampyatē) tāhārā nijā dēhi » *her own body trembles*; p. 33, « dēhā-mānā diśāï, khājurā-bṛkṣā-prāyā » *his body's measure is seen, like a date-palm*; p. 11, « dāśā-diśi āndhākārā, kichi hi nā diśi » *the ten quarters are dark, nothing is seen.*

Thus the older literatures of Maithilī and Oṛiyā also demonstrate the presence of the inflected passive in these speeches.

**657.** The inflected passive is also preserved in a curious idiomatic usage in Modern Bengali, in which both its form and nature are disguised. We have expressions like এ কাজ করে না « ē kājá kārē nā » *shouldn't do this*, রবিবার দিন মাছ খায় না « rābi-bārā-dinā māchā khāy nā » *shouldn't eat fish on Sundays*, জ্বর হ'লে নায় না « jwārā hōlē nāy nā » *shouldn't bathe when there is fever*, etc., etc., where the forms করে, খায়, নায় etc., are used with or without the negative particle, and are apparently 3rd person indicative present, the subject, however, being left understood; and such expressions have a general prohibitive or imperative force. The fuller form is presented in dialectal Bengali: in Birbhum, for instance, there is an imperative or optative in « -iyē », *e.g.*, in sentences like হোথা যেয়ে না « hōthā jēyē (< jāiyē) nā » *one shouldn't go there*, ভাইকে না দিয়ে খেয়ে না « bhāi-kē nā diyē khēyē (< khāiyē) nā » *shouldn't eat without sharing with one's brother*, আগুনে হাত দিয়ে না « āgunē hātā diyē nā » *shouldn't put one's hand in fire*, তোর দাদা যেনে না এসে « tōrā dādā jēnē nā ēsē (=ēsiyē ?) » *may your brother not come*, যে আমাকে এত কষ্ট দিলে তার কুষ্ঠব্যাধি হ'য়ে, সে যেনে

দুটী চোখ খেয়ে « jē āmākē ētā kāṣṭā dilē tārṅ kuṣṭhā-byādhi hōyē, sē jēnē duṭī cōkhṅ khēyē » *may he get leprosy, may he eat his two eyes, that caused me so much pain* (Basanta Kumār Chatterji in the VSPdP., 1326, p. 266): in these, খেয়ে, দিয়ে are passives, and যেয়ে, এসে, হ'য়ে are equally passives of neuter verbs (such as are found in the ŚKK.) in which the archaic aspect, which cannot be confused with the indicative active present, is retained. In MB. there are instances of this construction : cf. ŚKK., p. 333, প্রভু হয়িআঁ হেন না করী « prābhu hāyiā hēnā nā kārī » *shouldn't do so, being the Master*; p. 185, লোভ হয়িলেঁ কাহ্নাঞি আরতি না করী « lōbhā hāyilē Kānhāñī ārāti nā kārī » *O Kānha, shouldn't yearn (too much) although there is desire*; p. 257, কেহ তার না কহিএ মরণে « kēhā tārā nā kāhiē mārāṇē » *none should speak of his death*, etc.; etc. The MB. forms in « -i-, -I- » indicate that this construction is properly a passive one; এ কাজ করে না, « ē kājṅ kārē nā » is « ētat kāryaṁ na kriyatē » : « kriyatē » would be « kariaï, kāriē, kārī » in MIA. and OB. and MB. As in the other cases, the passive nature of the verb was forgotten, and the active form came in. The influence of a similar imperative use of the optative (active and middle) and of the passive, as in Sanskrit, is likely here.

General statements, in which the subject is not definite or important, may be in the third person, active. But it is just likely in such popular expressions like জামায়ের জন্য মারে হাঁস। গুষ্ঠী-শুদ্ধ খায় মাস ॥ « jāmāyērṅ jānyā mārē hāsṅ, guṣṭhi-śuddhā khāy māsṅ » *they kill the goose for the son-in-law, and eat the meat with the whole family* (= *the goose is killed, the meat is eaten*); and এক দেয় বর দেখে। আর দেয় ঘর দেখে ॥ « ēkṅ dēy [dæĕ] bārṅ dēkhē, ārṅ dēy [dæĕ] gharṅ dēkhē » *they give (in marriage), first by looking at the bridegroom, again by looking at the house* = (*the daughter*) *is given (in marriage), taking into note either the bridegroom or his family*; and in similar proverbial couplets and phrases, we have the passive.

It seems we have also the passive in a rare polite imperative in some North Bengali dialects, *e.g.*, দ্যাখেক, রাখেক « dyākhē-kṅ, rākhē-kṅ » *please see, please keep* (= « dēkhiē, rākhiē + -kā » : see below, 'Pleonastic Affixes : Affix « kā »').

### (2) Bengali 'Karma-Kartṛ-Vācya.'

**658.** The so-called middle-voice (*karma-kartṛ-vācya*) of Bengali, which we find in impersonal constructions, seems originally to have been this inflected «-yá-» passive: *e.g.* কলসী ভরে «kálasī bharē» *the jar becomes full*; কাপড় ছেঁড়ে «kāpaṛ chēṛē» *the cloth gets torn*; বই কাটে «bāi kāṭē» *the book cuts* > *sells*; বাঁশ ভাঙ্গে «bāś bhāṅgē» *the bamboo breaks*; শাঁখ বাজে «śākh bājē» *the conch-shell is sounded*; etc. Here ভরে, ছেঁড়ে, কাটে, ভাঙ্গে, বাজে, etc., are to be explained as passive forms, derived from earlier, fuller «*bhariaï» > *ভরিএ «bharië», «chiṇḍiaï» > *ছিণ্ডিএ «chiṇḍië» «*kaṭṭiaï, *kāṭiaï» > কাটিএ «kāṭië», «*bhañjiaï» or «*bhaṅgiaï» > *ভাঙ্গিএ «*bhāṅgië», «*bājiaï» > *বাজিএ «*bājië» etc., of OB. and eMB. A similar use of the passive is known also in Sanskrit (cf. Speyer, 'Vedische und Sanskrit-Syntax,' § 169).

### (3) OB. and MB. Passive Imperative.

**659.** In the ŚKK. there is a form in ইউ «-iū» which is illustrated by the following examples:

p. 140, নাঅ বান্ধিতেঁ গিআঁ করিউ যতনে «nāā bāndhitē giā kariū jatánē» *let us make an attempt to build* (lit. *bind*) *the boat*; p. 141, আনহ সকল সখিজন মেলী করিউ যুগতি «ānáhā sākalā sākhi-jánā, mēlī kariū jugáti» *bring all girl friends, let us hold a consultation together*; p. 141, পসার সাজিউ দধি দুধে, সেসি জীবার উপাএ «pāsārā sājiū dādhi dudhē, sē-si jībārā upāē» *let us arrange our milk and curds for sale, that indeed is the means of livelihood*; p. 204, নানা ফুল ফুটিলছে মাঝ বৃন্দাবনে। তাক পিন্ধি মথুরাক করিউ গমনে॥ «nānā phulā phuṭilā-chē mājhā Bṛndābánē, tākā pindhi Māthurā-kā kariū gámánē» *flowers of many kinds have blossomed in the middle of Vṛndāvana, wearing these, let us go to Mathurā*; p. 253, যমুনাক যাইউ রাধা লয়িআঁ সখীগণে «Jámunā-kā jāïū Rādhā, láyiā sākhī-gáṇē» *let us, O Rādhā, go to Yamunā, taking* (*our*) *girl-friends*; p. 270, দধি বিকেঁ জাইউ মথুরা «dādhi bikē jāïū Máthurā» *let us go to Mathurā to sell curds*; p. 292, সত্বরে রাধা লইআঁ জাইউ ঘর «sátwarē Rādhā láïā jāïū ghárā» *let me take Rādhā quick to her home*; p. 310, বাঁশী চোরায়িতেঁ করিউ যতনে «bāśī cōrāyitē kariū jatánē»

*let us make an effort to steal the flute*; p. 354, বারতা পুছিউ রাধা সব জন থানে « bārātā puchiū Rādhā sābā jānā thānē » *let us ask for news, O Rādhā, from everybody*; p. 347. কদমতলাক জাইউ চিত্তের হরিষে « kādāmā-tālā-kā jāiū cittērā hāriṣē » *let us go to the foot of the Kadamba tree, with joy in mind.*

This ইউ « -iū » form is certainly the passive imperative: in force it is generally optative or imperative. In an example like বাঁশী চোরায়িতে করিউ যতনে, করিউ যতনে « kāṛiū jātānē » = Skt. « kriyatām yatnaḥ »; so জাইউ « jāiū » =« gamyatām », বারতা পুছিউ « bārātā puchiū » *let us ask for news*, lit. *let news be asked for* = « vārttā pṛcchyatām ». The ইউ « -iū » affix is the Second MIA. imperative passive 3rd pers. singular affix « -Iadu », as in Śaurasenī (and Māgadhī) « kadhīadu, karīadu (kalīadu), suṇīadu (śuṇīadu) » = « kathyatām, kriyatām, śrūyatām », « -Iadu » giving the later form « -Iaü » and « *-Iu ».

In eMB., the spelling with long ঊ « ū » has no special point, unless the lengthening had a historical reason analogous to that for the final « -I » in the same period (see *supra*, p. 309). This 3 pers. imperative in « -iu, -iū » soon became confused with the 1 pers. indicative present in « -ō, -ō » (for which see *infra*, 'Radical Tense'). This « -iu » passive is also found in Old Bengali (see *supra*, pp. 904, 907): *e.g.*, Caryā 15 « bāṭa jāiu » *go the way* (=vartma, vartmani gamyatām).

### [II] Analytical Formation of the Passive in Bengali.

**660.** The inflected passive is a fossil in Bengali: the living method is analytical and periphrastic. The following are the ways in which the passive is formed in Bengali:

*I am seen*=(1) আমি দেখা যাই « āmi dēkhā jāi »; (2) আমাকে (আমায়, আমারে) দেখা যায় « āmākē (āmāy, āmārē) dēkhā jāy »; (3) আমাকে (আমায়, আমারে) দেখন যায় « āmākē (āmāy, āmārē) dēkhaṇ jāy »; (4) আমি দেখা পড়ি « āmi dēkhā pāṛi »; (5) আমাকে (আমায়, আমারে) দেখা হয় « āmākē (āmāy, āmārē) dēkhā hāy »; and (6) আমি দৃষ্ট হই « āmi dṛṣṭā hāi ».

Of these (1), (4) and (6) are true passives (*karma-vācya*), and these agree with the passive forms of English, French and other modern

Indo-European languages. The other forms, (2), (3) and (5) are instances of the neuter construction (*bhāva-vācya*) in Bengali. All the above forms are used in Bengali, but there are slight shades of difference in their meaning.

**661.** (1) আমি দেখা যাই « āmi dēkhā jāi » *I am seen* is best explained as being composed of the passive participle (adjective) in আ « ā » and যা « √jā » *to go*, and which assumes the function of the substantive verb. But this form, though allowable, would not ordinarily be regarded as very idiomatic or natural in Bengali: the passive proper, with the object in the nominative, would hardly be considered as natural to the language, especially when the nominative is a definite person. But general statement, where only the action is definite, and is the more important thing, can be easily made with an impersonal construction in the passive: *e.g.*, দেখা যায় « dēkhā jāy » *it is seen* (subject ইহা « ihā » *this, it* understood); যদি বলা যায় « yâdi bâlā jāy » *if it is said*; শোনা যাইতেছে or যাচ্ছে « śōnā jāitēchē, jāchchē » *it is being heard*. In the passive construction, the mind of the speaker is loth to forget that what is the grammatical nominative is the real object, and hence the feeling of the native speaker has this preference for the neuter construction, with the nominative-object in the dative, *e.g.*, আমাকে দেখা যায় or আমাকে দেখা হয় « āmākē dēkhā jāy, hây ». The conscious use of the passive would bring in a certain amount of emphasis; and to make a statement emphatic or definite, the dative with কে « -kē » is preferred to the accusative or nominative without any inflexion, when we are speaking of a sentient or animate being (see *supra*, pp. 897, 898). So আমাকে (আমারে, আমায় ) দেখা যায় « āmākē (āmārē, āmāy) dēkhā jāy » would be preferred, as the idea is definite so far as the object of sight is concerned, to আমি দেখা যাই « āmi dēkhā jāi » where আমি « āmi », although formally nominative, is in sense really the oblique or accusative. আমি দেখা যাই « āmi dēkhā jāi », however, would seem to be the older form, and আমাকে দেখা যায় « amākē dēkhā jāy » a later one. আমি করা যাই « āmi kârā jāi » *I am done* would be bad Bengali, because here the first personal pronoun would preferably have the কে « -kē » and be put in the dative as it is very

definite, and করা যাওয়া « kårā jāŏā » is rather vague: the construction would be regarded as clumsy. But আমি ধরা যাই « āmi dhårā jāi » *I am caught* would be quite allowable, as ধরা « dhårā » refers to a definite action.

Names of inanimate objects as a rule do not take কে « -kē » when they are in the objective or dative; hence ঘর দেখা যায় « ghårṛ dēkhā jāy » *the house is seen* (not ঘরকে « ghårṛ-kē »), where ঘর « ghårṛ » can be easily parsed as being the subject of the passive sentence.

**662.** (2) আমাকে (or আমারে, আমায়) দেখা যায় « āmākē (āmārē, āmay) dēkhā jāy » *I am seen* or, with a slight potentiality implied, *I may be seen* (=*they can see me*). There is a difficulty in explaining দেখা « dēkhā » here. Generally it is looked upon as a verbal noun in আ « -ā », derived ultimately from the passive participle in « -tá » of Indo-Aryan, the nominal use of which is also quite common in Sanskrit. It would thus be explained as meaning *with-regard-to-me, a-seeing goes-on* (or *takes-place*). The occurrence of (3) আমাকে দেখন যায় « āmākē dēkhaṇ jāy » *with-regard-to-me a-seeing takes-place* would lend countenance to the above explanation. But it would seem that in an expression like আমাকে দেখা যায়, দেখা is really a passive participle adjective, and the whole construction is in the impersonal, which is so characteristic of the Western and Southern Indo-Aryan languages: আমাকে দেখা-যায় would be best explained as being literally, *with-regard-to-me, it-is-seen.*

If we had evidence from Old and Middle Bengali remains on this point, we might expect a solution of the difficulty. But the passive with the past participle in আ « -ā » was not at all a popular form, and its occurrence is rather rare in the plain direct narration of Middle Bengali verse. Stray instances in the ŚKK. like তোহ্ম জাইবেঁ মার « tōmhå jāïbẽ mārå » (= মারিঅ, মার্অ OIA. « mārita > māria, mār-å » = Modern মারা « mār-ā », *i.e.*, মারিঅ+আ « māria » + pleonastic affix « ā ») *you will get killed* (p. 33), বান্ধিল জাই « bāndhilå jāi » *becomes tied up, is put in bonds,* (p. 71: here we have the old passive participle adjective in ইল « -il- », for which see *infra*, under 'Past Tense') indicate that the passive participle is the form associated with this construction. The transition was from the real passive made up of the participle and the verb (and with the

object proper in the nominative) to the impersonal neuter construction (with the nominative-object in the dative and the passive participle); and such a state of things has its parallel in the other cognate languages.

**663.** The origin of this জা or যা « jā » passive has undoubtedly been influenced, as Beames had suggested ('Comparative Grammar of the Indo-Aryan Languages,' Vol. III, 1879, pp. 73-74), by the old « -ijja- » passive of Apabhraṅśa. We have the « -ijja- » forms in Prakrit and Apabhraṅśa on the one hand, and the « jā » forms in the modern languages on the other: the middle is blank, and linking these two in all likelihood there was a transitional stage, not represented in linguistic remains, when the « -ijja- » was slowly assuming a new rôle as a root—when it was merging into the « jā » root, as it were. It would seem that the neuter passives (deponents) like « marijjaï=mriyátē » *dies* first took up an analytical form: because « marijjaï » is equivalent in meaning to « maraï » or « marē » (=márati, máratē), the « -jjaï » would seem to have been regarded as a form of « jāï » from « √jā », giving rise to the analysis « mari jāï » *having-died, goes* or *passes away* (=MB. মরিয়া যায় « mâriyā jāy »). The occurrence of the compound verb in the speech would help such an analysis. Once this analysis was established, there would not be any bar in forming other tenses and verb forms from « √jā ». In Early Middle Bengali, analysed forms of the above type (the conjunctive in ই « -i » or ইয়া « iyā » + √যা « jā », mostly with neuter verbs) are very common; *e.g.*, in the ŚKK. চলি জাইহ « câli jāīhâ » *depart*; পড়ি গেল দিঠী « pâṛi gēla diṭhī » *the sight was cast*; ভাঙ্গি জাএ « bhāṅgi jāē » *gets broken*; মোর মজি গেল মনে « mōrâ mâji gēlâ mânē » *my mind became attached*; পড়িয়া যাইবে « pâṛiyā jāībē » *you will fall*; মরিআঁ যাইবি « mâriâ jāībi » *wilt die*; etc., etc. An Old Bengali instance would seem to be « avasari jāi » (< « *avasarijjaï, » deponent of « ava » + « √sṛ » *move*) in Caryā 32. The modern passive or neuter with the আ « -ā » participle would seem to be of later origin. The potential sense which one can attach to the passive in যা « √jā », and which is never present in the passive with হ « √hâ », seems to point

at the « -ijja- » origin of the former. The old potential or optative had « -ējja- » in Prakrit, and the confusion between the passive and the optative, already noted, might just be continued in the newly risen analytical form.

As has been noted above, the « -ijja- » form seems to have been foreign to Māgadhī Prakrit and Māgadhī Apabhraṅśa, the source of Bengali; since no « -ijja- » forms are found in the relics of the inflected passive preserved in Bengali and other Magadhan languages, only « -i- » forms. The formation of the analytical passive with « jā » may thus have been brought about in Old Bengali through contact with and influence of Western dialects having « -ijja- > -Ij, -ij- ».

**664.** (3) আমাকে দেখন যায় « āmākē dēkhaṇ jāy » *I am seen, I may be seen*, lit. *with-regard-to-me, a-seeing goes-on* (or *takes-place*). This form of passive is one of the oldest constructions in Bengali. It occurs in the Caryās, and it is quite plentiful in Middle Bengali; *e.g.*, (Caryā 2) « dharaṇa na jāï » *cannot be held*, (35) « kahaṇa na jāï » *cannot be described*, (4) « lēpana jāï » *? is entangled* or *smeared*; ŚKK., p. 38, ললাট লিখিত খণ্ডন না জাএ « lalāṭa-likhita khaṇḍaṇa nā jāē » *that which is written on the forehead cannot be averted*; p. 58, প্রাণ ধরণ না জাএ « prāṇa dharaṇa nā jāē » *life cannot be endured*, etc. Middle Bengali instances are fairly common. In Modern Standard Bengali, this construction is falling into disuse, but it is fully preserved in the East Bengal dialects. The employment of this অন « -aṇ » + যা « √jā » passive is impersonal, and it is on the lines of (2).

It would seem to have originated from an unconscious analysis of the verbal adjectives, passive, in « -anīya(ka) ». The line of development was probably as follows: « karaṇīya-ka > karaṇijja(y)a » > করণি জাএ « *karaṇi jāē », করণ জাএ « karaṇa jāē »; so « paṭhanīya-ka > paḍhaṇijja(y)a », পঢ়ণি জাএ, পঢ়ন (পড়ন) জাএ, « *paḍhaṇi jāē, pāṛ(h)aṇa jāē »; etc. The intermediate form in this process of analysis, as in করণি জাএ, পঢ়ণি জাএ, is not preserved in Bengali, but it seems to be represented in Early Baiswārī forms like « barani jāya, kahani jāi » etc., as in Tulasī-dāsa. We may note that an expression like না জায় কহনে « nā jāyā kahanē » would be quite

natural in Middle Bengali, and the locative-instrumental in এ « -ē » in কহনে « kāhān-ē » might be a reminiscence of the older form in ই « -i » which could be regarded as a locative. The analysis into a noun in অন+ √যা « -ana » + « √jā » took place before the Old Bengali period: and once this analysis became accepted, transposition of the noun and the verb, and the insertion of the negative particle না between the noun and the verb, which is so frequent in negative constructions of this type in Middle Bengali, would result: thus সহন না যায় « sāhāṇ nā jāy », না যায় সহন « nā jāy sāhāṇ » *it cannot be borne* (but curiously enough, না সহন যায় is not found, although সহন যায় না is commonly met with in modern speech: the reason being probably that না « nā » which qualifies the verb in this analysed form must not be separated from it by the noun).

In Middle Bengali we have a few cases where there is apparently a verbal noun in অ « -ā »: *e.g.*, নিবার না যায় রে « nibārā nā jāy rē » *cannot be prevented* (VSP., p. 981); so বোল না যায় « bōlā nā jāy » *cannot be described*. There is no form in Modern Bengali corresponding to it: the absence of the -ন (ণ) « -nā (-ṇā) » in such cases is in all likelihood due to hapology.

**665.** (4) আমি দেখা পড়ি « āmi dēkhā pāṛi » *I am seen, I happen to be seen*, lit. *I fall seen*. This construction, apparently an old one, is essentially idiomatic, and strictly speaking it should come under the consideration of the characteristic 'Compound Verbs' of Modern Indo-Aryan. The use of the পড় « √pāṛ » is restricted to a few verbs only, and as Beames has fully noticed it, it indicates accidence as well as finality more than anything else. The দেখা « dēkhā » etc., are best explained as passive participle adjectives. The modern Dravidian employment of a root « paḍ » to form the passive has been noted by Beames and others, but it would seem that it is a matter of coincidence. The old Dravidian speech did not possess a passive form, but the employment of obviously the same root in the two groups of Indian speeches, Aryan and Dravidian, is interesting; and it is only one of numerous points of similarity which demonstrate a fundamental agreement between the speakers of the languages of the two groups in their habits of

thought. The impersonal construction with পড় « √pāṛ » (*e.g.*, আমাকে দেখা পড়ে « āmākē dēkhā pāṛē » ) is unknown.

**666.** (5) আমাকে দেখা হয় « āmākē dēkhā hāy » *I am seen* (i.e., *they see me*) ; lit. *with-regard-to-me, a-seeing takes-place* (or *a-seeing there-is*). Here we have a verbal noun in « -ā » : we never say আমি দেখা হই « āmi dēkhā hāi » where « āmi » would be the nominative. Note that মারা যায় « mārā jāy » or মারা পড়ে « mārā pāṛe » *gets struck* or *killed, dies*, but মারা হয় « mārā hāy » *the striking* or *killing takes-place*; দেখা গেল « dēkhā gēlā » *seen went, came in sight*, but দেখা হইল « dēkhā hāilā » *a-seeing took-place*. The root হ « hā » here is non-committal and merely states the fact. This construction seems to be a modern one.

**667.** (6) আমি দৃষ্ট হই « āmi dṛṣṭā hāi » *I am seen* is a learned form and a modern one, and it is found in high-flown speech and in the « sādhu-bhāṣā » only. This construction seems to have received a new impetus from the English passive: the Sanskrit passive participle avoids any ambiguity that might result if the native passive participle in আ « -ā » were used. But it undoubtedly originated in Middle Bengali, as Sanskrit passive participles have been largely introduced into the language since its birth.

**668.** The root আছ « √āch » is used with the past participle to form a sort of passive perfect, mostly in connexion with inanimate nouns or nouns that are names of lower animals, which are subjects of the predicate ; *e.g.*, এ বই আমার পড়া আছে « ē bāï āmārṛ̐ pāṛā āchē » *this book has been read by me*, where আমার « āmārṛ̐ » governs পড়া « pāṛā » which predicates বই « bāï » the subject of আছে « āchē » ; মাছ ধরা আছে « māchṛ̐ dhārā āchā » *fish have been caught* (or *fish that have been caught are*) ; এ কথা সকলের জানা আছে « ē kāthā sākālērṛ̐ jānā āchē » *this is known to everybody* ; এ বই তো পড়া ছিল « ē bāï tō pāṛā chilā » *this book indeed was read before*, etc., etc. This construction seems to be recent.

**669.** Two other idiomatic forms of the passive may be noted. চল « √cāl » *to go*, to express the idea of possibility or continuance, occurs with the verbal noun in আ « -ā », which governs the personal object

in the dative with কে « -kē », and the inanimate object or object which is the name of a lower animal in the accusative. The construction is impersonal: *e.g.*, খাওয়া চলে « khāŏā cālē » *can be eaten*, দেখা চ'ল্‌ল « dēkhā cālla » *the seeing went on*. খা « √khā » *eat* in the sense of *suffer* is used with the verbal noun মার « mārṇ » *a beating*, and is conjugated actively, to denote *to be beaten*. This last idiom occurs in other Indo-Aryan languages, as well as in Dravidian.

**670.** The impersonal and indefinite use of the passive is a noticeable feature in Modern Bengali. When one is not sure whether to use the honorific forms in speaking to an individual, recourse is taken to the passive impersonal to avoid any chance of giving offence by using the ordinary non-honorific: *e.g.*, কি করা হয় « ki kārā hāy » *what do you do?* literally, *what is done (by you)?* instead of the direct forms, the honorific আপনি কি করেন « āpṇni ki kārēnṇ » or the inferior তুমি কি কর « tumi ki kārā ». So কোথা থাকা হয় « kōthā thākā hāy » *where do you live?* etc. Cf. also the indefinite expressions ধ'রে নেওয়া যা'ক « dhōrē nēŏā jāk » *let it be granted*; যদি বলা হয় or যায় « yādi bālā hāy, jāy » *if it is said that*; এখান দিয়ে যাওয়া যায় না « ēkhānṇ diyē jāŏā jāy nā » *one cannot go by this way* (where যাওয়া যায় « jāŏā jāy » is probably from « *jāïjjaï », passive with « -ijj- »: cf. এখান দিয়ে যায় না « ēkhānṇ diyē jāy nā » *one does not, one should not go by this way*, where যায় « jāy » = « *jāïaï », passive in « -ia- »).

### [III] The Passive in « -ā- ».

**671.** In MB. and NB. occurs a passive with a distinctive « -ā- » affix, which is illustrated below. This passive may have a potential implication.

Middle Bengali: ŚKK., p. 89, সেহি এহা পথে মাহাদানী বোলাএ « sēhi ēhā pāthē māhādānī bōlāē » *he is called the chief toll-collector in this highway*; p. 186, যেহ্ন না ছাড়াএ ঘোল « jēnhā nā chāṛāē ghōlā » *so that the butter-milk is not scattered*; also cf. পঞ্চানন বুলো কয়, তেজীয়ান্ না দোষায় « Pañcānānṇ Nulō kāy, tējīyān nā dōṣāy » *says Pañcānana, the one with defective arm*: *'a man of spirit is not censured'* (Nagendranātha Vasu, 'Baṇger Jātīya Itihās,' Brāhmaṇa-kāṇḍa, I, i, p. 224);

Modern Bengali instances: বেশ মানায় « bēśa mānāy » *fits nicely, looks well*; কথাটা ভাল শুনায় না « kathā-ṭā bhāla śunāy nā » *the story does not hear nice* (=*it is not to be regarded as welcome*); কথাটা চারাইয়াছে « kathā-ṭā cārāiyāchē » *the news has been spread*; সে ভাল মানুষ কহায় বটে, কিন্তু লোক সুবিধার নয় « sē bhāla-mānuṣa kahāy baṭē, kintu lōka subidhāra nāy » *he is spoken of as an honest man, but he is not of the good sort*; এতে কিন্তু দোষ খণ্ডায় না « ē-tē kintu dōṣa khaṇḍāy nā » *but the evil is not averted by this*; যত পরখায় তত দোষ বা'র হয় « jata parakhāy tata dōṣa bā'ra hāy » *the more it is tested the larger the tale of faults that come out*; দুল পরবার জন্য কান বেঁধায় « dula parabāra jānya kāna bēdhāy » *the ear is pierced to put on earrings*; এটা তত খারাপ দেখাবে না « ēṭā tata khārāpa dēkhābē nā » *this will not show so bad*; etc., etc.: the sense in most instances, as above, is impersonal.

It occurs in Oṛiyā: 'Dhruva-caritra' of Jagannātha-dāsa (Contai edition), p. 8, « sē bōlāi pāṭarānī » *she is called the chief queen*; p. 48, « dēba gaṇa-mādhyē tu bōlāu sunāsīra » *thou art called Sunāsīra* (=*Indra*) *among the gods*; p. 16, « dwādaśa akṣara mantra-rāja ē bōlāi » *of twelve syllables, this is called the prince of charms.*

This « -ā- » passive is found in other NIA. languages: in the Magadhan Maithilī and Bhōjpuriyā; in Eastern Hindī, in Western Hindī, though rather rarely in these (*e.g.*, Kabīr, Kṣiti-Mōhan Sēn's Selections, IV, p. 63 « sabahi piyāsa pūrana hōta hai, tana-kī tapana bujhāy « *all thirst is fulfilled, and the burning of the body is relieved* ; Guru Nāṇak, 'Sukhamaṇī,' ed. in Bengali characters by Jñānēndra Mōhan Datta, Calcutta, 1916, p. 80, « jīwana-mukata sōu kahāwai » *he is called 'emancipated in life,'* beside the proper passive in « uha purukha kahiyai jīwana-mukata ») ; in Rājasthānī (dialectally), and in Gujarātī, in which the « -ā- » passive is the common method. It occurs also in Marāṭhī, where the affix is « -āv- -av-, -vav-, -avav- » (cf. Rāmchandra Bhikājī Jōshī, 'Prauḍha-bōdh Marāṭhī Vyākaraṇ,' Poona, 1917, p. 215).

The « -ā- » passive has been explained as a Causative or Potential form, originating from the causative affix « -ā-, -āv- » < OIA. « -ā-pa-ya » (Hoernle, 'Gauḍian Grammar,' § 484; Tessitori, 'Grammar of OWR.,' § 140).

But another and a more reasonable derivation of the « -ā- » passive has been suggested by Sir George Grierson (in a private communication). He derives potential the passive affix « -ā- » from the denominative « -āya- » of OIA. The Bihārī dialects offer a clue to the source of this « -ā- » passive. In Maithilī, Magahī as well as Bhōjpuriyā, there is clear indication that the affix for this passive was originally « -āya- », distinct from that of the causative which was, and still is in many forms, « -āwa- (< -āpaya-) ». Thus, the causative base in Maithilī is « dēkhāb (< dēkhāw < *dēkkh-āva-) » *to show*, and the potential passive base is « dēkhā » *to be seen* : in the 3 pres., the causative is « dēkhābē (dēkhāwē), dēkhābathi », the passive is « dēkhāē, dēkhāthi » ; so in the future, causative « dēkhāot » (= MIA. *dēkkhāvanta-), passive « dēkhāit » (= MIA. *dēkkhāyanta-) ; and the past participle forms are, causative « dēkhāol » (< -āwa-la), passive « dēkhāel » (< - āya-la) (Grierson, 'Introduction to the Maithilī Dialect,' Calcutta, 1909, pp. 214 ff., esp. tables on pp. 219 ff.). But even in Bihārī itself, the separate identity of the two affixes is to some extent confused, owing to interchange of « -w- » and « -y- » as intervocal glides. In the other NIA. speeches, the distinction has been entirely levelled down, both « -āya- » and « -āwa- » being reduced to « -ā- », or to « -āw- ». We see that from Early MIA. times the causative affix « -āpaya- » has encroached into the domain of the denominative (see *infra*, under 'Denominatives').

The « -ā- » passive is thus an extension of the denominative « -āya- » of OIA. The NIA. intransitives in « -ā- » are similar OIA. denominatives in « -āya- », and this can be well seen from cases like দোষায়, চারাইযাহে, পরখায়, খণ্ডায় etc. at p 928, which certainly are based on nouns. Compare W. Hindī « Hari-simarana kari bhagata pragaṭāy » *a saint is made manifest* (< prakaṭa) *by thinking on God* (Nānak, 'Sukhamaṇī'). NIA. thus has preserved the denominative way of forming the potential passive, despite its being obscured by the causative.

**672.** The Passive Construction (*karmaṇi-prayōga*) in the past and future tenses is discussed below (under 'Participial Tenses' and 'Personal Affixes').

### [F] Tense : the Simple Tenses.

**673.** For ordinary purposes, Bengali may be said to have *eight* tenses, with special affixes. These are—

(i) Simple Tenses: 1. Present; 2. Past; 3. Conditional or Habitual Past; and 4. Future.

(ii) Compound Tenses :

(*a*) Progressive: 5. Present Progressive; 6. Past Progressive;

(*b*) Perfect: 7. Present Perfect; 8. Past Perfect.

In addition, there are other Compound or Periphrastic tenses, like Present, Past and Future Continuous, or Habitual Past Perfect (with auxiliary « √ thāk » ) where the original verb and the auxiliary are yet distinct and have not coalesced as in the case of the Progressive and the Perfect tenses.

These tenses historically fall under *three types*, viz., Radical, Participial, and Periphrastic.

There is only one *Radical Tense*—the Simple Present, or Present Indefinite, which is derived from the Indicative Present of OIA. *Participial Tenses* are the Simple Past, Conditional or Habitual Past, and Simple Future, which originated respectively from the passive participle (strengthened with the pleonastic « -la » affix), active present participle, and passive future participle of OIA. and MIA. The *Periphrastic* or *Compound Tenses* are made up with the help of the substantive verbs « √ach » and « √thāk » as well as « √rah » employed as auxiliaries with forms of the root.

In NB., we have only standardised forms, but in earlier Bengali, numerous forms occurred side by side.

### [I] The Radical Tense.

**674.** The inflexions are :

| | Old Singular | Old Plural |
|---|---|---|
| 1. | « -i » ; | (-ō) : « āmi, āmṣrā cal-i (‡ cal-ō) » . |
| 2. | « -is, -s » ; | « -āhā, -ā, -ō » : « tui, tōrā cal-is ; tumi, tōmṣrā cal-āhā, cal-ā » . |

3. «-ē, -y»; «-ēṇṣ, -ṇṣ»: «sē, tārā cal-ē; tini, tārā cal-ēṇṣ».
(āpṣni, āpṣnārā cal-ēṇṣ=2nd person honorific).

The distinction in number in the 1st person was dropped from the earliest times in Bengali. In the 2nd and 3rd persons, this distinction was retained to some extent, in that the plural forms became honorific: in the 2nd person, the old singular became the familiar, inferior or contemptuous (both in the singular and the plural), and the old plural, for some period honorific no doubt, followed suit, although it is slightly more respectful and formal than the singular form. The 3rd person plural became the respectful or honorific, both plural and singular.

**675.** Typical forms occurring in the OB. of the Caryās are:

First Person:

«jīvami, pīvami (Caryā 4); acchahu (6); puchami, mārami, lēmi (10); dēhū, lēhū (8); bāhāma (20: = cāhāma); jāṇahū (22); acchama (29); āvēṓi (33); pēkhami (35); birahūī =? biharaī (39: Comm. = viharaṇaṁ karōmi); ācchuhū (44); siñcahū, jānami (49)».

Second Person:

«aisasi, jāsi (10); bujhasi, pucchasi, bāsasi (15); gilēsi (39); bujhaṣi, acchasi (41)».

Third Person:

«Lui bhaṇaï (1); jāï, khāa = khāï, jāgaa = jāgaï, jāa = jāï (2); sāndhaa = sāndhaï, bhamanti Birūā (3); taraï, gaṭaï = gaḍhaï (5); chāḍaï, chuppaï, pivaï, bōlaa = bōlaï (6); bājaē, biharaē, lavaē (11); gājaï, bhājaï, dhāvaï, ghōlaï (16); bājaï, bilasaï, nācanti Bājila, gānti dēvī, hōi (17); bhanathi Kaukkurīpā, jō bujhaṣ = bujhaï (20); bhakhaa = bhakhaï, karaa = karaï (21); jē bhamanti tē hōnti; Saraha bhanati = bhananti (22); païsaa = païsaï; bōlathi Sānti (26); basaï, hiṇḍaï, khāï, pōhāï (28); lāgē (29); jujhaa = jujhaï (33); bhuñjaï (34); ujāa = ujāï, bhanaï; pamāō = *sāmāi (38); Saraha bhaṇanti (39);» etc., etc.

**676.** Below are given specimens of forms occurring in MB. :

First Person :

« (mui, mu, mõ, mõẽ, mõña, āmhi, āmhē, āmi, āmhārā, āmārā, āmi-sābā, āmārā-sābā etc.) চলি, চলী cāli, cālī ; চলোঁ, চলো cālõ, cālō ; চলহুঁ, চলহ চলউ, চলু cālāhū, cālā(h)u, cālu ; ( চলিএ cāliē) ».

Cf. VSP., p. 30, কওঁ kāõ ; p. 31, বলোঁ bālõ ; 34, খাওঁ khāõ ; 57, যাওঁ yāõ=jāõ ; 65, দেওঁ dēõ ; 67, জানোঁ jānõ, থোয়ো thōyõ ; 68, দেও dēō = dēõ ; 276, বটি bāṭi ; 732, রাখো মুঞি rākhō muñi = rākhõ ; 733, পড়হুঁ pāṛāhū, মুঞি জাঙ muñi jāṇā = jāõ ; 853, থাকিয়ে thākiē, করিয়ে kāriē ; 855 কান্দিএ kāndiē ; 861, মোরা আছোঁ mōrā āchõ ; 974, জানিএ jāniē, বাসিএ bāsiē ; 1204, মাগোঁ māgõ ; 1211, পারো pārõ ; etc., etc. ; 'Padmā-purāṇa' of Vaṅśī-dāsa : p. 4, বন্দম bāndāmā (= bāndāẅā, bāndõ) ; p. 11, প্রণমহুঁ prāṇāmāhū (বন্দোঁ, বন্দো « bāndõ, bāndō », and প্রণমহো « prāṇāmāhō » are quite common in MB.) ; Kṛttivāsa, 'Uttara-kāṇḍa,' p. 28, বিস্তারিয়া কহ মুনি শুনিউঁ কথন bistāriyā kāhā muni, śuniū kāthāṇā (*narrate in detail, O Sage, I [shall] hear the tale*) » ; etc.

Cf. Oṛiyā : Modern Oṛiyā, singular « dēkhē, dēkhi », plural « dēkhū » : Jagannātha-dāsa's 'Dhruva-caritra' (Contai edition), p. 12, « āśīrbādā kārā mōtē, sādhāī jēmāntē » *give me blessing, so that I (may) succeed* ; p. 13, « muhi jībāī » *I live.* Also, Maithilī « dēkhī, calī, dēkhiai ; chī, chiahu ; thikahu ; rahī, rahiahu » ; Early Maithilī, as in Vidyāpati (VSPd. edition, Pada 30), « kahañõ = kahaẅõ » ; Magahī, « dēkhī, dēkhū » ; Bhōjpuriyā, singular « dēkhõ », plural « dēkhī, dēkhyū ».

Second Person :

« (tui, tuñi, taï, tõ, tōẽ, tōrā etc.) চলসি, চলিসি, চলিস cālāsi, cālisi, cālis ; (tumhi, tumhē, tumi, tōmhārā, tōmārā, tumi-sālā, tōmārā-sābā etc.) চলহ, চল, চলো, চলু cālāhā, cālā, cālō, cālu » .

The « -āsi, -is(i) » and « -āhā, -ā, -ō » forms are exceedingly common n MB. ; the « -u » form is rather rare.

Third Person:

« (sē, tāhā, tāhārā, tāhārā-sābā etc.) চলই, চলে, চলএ cālāī, cālē, cālāē; (tēhō, tāhārā etc.) চলন্তি, চলন্ত, চলেন্ত, চলেন, চলাইন, চলাই, চলঞি cālānti, cālāntā, cālēntā, cālēnṣ, cālāin, cālāī, cālāñi ».

Cf. VSP., p. 357, « যাওন্তি শৃগাল yāonti śṛgāla = jāwānti, jānti »; Kṛttivāsa, 'Uttara,' p. 179, « কুক্কুর বলেন kukkuṛ bālenṣ, কুকুর জানেন kukuṛ jānenṣ »; *ibid*, p. 7, গঙ্গা শিরে ধরিয়া হাসেন্ত শূলপাণি « gāṅgā śirē dhāriyā hāsēntā Śūlapāṇi » *the One with the trident in hand* (*Śiva*) *laughs, bearing Gaṅgā on his head*; p. 10, গুরুজনা বাসেন লাজ « guru-janā bāsēnṣ lājṣ » *the revered ones feel shame.*

The « -ānti, -āntā, -ēntā » forms are very common in the ŚKK., in Chuṭi-Khān's (Śrīkara Nandī's) 'Mahābhārata,' in Vijaya Paṇḍita's 'Mahābhārata,' and in other older works. In Vaṅśī-dāsa's 'Padmā-purāṇa' (Maimansing District, 17th century), a large number of « -añi, -āi » forms occur, beside « -nti » ones: the former, it should be noted, occur more frequently with the past and future bases than with the present: *e.g.*, « p. 3, স্মরন্তি বিধাতা smārānti bidhātā; p. 44, নারদে কহন্তি Nāradē kahānti; p. 260, মঙ্গল গাহন্তি māṅgalṣ gāhānti; pp. 262, 318, 362, 489, 496, নারীগণে দেহন্তি (দেয়ন্তি) জোঁকার nārīgaṇē dēhānti (dēyānti) jōkārṣ *the women give shouts of triumph*; p. 417, মঙ্গল গায়ন্তি সুযুবতী māṅgalṣ gāyānti su-jubāti »; besides p. 631, kārāñi = kārānti; p. 622, yāñi = jānti; p. 643, pūjāñi = pūjānti »; etc., etc.

In addition, through Sanskrit influence, a few *ts.* or *sts.* forms occur in MB. in the 3rd person: *e.g.*, বসতি « bāsāti » *dwells* for বসে « bāsē » (vasati); বদতি « bādāti » *speaks* for বলে « bālē » (vadati), etc.

The forms in the sister speeches are: Oṛiyā sg. « cālāī », pl. « cālānti »; Maithilī, original sg. « dēkhai », pl. « dēkhathī », also in Magahī, besides forms with affixed object pronouns; Bhōjpuriyā sg. « dēkhē », pl. « dēkhan », besides other forms.

**677.** Origin of the Forms for the Radical Tense.

The different « gaṇas » of OIA. were practically levelled to one —with the theme « -a- ». The OIA. causative « -aya- » > MIA. « -ē- » lost its force, and « -ē- » was also found in the indicative present form:

OIA. « karōti » thus figured as « karaï, karēi » in Apabhraṅśa. NIA. forms are based on these Apabhraṅśa simplified ones, both in form and use.

First Person.

From OB. and MB., we see that the following were the old affixes : « -ami (= a৺i, aï), -mi (= -৺i -ï), -ī, -i ; -ama (= -a৺a), -ð, -ō ; -a-hũ, -a-hu, -hō, -au, -ũ, -u ». The « -iyē, -iē » form in MB., as has been explained before (p. 915, *supra*), is really a passive form.

The old sense of number had died out in Bengali from the OB. period : it has continued in Oṛiyā to the present day. The affixes « -a-hũ, -a-hu, -ahō, -aũ, -u » form one group : here the « -hũ » seems to be the first personal pronoun « *haũ » *I* (see p. 807, *supra*), agglutinated to a basic form of the root in « -a ». Cf. « -tu » for the 2nd person imperative (*supra*, p. 905). This « -hũ, -ũ, -u » form seems to have merged into the « -ð » form in MB. A form like শুনিউঁ « śuniũ » (*supra*, p. 932) seems to be first person in « -i », « śuni » + « hũ » ; or is it a blend of the passive in « -iu- » (*supra*, pp. 919-920) + « -hũ », or « ð » ? The « -hũ > -hu » is found in Maithilī also.

The form « -ð » is the affix for the first person now obtaining in Assamese and in North Bengali. This is apparently the same as « -ama » of OB., doubtless pronounced « -a৺a ». Influence of the agglutinated « -hũ » here is likely in post-OB. times. Cf. Oṛiyā first person pl. affix « -ũ », which is doubtless based on « -ama ». The « -ð » occurs also in Central Magadhan.

The MB. and NB. « -ï, -i » is the OIA. and MIA. « -mi » affix of the singular. The OB. « āvēśï » (Caryā 33) would go to show that it was already evolved in the OB. period ; but at that time the nasalisation in all likelihood existed ; and it seems to be generally indicated by retaining the « -m- », pronounced as « ৺ » or nasalised « y ». But in a case like « āvēśï », it could not be so indicated *metri causâ*, but seems to have been merely left unnoted (* āvēsï = * āyēśï = * ā৺iśi৺i = * āvisimi : MB. āïsï). The Modern Oṛiyā first person sg. form in « -ẽ » (< Early Oṛiyā « -āï »), given above (p. 932), *e.g.*, « dēkhẽ, sādhāï, jībāï », preserves the old nasalisation. The nasalisation is lost in Bengali and in Central Magadhan

and partially also in Oṛiyā, *e.g.*, in its « -i » form. It seems that in Māgadhī Apabhraṅśa, an OIA. form like « calāmi » had resulted in « * calāmi » as well as « * calimi », the former having given the Oṛiyā « cālāi, cālē », the latter the Bengali, Oṛiyā, and Maithilī-Magahī « -I, -i » forms.

OIA. : « aham calāmi————vayam (Late OIA. asmē) calāmaḥ » ;

MIA. : « ahakaṁ, ahakē calāmi——mayaṁ, amhē calāmō, * calāmē ; hakaṁ, hakē (*hagaṁ, hagē) calāmi, calāmi——amhē calāmō, * calāmē, *calāmō, * calāmē » ;

Māg. Ap. : « haū, * haï * calami, * calimi——amhi * calamu, * calami * calama, * calāma (m = ँ) » ;

NIA. OB. : « haū (maï) *calaï, *caliï, *calī, calī—āmhi (āmhē) calaँa, calō » ;

MB. : « (màï, mui, āmhi, āmi, āmhārā, āmi-sābā etc.) cālī, cāli, cālō. » ;

NB. (Standard Speech) : « (āmi, āmṛā) cāli » ; ‡ « (mui, āmi, āmṛā) cālō » ;

Assamese : « (māi, āmi) cālō » ;

Oṛiyā : « (mū) cālē, cāli », plural « (āmbhē, āmbhē-mānē) cālū » ;

Maithilī : « calī, calū » (for both numbers) ;

Magahī : « calī, calī, calū » (for both numbers) ;

Bhōjpuriyā : « calō », plural « calū, calyū » (the singular « calō » probably influenced by Western speeches).

In the indiscriminate use of singular and plural forms, it is not unlikely that the singular « * calami, calimi » in Māgadhī Apabhraṅśa became confused with an expected, and possible Māg. Ap. plural form « * calāmi, * calami » < Magādhī Prakrit « * calāmē » < OIA. « calāmaḥ », with the change of final « -aḥ » to « -ē » and then to « -i ».

678. Second Person.

The history of the forms seems to have been as follows :

OIA. : « tvam calasi—yūyam (Late OIA. *yuṣmē, *tuṣmē) calatha » ;

MIA. : « tumaṁ, tūṁ calasi—tumhē calatha, caladha ; tūṁ calasi —tumhē calaha » ;

Māg. Ap. : « tū, tō calasi, *calisi, *calahi ; *calasu, *calahu, *calaū (from the Imperative)——tumhi calaha » ;

NIA. OB. : « tū, tō, taï calasi, calisi—tumhi, tumhē calaha, * calaa »;
MB. : « (tō, tō, tōē, taï, tui, tōrā) cālâsi, cālisi, cālâis, cālis—(tumhi, tumi, tōmhārā, tōmṛā etc.) cālâhâ, cālâ, cālâ, cālō » ;
NB. : « (tui, torā) cālis, ‡ cālâs (as in East Bengal), ‡ cālu (as in S.W. Bengali : cf. Oṛiyā)—(tumi, tōmṛā) cālâ, cālō »;
Assamese : « tâi cālâ———tumi cālā (tomālokē cālā, cālāhāk) » ;
Oṛiyā : « tū cālu———tumbhē (-mānē) cālâ » ;
Maithilī : « tō calahi, calah———tōh, tōh-sabh calahu » ;
Magahī : « tū, tō cal———tōhanī calah(in) » ;
Bhōjpuriyā : « tū, tē cal (calas, calasi, calis)—tōhanīkā calah ».

679. Third Person.

OIA. : « sa(ḥ) calati———tē calanti » ;
MIA. (Māgadhī) : « śē calati———tē calanti » ;
« śē caladi, calaï———*tē calanti » ;
Māgadhī Ap. : « śē, *śi calaï———*ti, tē calanti » ;
NIA. OB. : « śē *calaï (calanti *honorific*)—*tē, *tēhī, * tēhi * tēha, calanti, *calēnti ;
MB. : « sē cālâï, cālâē, cālē ; tēhâ, tāhārā cālânti, cālēntâ, cālântâ, cālēṇṛ, cālāni, cālāñi, cālâi, cālâñi, cālāin » ;
NB. : « (sē, tārā) cālē—(tini, tārā) cālēṇṛē (‡ cālāin) » ;
Assamese : « (si, sihātē) cālē (Early Assamese si-hātē cālântâ, cālēntâ) » ;
Oṛiyā : « sē cālâï—sē-mānē cālânti » ;
Maithilī : « sē (sē-sabh) calai, calathi » (the latter honorific only) ;
Magahī : « sē calai, calē (calas < Bhōjpuriyā)—taun calīn, calī, calathi » ;
Bhōjpurīyā : « sē calē, cala ( calasi, calasu < Awadhī)—taun calan, calin ».

The plural form in Bengali is now used as an honorific. The change of OIA. « -nt » normally is to « -t- » in Bengali, not to « -n- » : « cālēṇṛ » therefore does not represent OIA. « calanti ». The form has obtained its « -n- » (further reduced to a mere nasalisation in dialectal Bengali) ultimately from the plural « -na » of the noun (*see supra*, pp. 725-726). It seems that this

« -na » was added to the plural-honorific forms for the verb in the past and the future tenses, which as participial forms did not have any affix originally, and therefore could take up both the plural « -na » of the oblique noun and the « -anti » of the radical tense: MB. ordinary « gēl-ā, gēl-ā », honorific « gēl-ēṇ̠, gēl-ānti ». Thus « -na » and « -anti » became identical; and in the place of « calanti, cālēnta », and a possible « * cālēti, * cālētā » (cf. ŚKK. দেঁতি « dēti » *they give* = « dēnti »), the form « cālē-ṇ̠ » came in. Doubtless the use of the present participle in « -itē » (cālitē-cālitē), the infinitive in « -itē », and the past habitual base « cālit- », all the three with « -it- », helped the establishment of « -ēṇ̠ » in the other verb forms as the plural honorific affix. Oṛiyā alone among Magadhan languages has preserved the « -nti ». In other Magadhan, in E. and W. Hindī, and in other NIA., the « -nti » has similarly given place to a mere nasalisation or to « -n »: except in Marāṭhī, where the « -nti » is altered to the normal NIA. development, « -t » (Jules Bloch, 'Langue Marathe,' § 235).

The Maithilī and Magahī « calathi » is peculiar, showing « -thi » for OIA. « -nti »; probably it is a case of emphatic « hi »: « calanti hi > calat(i) hi > calathi ». In the Caryās, « -thi » for honorific « -nti » occurs in a couple of instances: « bhaṇathi Kukkurīpāē » (20), « bōlathi Sānti » (26). These seem to have been due to the mistake of the Nēwārī scribe of the MS., familiar as he was more with Maithilī than with Old Bengali.

The « -s- » forms for the 3rd person in Magahī and Bhōjpuriyā seem to be ultimately from Awadhī, and the « -s- » seems to be the pronoun « sē » *he*, agglutinated with the verb-base (like « hū, tu » for the 1st and 2nd persons in OB.).

### [II] The Tenses originating from OIA. Participles.

#### (1) The Past Base.

**680.** The inflected past tenses of OIA.—the imperfect, aorist and perfect—were continued in MIA., but their employment grew more and more rare. In Early MIA. (as in Pali) the imperfect and aorist

coalesced, and formed practically one past form (cf. Geiger, 'Pali Grammatik,' § 158 ff.), although Pali grammarians sought to indicate a theoretical difference between them by calling the forms derived from the old imperfect and the strong or root aorist (with the 3rd person singular ending in « -a, -ā ») the « hiyattanī » or *yesterday past*, and the forms derived from original sigmatic aorist (with the 3rd person singular ending in « -i, -si ») as the « ajjatanī » or *to-day past*. The perfect became very much restricted. In Second NIA., the perfect all but disappeared, being found only in a few stereotyped forms; and the same thing happened with the imperfect-aorist tense, which could be found with a number of roots, or had resulted, as in Ardha-Māgadhī, into a couple of affixes—a singular « -ittha, -ēttha » and a plural « -iṁsu », originating from the OIA. *ātmanē-pada* (medial) aorist forms (Pischel, 'Gramm. der Pkt.-Sprachen,' §§ 515-517; Geiger, *op. cit.*, § 159).

This gradual decay or disuse of the old moods and forms of the old inflected past is a notable thing in the history of Indo-Aryan (cf. Jules Bloch, 'La Phrase nominale en Sanskrit,' Mémoires de la Société de Linguistique,' Vol. XIV). In this connexion Dravidian influence has been suggested, and indeed is probable (see *supra*, pp. 38, 174). As the old past forms fell into desuetude, their place was taken up more and more by the passive participle adjective which had the ending « -ta, -i-ta » or « -na » in OIA. In this extension of the verbal adjective to assume the function of the finite verb, going hand in hand with the decay of the latter, Dravidian influence, again, is likely. But the germs of this use we find within OIA. itself. In Vedic, the past or passive participle in « -ta » is quite frequently used as a finite verb, when the copula or the substantive verb « as » or « bhū » is omitted (cf. A.A. Macdonell, 'Vedic Grammar for Students,' § 208; B. Delbrück, 'Altindische Syntax,' Halle, 1888, §§ 215, 219). This construction, periphrastic in nature, with the substantive verb present or understood, seems to have come in first with intransitive verbs (meaning *going, sitting, standing*, etc.), or in impersonal statements. But as yet the passive participle has not invaded the domain of the transitive verb, in a passive construction with the true nominative in the instrumental,—

a construction which is perfectly normal in Second MIA., and which is continued down into NIA.: «sa yātaḥ, sa jātaḥ, sa ārūḍhaḥ» might be used instead of «sa jagāma (iyāya, agacchat, agamat, ayāt), sa ajāyata (ajani), sa aruhat (arukṣat, rurōha)» etc.; but «tēna kṛtaḥ (kṛtā, kṛtam), tēna dṛṣṭaḥ (dṛṣṭā, dṛṣṭam)» are not yet well-established in the place of «sa cakāra (akārṣīt, akarōt), sa dadarśa (apaśyat, adrākṣīt)», etc. But from Early MIA., the extension of the passive participle to transitive verbs also came in. In Pali, however, the OIA. condition obtains, and there is plentiful use of the past tense or aorist, the «-ta» forms occurring with intransitive verbs mainly: but the traditions of Pali as a literary speech go back to the oldest MIA., or latest OIA. period, and Pali syntax is not wholly based on that of the spoken vernaculars of the centuries immediately before Christ. But the language of Aśōkan and other early inscriptions sufficiently demonstrate what an important place the passive participle in «-ta» had already obtained for itself in the popular dialects, considerably restricting the inflected past tenses. Thus, to give a few examples: Aśōkan Rock Edict I (Girnar), «iyaṁ dhaṁmalipi dēvānaṁ priyēna priyadasinā rāñā lēkhāpitā»; II (Girnar) «dvē cikichā katā; ōsuḍhāni...sarvatra hārāpitāni ca rōpāpitāni ca»; V (Girnar) «ta mayā bahu kalāṇaṁ kataṁ»; Pillar, Rummindei, «piyadasina lājina atana āgāca mahīyitē; silā vigaḍabhīcā kālāpita, silāthabhē ca usapāpitē, Luṁminīgāmē ca ubalikē kaṭē»; Nigliva, «lājina thubē dutiyaṁ vaḍhitē»; Khāravēla Inscription, «mahārājēna...kiḍitā kumāra-kīḍikā: yōvarajaṁ pasāsitaṁ»; Bharhut Inscription on gateway, «...Dhanabhūtina kāritaṁ tōraṇāṁ (= tōraṇaṁ), silā kaṁmaṁtō ca upaṁna»; Sanchi, Stupa I, «Vēdisakēhi daṁta-kārēhi rūpa-kaṁmaṁ kataṁ»; Besnagar Inscription of Heliodoros, «garuḍa-dhvajē ayaṁ kāritō Hēliōdōrēṇa»; Mathurā Āyāgapaṭṭa Inscription, «...gaṇikāyē Vasu(yē)...śilāpaṭō pratisthāpitō»; etc., etc.

Illustrations can be multiplied. These show that the passive participle construction, the verb being an adjective qualifying the nominative when it was intransitive and the object when transitive, became the common idiomatic way of expressing the past in MIA. By the time when the Apabhraṁśa Stage came in, the old inflected past forms, which still

lingered in Second MIA., were clean swept away, and only this participial past remained in IA.; and the NIA. past tense was formed out of this.

The IA. speeches outside India show similarly the passive participle as the base for the preterit: Sinhalese (Geiger, 'Litteratur und Sprache der Sinhalesen,' pp. 71-72), and the Gipsy speeches of Europe (F. Miklosich, 'Ueber die Mundarten und die Wanderungen der Zigeuner Europas,' XI, p. 44).

**681.** The affix « -ta, -ita » was by this time reduced to « -a, -ia », except where it was assimilated to a preceding consonant (*e.g.*, « dṛṣṭa- », = Panjābi « ḍiṭṭhā », beside « *dṛkṣita- > dēkkhia- » = Hindī « dēkhyā, dēkhā », Bengali দেখিল « dēkh-il- »; « supta > sutta > Early Beng. সুতিল sut-il- »; « matta > Beng. মাতিল māt-il- »; etc.). A pleonastic « -ka », which was reduced to « -a » in Prakrit and Apabhraṅśa, was sometimes added. But the need for some distinctive affix for this important form, the only one to indicate the past tense, was felt in some parts of the country. The « -la » affix of OIA., in extended forms « -i-la, -a-la », which became very popular as an adjective affix (or a merely pleonastic one) from the early centuries of the Christian era, and probably even earlier, was frequently added. In the Second and Third MIA. periods « -i-la, -a-la » apparently became « -illa (-ĕlla), -alla ». In any case, in North-Eastern India the « -ll- » was specially popular from the Apabhraṅśa period (it may be earlier still) in connexion with the passive participle in « -a < -ta, -ia < -ita ». We have no specimens of this North-Eastern or Māgadhī Apabhraṅśa, but from the evidence of the Magadhan languages we have to surmise all that. In the Ardha-māgadhī area, and in the Midland, the « -ila, -ala > -illa (-ĕlla), -alla » affix was rather sparingly used; also in the North-West: the source-dialects Eastern Hindī, Western Hindī, and Western and Eastern Panjābī apparently never used it with the passive participle, whether attributive or predicative. In the South-West, its use was more common than in the Midland, but not so common as in the East: it was used, as we can infer from Gujarātī and Rājasthānī and Sindhī, when the passive participle was a plu-perfect, or an attributive form, and not a predicate in the simple past, performing the function of a verb. In the

South, it was fairly common, and shortly after the formation of the Marāṭhī language, it became more and more popular as an affix in connexion with the passive participle > past tense.

The remnants of Second MIA. (especially in the Jaina dialects as written in the South-West) have preserved for us examples of this « -illa (-ŏlla) » and « -ulla, -alla » affix with nouns and adjectives, like « kaṇṭaïlla, chāïlla, mā(y)illa, lōhilla, sōhilla, ṇēurilla, thalaïlla, niyaḍilla, kasilla, sāsilla, kalaṇkilla, gaṇṭhilla, muttāhalilla, kandalilla, lacchīïlla, kivāïlla, gōïlla, chaïlla, gāmilla, bāhirilla, paḍhamilla, uvarilla, dāhiṇilla, majjhimilla, puvvilla » etc., etc.; and stray forms like Ardha-māgadhī « āṇilliya » (āṇia = āṇīta + illa: Pischel, 'Grammartik der Pkt.-Sprachen,' § 595), and « āgaĕlliyā (āgata-), varĕlliyā (varia-, vṛta-), chaḍḍiĕllayaṁ (chardita-), laddhilliyaṁ (labdha-) » (Tessitori, 'Grammar of OWR.,' § 126) etc. confirm the surmise made chiefly from the modern languages that « -illa (-ŏlla), -alla » added to the passive participle in « -a, -ia < -ta, -ita » is the source of the NIA. « -l- » in this case. When the « -illa » in this way strengthened the passive participle, the latter retained fully its original adjectival nature, and « -illa » would change its ending according to the gender of the noun qualified.

**682.** Thus the past base in « -il- » in Bengali, Assamese and Oṛiyā, in « -al- » in the Bihārī speeches, and in « -il-, -al » in Marāṭhī, and similar « -l- » forms in the other NIA. speeches, originated from the OIA. « -ta, -ita » *plus* the OIA. diminutive or adjectival affix « -la- » in the extended forms « -ila, -a-la, > -illa (-ŏlla), -alla ». This explanation, first suggested by Sir Charles Lyall in his article on Hindōstānī in the 'Encyclopædia Britannica,' 9th edition (1879: reprinted as 'A Sketch of the Hindustani Language,' Edinburgh, 1880: pp. 41-42) and by Sir Ramkrishna Gopal Bhandarkar in his 'Wilson Philological Lectures' (1877, Lecture V, first published Bombay, 1914, pp. 223-224), has finally been accepted as the only possible explanation, after Sten Konow showed how this « -l- » of Marāṭhī (and other NIA. speeches) phonologically must rest on a MIA. « -ll- » (in his 'Note on the Past Tense in Marāṭhī,' JRAS., 1902, pp. 417 ff. Cf. Tessitori, 'Grammar of OWR.,' § 126; Jules Bloch, 'Langue Marathe,' § 256).

**683**. Lassen and Hoernle, whose views, now disproved and abandoned, still obtain some following in India, traced this « -l- » to the « -ta, -ita » affix of OIA. direct: either along this line: « -ta, -ita > -da, -ida > -ḍa, -iḍa > -la, -ila »; or along this: « -ta, -ita > -da, -ida > -la, -ila » (cf. Hoernle, 'Gauḍian Grammar,' § 306). But neither of the above lines of change are known to have taken place on any large scale in IA.; and although there are cases of 'spontaneous cerebralisation' (*supra*, p. 487), and although there are a few cases where NIA. « -l- » (< earlier « -ḷ- ») corresponds to Skt. « -ḍ- » (*supra*, p. 543), a wholesale change of MIA. « -d-, -ḍ- » to « -l- » is not attested. Under influence of preceding « r, ṛ », a dental « -ta » became a « -ṭa » in 'Old Māgadhī,' and the normal change of it in Second MIA. Māgadhī would of course be « -ḍa »; in fact, Vararuci notes two cases, « kaḍa, maḍa < kaṭa, maṭa < kṛta, mṛta » and a third « gaḍa (< gata) » by analogy apparently ('Prākṛta-prakāśa,' XI, 15); and many more can be attested from MIA., from Sanskrit, and from the NIA. speeches (like « *saḍakka > saṛakā́ » *street* from « sṛta », « *dhaḍa > dhaṛā́ » *torso* from « dhṛta », « *bhaḍa > bhaṛā́ » = surname in Bengali = *servant* from « bhṛta, bhaṭa »). In all these cases we find « -ṛ- » in NIA. (< -ḍ- < -ṭ- < -ṛt-) », and never « -l- ». The equivalent of « kaḍa, maḍa » should be « kaṛā́, maṛā́ » or « kaṛā, maṛā » in NIA., and not « kaila, maila » as in Early Bengali or in the Bihārī dialects. In fact, the « -ṛ- » form, মড়া « mā̀ṛā » < « maḍa », has continued apart in Bengali, in the sense of *dead body, corpse*, and this is quite distinct from the verb মৈল « mā̀ilā = *maa-illa = mṛta + illa ».[1]

The adjectival accented « -lá » (Whitney, 'Skt. Grammar,' §§ 1189, 1227) became « -lla » in Second MIA. (Pischel, 'Grammatik der

[1] As has been noted before, the genuine, inherited Māgadhī forms in '-ṛ-,' = '-ḍ-' < '-ṭ-' < '-ṛt-, -rt-' were largely ousted from or restricted in the eastern dialects, probably during the Second and Third MIA periods, by new formations which did not show cerebralisation, but simple elision of the '-t-': see *supra*, p. 487. This was either due to the analogy of the larger number of '-ta-' participles in which there was no scope for cerebralisation and the '-t-' was duly lost in Second MIA.; or it may be that here there was strong influence from the Western speeches due to the continuous immigration of Westerners into the East—Bihar and Bengal—during the formative period of the Eastern languages.

Pkt.-Sprachen,' § 194). It is just possible that the doubling was due to the fact that it was a *ts.* (or *sts.*) affix introduced in Transitional MIA., at a time when original *tbk.* or inherited intervocal « -l- » tended to become cerebralised to « -ḷ- », and that its *ts.* character as an intervocal *dental* or *alveolar* sound was sought to be preserved by this doubling. Another explanation, quite possible, would derive the MIA. « -lla » from the OIA. « -la », strengthened by « -ya » (also an adjectival affix): « *-l-ya > -lla » (Jules Bloch, 'Langue Marathe,' p. 256). In any case, the fact remains that in Second MIA. it became « -ll- ». In NIA., in those speeches where the cerebral « -ḷ- » is preserved, this « -ḷ- » stands on a MIA. single intervocal dental or alveolar « -l- »; and where in NIA. it is a dental « -l- », the MIA. source of it is double « -ll- », and not single « -l- ». This has been shown for Marāṭhī (Sten Konow, JRAS., 1902, as cited above; cf. Jules Bloch, 'Langue Marathe,' §§ 144 ff.), and for Gujarātī by Turner (JRAS., 1921, pp. 527-528, 535, 537, 538). It is also the case with Oṛiyā: *e.g.*, Oṛiyā « kāḷā » *black*, « kāḷi » *ink* (< kāla-), « bēḷā » (< vēlā), « dēuḷā » (< dēvakula), « tiḷā » (< tila), *ts.* « tāiḷā » (< tāila), with « -ḷ- », but « kāli » (kalim, kalya-), « bēla » (bĕlla, bilva), « tēla » (tĕlla, tāilā), etc. (see *supra*, p. 538): and for the past tense and pass. part adj., Oṛiyā has « -l- », not « -ḷ- », which thus must rest on a MIA. « -ll- ». The same seems also to be the case with Panjābī. So that Apabhraṅśa (Eastern, Western, Southern) « *kaa-illa-, *kaya-illa-, *kaa-alla-; *gaa-illa, *gaya-illa, *gaa-alla; *calia-illa > *calilla, *callĕlla *calla-illa (=*calya- + -ita- + -la) » etc. can alone be the sources of Early Bengali « kâila », Bihārī « kail », Oṛiyā « kâlā », Marāṭhī « kēlā, gēlā », Gujarātī « karēlo » (=*karia-illa), Sindhī « kayalŭ, kɪtalŭ » (the last = «*kitta-alla- ») ; and Bengali « gēlā, câlilā », Oṛiya « gâlā, câḷilâ- » Bihārī « gail, calal- », beside Oṛiyā « cālilā », Gujarātī « cālēlō », etc.

**684.** Another view about the origin of the NIA. « -l- » is that it is an independent affix occurring in Indo-European itself, preserved in NIA., but ignored or left unnoticed in OIA. S. H. Kellogg first suggested this in his Hindī Grammar (cf. p. 340, second edition), and Beames connected this « -l- » with the « -l- » affix indicating the past tense in the Slav languages, and compared Slav (Russian) preterit

forms in « -l- » with those of the Marāṭhi as a typical Indian language with the « -l- » past ('Comp. Grammar,' III, pp. 135-136). But this connexion is not proper. We have seen that the MIA. form of the suffix was « -ll- » < OIA. « -l- » and that it is adjectival (diminutive or pleonastic) in its nature, whereas the « -l- » affix that we find in Slav is entirely different. The latter is a participle affix, forming *nomina agentis*, with an active present participle sense, and in Slav it is used to form periphrastic tenses with the substantive verb: and this « -l- » or « -lo- » affix has been found, in addition to the Slav, in Latin, Greek, Armenian and Tokharian among Indo-European speeches (A. Meillet, 'Le Slav Commun,' Paris, 1924, § 281; French trans. of Brugmann's Short Comparative Grammar, Paris, 1905, p. 351; S. Lévi and A. Meillet, 'Remarques sur les Formes grammaticales de quelques Textes en Tokharien B.: I: Formes verbales,' Extrait de Mémoires de la Société de Linguistique, Vol. XVIII, Paris, 1912, p. 22).

**685.** The « -l- » affix is established for the past tense in Bengali and other Magadhan speeches, so that its use in the Māgadhī Apabhraṅśa can reasonably be presumed. The « -l- » affix is absent for the past tense in Eastern Hindī, Western Hindī, Panjābī, Rājasthānī, Gujarātī, Sindhī: in the source Apabhraṅśas of these, therefore, it would be reasonable to think that it was not present there, or in any case it could not have been so prominent. But the « -ll- » form did not entirely supplant the simple passive participle in « -(i)a » in the East: from Old and Middle Bengali and from Early Oṛiyā and Early Maithilī, we can see that the passive participle in « -ita > -ia » without the strengthening « -illa, -alla » was actually used predicatively for the past base. Examples are given below. The non-l form of the passive participle has given the Bengali passive participle in « -ā »: « calita- > calia- + -ā > cālā ». This non-l form occurs also in Eastern Hindī as well as in Western Hindī: but in NB. it is attributive, and not predicative. All this would show that the « -ll- » and the non-l forms were used side by side in Māgadhī Apabhraṅśa, but the NIA. Magadhan speeches decided for the « -ll- » form for the past base as well as for the

adjectival participle base : in Modern Bengali, in the standard language however, the non-l form is employed as the adjective, and the « -l- » form has been restricted to the predicate.

**686.** The following tables recapitulate the position in the NIA. languages :

[a] Non-l Forms in NIA.

(i) OIA. « calita- » > Second MIA. « calia- ; (nominative) caliō, caliē » > Apabhraṅśa « calia- ; caliu, *calii » ;

(ii) OIA. « calita-ka- » > Second MIA. « caliaa- ; (nominative) caliaō, caliaē » > Apabhraṅśa « caliaa- ; caliaü, * caliaï ».

From MIA. passive participles of the above type are derived :—

Western Hindī (Braj-bhākhā) passive participle adjective and past base « calyau » ;

„ (Kanaujī) „ « calō » ;

„ (Hindōstānī) „ « calā » ;

Eastern Panjābī „ « calliā, caliā » ;

Western Panjābī „ « callēā » (with personal terminations added optionally to form the verb past) ;

Sindhī pass. part. adjective and past base « haliō » (with personal terminations added in the intransitive) ;

Gujarātī pass. part. adjective and past base « cālyō » ;

Rājasthānī „ „ « ca|yō » ;

Pahāṛī (Khaskurā) „ „ « calyō » ;

Eastern Hindī „ „ « calā » (with personal terminations added to form the past tense) ;

Early Maithilī past form « calia, cali, calu » ;

Early Oṛiyā past form « cà|i » ;

Oṛiyā past participle « cà|ā » ;

Old Bengali past participle and past form « calia, calī, caliā, calā (caliō, caliu, calu) » ;

Middle Bengali past form « càli (càlē ?) » ;

New Bengali passive participle « càlā (càliyā ?) » ;

New Bengali and Assamese verbal noun « càlā ».

[b] Forms with adjectival or pleonastic « -l- » in NIA.

OIA. « calita- » > MIA. « calia- » + « -illa-, -ĕlla-, -alla- » > Ap. « * calilla-, * calĕlla-, * calialla- ».

From « -ll- » forms of the above types in Apabhraṅśa are derived :—

| | |
|---|---|
| Sindhī passive past participle | « halyalŭ » ; |
| Gujarātī ,, | « cālēl, cālēlō » ; |
| Marāṭhī ,, | « cālalā » (with personal terminations added to form the past tense), besides a double « -l- » form, « cālalēlā » ; |
| Marāṭhī verbal noun | « cālalē » ; |
| Bihārī past base, passive participle adjective, & verbal noun | « calal- » ; |
| Oṛiyā past base and passive participle adjective | « cāḷilā » ; |
| Bengali past base and passive participle | « cālilā- » ; |
| Assamese past base | « cālil- ». |

**687.** Examples of non -l and « -l- » forms from OB. and MB. are given below.

Old Bengali : non-l forms.

In OB., as in the Caryās, the adjectival nature is still clear in many cases. The form expected in OB. would be « -ia > -ī », or « -ia » + definitive « -ā » = « -iā » ; « -iā » is found, and « -ī » also ; and « -ia », with the final « -a » retained, is also found as an archaic literary survival (cf. Bengali treatment of final MIA. vowels, *supra*, pp. 301 ff.). Besides, forms in « -iō (-ō), -iu, -u » due to Western influence also occur (see *supra*, p. 115). This « -iu, -u, -iō (-ō) » is not found in MB. and NB.

Caryā 1 : « païṭhō » (= paviṭṭhō, paviṭṭhaō = praviṣṭa-, -ṣṭa-ka-) ; « āmhē sāṇē diṭhā » (dṛṣṭa-) ; « baïṭhā » (cf. বৈঠা মানুষ « bâiṭhā mānuṣ » *sitting man* in Chittagong Bengali, and বঠিয়া « bâṭhiyā » *having sat* in 'Māṇik Candra Rājār Gān,' VSP., p. 82—which show that « bâiṭh- » was a good OB. form, though now supplanted by the root « bâis ») ; Caryā 7, « bhinnā » ; 9, « haria » ; 10, « chāḍi » ; 11, « païṭha, kiũ, bhaïa » ; 13, « kia, mārī » ; 16, « païṭha, païṭhā, diṭhā » ; 17, « piciu = ? cāpiu, kia, biāpiu » ; 18, « bāhia, biṭaliu, ṭāliu » ; 19, « uchaliā, caliā, abāriu, kia » ;

20, « saṅghārā »; 26, « ahāriu, caṭāriu »; 27, « bikasaü, unhasiu, cālia, gaü, bujhia »; 28, « khāi?, pōhāi? »; 30, « phariā, uittā, bujhjhia »; 31, « ṇaṭhā, païṭhā, bihariu, niṣāriu »; 34, « bādhā (< baddha-), ladhā = lādhā (< labdha-) »; 36, « pabārī, ahārī »; 44, « miliā, ūiā, païṭhā, biṇaṭhā »; 47, « jalia (< jwalita), paḍā (= patita-) »; 49, « bāhiu, luḍiu, ṇaṭhā, païṭhā, thākiu, laïā ».

Old Bengali : « -l- » forms.

Caryā 2, « cauri nila, cōrē nila, nida gēla »; 3, « āïla, païṭhēla »; 4, « ubhila »; 6, « bēṭila = bēḍhila »; 7, « rundhēlā, bhaïla, āïlā, gēlā, bhaïla = bhaïlā »; 8, « gēlī, mēlili, milila »; 10, « mōē ghalili »; 12, « jitēla »; 13, « calila »; 14, « buḍili, bhaïlā, caḍilā »; 15, « gēlā, bhaïla »; 16, « lāgēlī »; 18, « sutēli »; 28, « maulila, lāgēlī, paḍilā, chāïlī, pōhāïlī »; 30, « ujōli » (= udyōtitam); 31, « chāḍila » (cf. Commentary); 32, « mukala, bhāïlā »; 33, « duhila (adj.), biāēla »; 35, « hāu acchilō (= āchilō? āchila?), maï bujhila, dila, ahārila, laïlā, ahārā-kaēla »; 36, « nida gēlā, sutēlā, maï dēkhila »; 37, « ṭuṭi-gēli, acchilēsa »; 39, « nilēsi, bhāgēla »; 41, « phulilā »; 44, « āïlēsi, biccharila »; 47, « lāgēlī āgi, uṭhi-gēla »; 49, « bhaïlī, lēlī »; 50, « phuṭilā, tāēla = uēlā? bhāēlā?, phiṭēli, phuliā = phulilā, pākēlā, mātēlā, bhēlā, bhāïlā, (gaḍilā), hakaēlā, mārila, bhaïlā, phiṭili ».

In OB. the affix is commonly « -il- », as in Bengali, Assamese and Oṛiyā, and at times it occurs as « -ēl- ». Except in « mukala », « -al- », characterising Central and Western Magadhan, is not found. The affixing of personal terminations has started already in OB. (*e.g.*, acch-il-ēsa, n-il-ēsi); but the old adjectival nature is sufficiently present, making the form take up the « -i (-ī) » affix of the feminine when the subject is feminine for the intransitive verb and when the object is feminine for the transitive.

**688.** Examples of the Middle Bengali verb in « -ī, -i < -ia < -ita », without the « -l- » :

ŚKK. : p. 75. মৌন করিআঁ ছহেঁ থাকি এক পাশে « mâuna kâriā duhē thāki (=thākilā) ēkā pāśē » *keeping silent, the two remained on one side*; p. 217, যেহেন বাহির তেহেন ভিতর সরূপেঁ জাণিলোঁ তোরে। কপট সাগর হৃদয় তোহ্মার

নাহি মোর গোচরে ॥ « jēhēnā bāhirā tēhēnā bhitārā, sārūpē jāṇilō tōrē : kāpāṭā sāgarā hṛdāyā tōmhārā, nāchi (=nā āchilā) mōrā gōcārē » *as on the outside, so within : I have known you in your true form ; your heart is an ocean of deceit, this was not known to me* ; p. 325, সরূপে বুঝিলোঁ মো কাহ্নাঞি তোর বাঁশী আহ্মে নাহিঁ পাই « sārūpē buyilō mō Kānhāñī, tōrā bāśī āmhē nāhī pāī (= pāīlā) » *I have said in sooth, O Kānha, I have not found your flute* (note : past form with নাহি « nāhi » ) ; p. 343, তোকে তত্ত্ব বোলোঁ চন্দ্রাবলী। যোড় হাথ করী বনমালী ॥ তাত বড় পাইল আপমান। তেঁসি তোহ্মা ছাড়ী গেল কাহ্ন ॥ « tōkē tātwā bōlō Cāndrābālī, jōṛā hāthā kārī (=kārilā) bānāmālī : tātā baṛā pāīlā āpāmānā, tēsi tōmhā chāṛī gēlā Kānhā » *I tell you the truth, O Candrāvalī : the one garlanded with wild flowers ( Kṛṣṇa) folded his hands (before you) ; through that he has felt insulted, that is why Kṛṣṇa has left you and gone away* ;

Kṛttivāsa, 'Uttarā Kāṇḍa' (VSPd. ed.) : p. 16, দুই চক্ষু ঢাকিঞা রাণী হেঁট মাথা করি। নারদ মুনি তবে দিল টিটকারী ॥ « dui cākṣu ḍhākiñā rāṇī hēṭṭa māthā kāri ( =kārilā), Nārāda-muni tābē dilā ṭiṭṭakārī » *closing both her eyes, the queen (Mēnakā) hung down her head, and then the sage Nārada said words of scorn* : p. 17, হাথে ধরি কন্যা আনিল দেব শূলপাণি ॥ কন্যা লঞা হর ছায়ামণ্ডপে বসি। চারিদিকে বেঢ়িল সব দেব ঋষি ॥ « hāthē dhāri kānyā ānilā dēbā Śūlāpāṇi ; kānyā lāñā Hārā chāyā-māṇḍāpē bāsi (=bāsilā), cāri dikē bēṛhilā sābā dēbā ṛṣi » *holding her by the hand, the Trident-bearer led the bride (Umā) : Hara (Śiva) then sat in the pavilion with the bride, and all the gods and sages surrounded them on four sides* ; p. 14, পুষ্পকরথ সাজিঞা ব্রহ্মা তাহাকে দিল দান ॥ ব্রহ্মার বরে তুষ্ট হইলা বাপেরে নমস্করি। জত বর পাইল তাহা বাপকে গোচরি ॥ দুর্লভ বর ব্রহ্মা মোকে দিল দান। « puṣpākṣ-rāthā sājiñā Brāhmā tāhākē dilā dāṇā, Brāhmārā bārē tuṣṭā hāīlā, bāpērē nāmāskāri (= -kārilā) ; jātā bārā pāīlā, tāhā bāpākē gōcāri (=gōcārilā) : 'durlābhā bārā Brāhmā mōkē dilā dāṇā' » *Brahmā prepared the (aerial) flower-chariot and gave him as a gift : he was pleased at Brahmā's boon and saluted his father, and told his father about all the boons he received : 'rare boons has Brahmā made a gift of to me'* ; etc., etc ;

Chuṭī Khān's 'Mahābhārata' (VSPd. ed.) : p. 144, এত বুলি অনুশাল করএ বিনয়, প্রীত হই আলিঙ্গি কৃষ্ণ মহাশয় « ētā buli Anuśālā kārāē binaya, prītā hāī

āliṅgi (=āliṅgilā) Kṛṣṇā māhāśāyā » *saying all this Anuśālva does courtesy ; being glad, the great-hearted Kṛṣṇa embraced him ;*

Mālādhara Vasu's 'Bhāgavata' (VSP., p. 771) : তার দন্ত উপাড়িয়া নিল দুই ভাই। সেই দন্তে, মাহুত মারি যমঘরে পাঠাই ॥ « tārā dāntā upāṛiyā nilā dui bhāi, sēi dāntē māhutā māri Jāmā-ghārē pāṭhāï (=pāṭhāïlā) » *the two brothers pulled out his tusks, and with those tusks killing the elephant-driver sent (him) to the abode of Yama ;*

Vijaya-gupta's 'Padmā-purāṇa' (see *supra*, p. 735) : p. 108, গোসাঞি কোন দোষে শাপি « gōsāñi kōṇā dōṣē śāpi » *through what fault did the lord curse ?* p. 109, কলসী ভরিয়া ঘৃত নাগ সবে ঢালি « kalāsī bharīyā ghṛtā nāgā-sābē ḍhāli » *the Nāgas poured ghee in full jars ;* p. 214, পদ্মার বচনে বেহুলা মনে মনে হাসি « Pādmārā bacānē Bēhulā mānē mānē hāsi » *Bēhulā laughed in her heart at Padmā's words ;* etc. ;

'Caitanya-caritāmṛta,' Ādi-līlā, Chap. 13 : শ্রীকৃষ্ণ চৈতন্য নবদ্বীপে অবতরি। অষ্ট চল্লিশ বৎসর প্রকট বিহরি ॥ চৌদ্দশত সাত শকে জন্মের প্রমাণ। চৌদ্দ শত পঞ্চান্নে হৈলা অন্তর্ধান ॥ « Śrī-kṛṣṇa-caitanyā Nābādwīpē abatāri, aṣṭā-cālliśā batsarā prākāṭā bihari ; cāuddā-śātā-sātā śākē jānmērā prāmāṇā, cāuddā-śā'ta-pāñcānnē hailā antārdhānā » *Śrī-Kṛṣṇa-Caitanya came down to Navadvīpa ; he sojourned in manifest form for 48 years ; the date of his birth, Śaka 1407 ; he disappeared in 1455 ;* also cf. VSP., p. 1222, যে পথে যে গ্রাম নদী শৈল যাহাঁ হই গেলা। বলভদ্র-ভট্টাচার্য্য-স্থানে সব লিখি নিলা ॥ « jē pathē jē grāmā nādī śāilā jāhā hāï līlā, Bālabhadrā-bhaṭṭācāryyā-sthānē sābā likhi nilā » *in all the ways, in all villages, rivers and hills, wherever there were any events, he wrote down all from Balabhadra Bhaṭṭācārya ;* etc.

## The Past use of the Present Tense in Bengali.

**689.** The « -i » affix in the past is thus found in MB., although it is not so common ; and this can only be expected, considering that in OB. the non-I form is hardly obsolete, although the « -I- » has well-established itself. But in MB. and NB. we meet with a very common use of what is apparently the present tense in the past, in historical narrative generally : *e.g.*, NB. গেল বছর যখন আমি কাশী যাই (= গিয়াছিলাম) « gēlā bachārā jākhanā āmi Kāśī jāï (=giyāchilāmā) » *when I went to*

*Benares last year ;* ভারতে আর্য্যদের আগমন কখন হয় জানা যায় না « Bhārâtē Āryyâdērạ̄ āgâmânạ̄ kâkhânạ̄ hâyạ̄ jānā-jāyạ̄ nā » *it is not known when the first coming of the Aryans into India happened ;* সম্রাট আকবর প্রায় ৫০ বৎসর রাজত্ব করেন « sâmrāṭ Ākbârạ̄ prāyạ̄ pâñcāśạ̄ bâtsârạ̄ rājâtwâ kârēnạ̄ » *Emperor Akbar reigned for nearly 50 years ;* etc., etc. In MB. (and also in NB.), this 'present' is very frequently used side by side with the ordinary « -ilâ » past, and is not distinguished from the ordinary present in any way as a present used especially for the past. This usage seems however to point to a continuance in MB. and NB. of the OB. passive participle without « -l- », used for the past tense. The regular form would be « -ita > -ia > -ī, -i », which is not uncommon in MB., as in the instances given above ; but it seems that when « -ila » became established as the characteristic past base in OB. and MB., the « -i » form was not properly understood : in the 1st person it could easily be confused with the 1st person present affix, and in connexion with the 3rd person the final vowel could be changed to « -ē » as in the 3rd person present ; and in this way the old passive participle adjective could formally merge into the present tense, retaining its old past sense. This gave rise to what at first sight looks like a past use of the present. Once this construction was accepted, in Early MB., substitution for the « -i » participle by the 2nd personal affix « -â » and by the honorific « -ēntâ, -ēnạ̄ » was a matter of course. The use of the present for the historical past is of course a most natural thing, being found in many languages, Sanskrit and the Prakrits and the NIA. languages included. But the presence of the « -i » past for all persons in MB. points to « -ia < -ita » ; and also the use of « -i » and the « -ēnạ̄, -â, -ē, -i » forms along with « -ilâ » in the same sentence or proposition seems to indicate that the passive participle without « -l- » had something to do with the so-called 'present' tense for the past in MB. and NB.

Examples of this promiscuous employ of « -ilâ » with the non -l forms can be found in the passages quoted in § 688, and further instances are given below :

ŚKK., p. 19, এ বোল সুণিআঁ নাগরী রাধা হাণএ সকল গাএ। যত নানা ফুল পান করপুর সব পেলাইল পাত্র॥ « ē bōlâ suṇiā̃ nāgârī Rādhā hānâē sâkâlâ

gāē, jātā nānā phulā pānā kārapurā sābā pēlāilā pāē » *hearing this talk, winsome Rādhā struck all over her body; all the various flowers, betel leaves and camphor and all she scattered with her feet*; p. 240, হেন বুলী রাধা কলসী লঅঁা জাএ গজগড়ি ছান্দে ..... পাইল রাধা কালীদহ-কূল « hēnā bulī Rādhā kālāsī lāā jāē gājā-gāri chāndē ..... pāilā Rādhā Kālīdāhā-kūlā » *saying this Rādhā took her jar and went with the gait like that of an elephant, and she reached the shore of Kālī lake*; p. 24, সকল গোআল যুবতী রহিলা যেহ্ন কনক পুতলী॥ এথো পাঅ কেহো চলিতে নারে বুলিতে নারে বচনে। « sākalā gōālā jubātī rāhilā jēnhā kānākā-putālī: ēkhō pāā kēhō cālitē nārē, bulitē nārē bācānē » *all the young girls of the cowherds stood still like images of gold, not one of them could walk even one step, nor could utter a word*; etc., etc.;

Kṛttivāsa, 'Ayōdhyā-kāṇḍa,' p. 29, ফলমূল আনি দিল ঠাকুর লক্ষ্মণ॥ পিণ্ডদান করেন রাম রাজীবলোচন। « phālṛ-mūlṛ āni dilā ṭhākurṛ Lākṣmāṇṛ, piṇḍā-dāṇṛ kārēṇṛ Rāmṛ rājībā-lōcāṇṛ » *worshipful L. brought fruits and roots, and lotus-eyed Rāma offered* piṇḍas; p. 17, সীতারে কহিল, ফল করগা ভক্ষণ। ফল হাতে করি কহে, ধরহ লক্ষ্মণ॥ « Sītā-rē kāhilā, 'phālṛ kārāgā bhākṣāṇṛ': phālṛ hātē kāri kāhē, 'dhārāhā Lākṣmāṇṛ » *he said to Sītā, 'eat (these) fruits'; taking the fruits in his hand he said, 'hold, Lakṣmaṇa'*; 'Uttarā-kāṇḍa,' p. 5, মঙ্গল দ্রব্য লঞা আইলা সখীগণ মেলি। কন্যার অধিবাস করে দিয়া হুলাহুলী॥ অধিবাস সঙ্গে হৈল সিদ্ধ সব কাজ। হেমন্তে মেলানি করি চলে মুনিরাজ॥ « māṅgālṛ drābyā lāñā āilā sākhi-gāṇā mēli, kānyārṛ ādhibāsṛ kārē diyyā hulāhulī: ādhibāsṛ sāṅgē hāilā siddhā sābā kājā, Hēmāntē mēlāni kāri cālē muni-rājā » *the girl-friends (of Umā) came in company, bringing auspicious articles, with the* hulu *sound (of joy); the* adhivāsa *with all the ceremony was complete, and the prince of sages (Nārada) left, taking farewell from Himavanta*; etc., etc.;

Chuṭī Khān's 'Mahābhārata,' p. 54, প্রবীর পড়িল হেন ঘোষে সর্ব্বজন। দূরে থাকি নীলধ্বজ শুনে ততক্ষণ॥ হা হা পুত্র করি রাজা হৈল বাহির। « 'Prābīrṛ pāṛilā' hēnā ghōṣē sārbā-jāṇṛ, dūrē thāki Nīlā-dhwājā śunē tātā-kṣāṇṛ: 'hā hā putrā' kāri rājā hāilā bāhirā » *'Pravīra has fallen,' so shouted every one: then from a distance Nīladhwaja heard it; the king came out with 'ah, ah, my son!'*;

Kavikaṅkaṇa Mukunda-rāma (Vaṅgavāsī edition) : p. 14, কোলেতে করিয়া রামা ছেলি করে পার ॥ প্রবেশ করিল ছেলি গহন কানন। • kōlētē kāriyā rāmā chēli kārē pārṣ : prābēśṣ kārilā chēli gāhāṇṣ kānāṇṣ • *the lady took the goats across in her lap : the goats entered the dense forest* ; p. 155, হাস্য পরিহাসে দোঁহে বসিলা দম্পতী। জিজ্ঞাসে ঘরের বার্ত্তা সাধু ধনপতি ॥ লহনা কহিল, প্রভু তুমি ভাগ্যবান্। • hāsyā pārihāsē dōhē bāsilā dāmpātī ; jijñāsē ghārērṣ bārttā sādhu Dhānāpāti : Lāhānā kāhilā, 'prābhu ! tumi bhāgyābān' • *the two, husband and wife, sat, in laughter and in jest ; the merchant Dhanapati asked about the news of home : Lahanā said, 'my Lord ! you are fortunate indeed'* ; p. 175, তাহার পশ্চাতে আইল দাস নীলাম্বর। আদর করিয়া আইসে উজানী নগর ॥ • tāhārṣ pāścātē āīlā Dāsṣ Nīlāmbārṣ, ādārṣ kāriyā āīsē Ujānī-nāgārṣ • *behind him came Nīlāmbara Dāsa, doing (proper) respect he came to the city of Ujānī* ; p. 185, সম্মুখ দুয়ারে অগ্নি দিলেন খুল্লনা ॥ দুয়ারেতে যায় অগ্নি, সাম্ভাইল ঘরে। প্রবল হইল অগ্নি জউয়ের উপরে ॥ জউগৃহে বাঢ়ে অগ্নি ক্রোশ পরিমাণ ॥ • sāmmukhṣ duārē āgni dilēnṣ Khullāṇṣ : duārētē jāy āgni, sāmbhāīlā ghārē ; prābālṣ hāīlā āgni jāü-ērṣ upārē, jāü-gṛhē bāṛhē āgni krōśṣ-pārimāṇṣ • *Khullanā set fire to the front door : the fire came through the door, and entered the house ; upon the lac, the fire became strong, and the fire grew a* krōśa *measure within the house of lac* ; etc., etc. ;

Vaṅśī-dāsa, 'Padmā-purāṇa,' (ed. Rām-nāth and Dwārakā-nāth Chakrabarti) : p. 207, আগুবাড়ি ওঝারে আনিল আনিল চন্দ্র ঘরে ॥ পরম গৌরবেতে করিল সম্ভাষণ। ধন্বন্তরি আগে আনে মড়া ছয়জন ॥ • āgu-bāṛi ōjhā-rē ānilā Cāndrā ghārē, pārāmṣ gāurābētē kārilā sāmbhāṣāṇṣ ; Dhānwāntāri-āgē ānē māṛā chāyṣ-jāṇṣ • *Candra advanced and brought the snake-doctor home, greeted him with great honour and they brought the six corpses before Dhanvantari* ; etc. ;

'Caitanya-caritāmṛta,' Madhya-līlā, Chap. 9 : রাত্রিকালে রায় পুন কৈল আগমন। দুইজনে কৃষ্ণকথায় করে জাগরণ ॥ দুইজনে কৃষ্ণকথা হয় রাত্রিদিনে। পরম আনন্দে গেল পাঁচ সাত দিনে ॥ • rātri-kālē rāyṣ punā kāilā āgāmāṇṣ ; dui jānē Kṛṣṇā-kāthāyṣ kārē jāgārāṇṣ : dui jānē Kṛṣṇā-kāthā hāyṣ rātri-dinē, pārāmṣ ānāndē gēlā pāchṣ sātṣ dinē • *the king came again at night time ; both of them kept awake discoursing about Kṛṣṇa ; there was*

*discourse about Kṛṣṇa between them, night and day; some 5 or 7 days were thus passed in great bliss*; Antya-līlā, Chap. 9: এত বলি ঘোড়া আনি রাজদ্বারে ধরি ..... এক রাজপুত্র ঘোড়ার মূল্য ভাল জানে। তারে পাঠাইল রাজা পাত্র-মিত্র সনে॥ সেই রাজপুত্র মূল্য করে ঘাটাইয়া। গোপীনাথের ক্রোধ হৈল মূল্য শুনিয়া॥ « ēta bāli ghōṛā āni rāja-dwārē dhāri ..... ēka rāja-putra ghōṛāra mūlya bhāla jānē; tārē pāṭhāila rājā pātra-mitra sānē; sēi rāja-putra mūlya kārē ghāṭāiyā, Gōpīnāthēra krōdha hāila mūlya śuniyā » *saying this and bringing the horse, they kept before the king's palace-gate: a prince knew well the price of horses; the king sent to him with his courtiers and friends; that prince fixed the prices very low, and hearing that (low) price, Gōpīnātha's anger rose*; etc., etc.

Such cases of indiscriminate use of the « -ila » and the present forms are exceedingly common in MB. Where continuous action is meant, it may be admitted that the form in use can very well be that of the present, since in the syntax of Bengali, action is viewed as happening before our eyes as much as possible. But we have also cases of finite or transitory action, and there the use of a present form would be difficult to justify even from the point of view of Bengali syntax. It is to be noted that with this so-called present past, the negative form which is employed is নাই « nāï », which seems to be itself a past form (see *supra*, p. 555).

In the 'Prākṛta-Pāiṅgala' we have a few instances of a form in « -ē » (for the third person), analogous to the Bengali 'present' past: *e.g.*, p. 334 (Bib. Ind. ed.) « jiṇi Kaṁsa viṇāsia kitti paāsia Muṭṭhi Ariṭṭhi vināsa karē; Jamalajjuṇa bhañjia paa-bhara ganjia Kālia-kula-saṁhāra karē, jasa bhuaṇa bharē..... »; p. 576, « bappaa ukki sirē jiṇi lijjia, tējjia rajja vaṇanta calē.... ». In the above cases, all the commentators are agreed (except in one or two instances) in regarding « viṇāsia, paāsia, bhañjia » etc. as well as the « -ē » forms—« karē, dharē, bharē, calē » as being passive participles in « -ia < -ita », with the instrumental form « jiṇi = yēna » as the subject (cf. *supra*, p. 124). The final « -ē » (instead of « -I ») is due in the 'Prākṛta-Pāiṅgala' to reasons of rime or rhythm in some cases, but as the work was finally redacted in the second half of the 14th century, the influence of the present tense third person in altering

the final vowel as in Bengali is also quite conceivable here. With the forms in « -ē » as above, one can compare certain other forms in « -u », genuine Western Apabhraṅśa inheritances, in the 'Prākṛta-Pāiṅgala': *e.g.*, p. 570, « jiṇa vēa dharijjē...dantahi ṭhāu (= sthāpitā) dharā...daha-muha kappē (= kartitaḥ) ».

**690.** The non-l past form is found occasionally in Early Oṛiyā also, where it ends in « -i ». Thus Jagannātha-dāsa, 'Ūṣā-haraṇa' (Contai ed.): p. 6, « pārighā-prāhārē bināsi, simhā yēsāṇē pāśu grāsi: pārighā-ghātā bājrā-prāyē, jībānā nāśilā thōkāē: kāhārā bhujā-dāṇḍā chiṇḍi, pālāi gālē bāḷā chāḍi: dēkhiṇā Aniruddhā-gāti, nāgā-bāndhānē māhārāthī Aniruddhā-ku bēgē bāndhi: tā dēkhi Ūṣā kāndi » *he slew with a blow of his mace, as if a lion devoured a beast: the blow from the mace was as a thunderbolt, it destroyed the lives of some; the hands and arms of some were torn away, they ran away leaving the forces: seeing Aniruddha's devoir, the great warrior quickly bound Aniruddha with snake-bonds: seeing that, Ūṣā wept;* p. 9, « Kṛṣṇā upārē bāṇā bindhi » *the arrow pierced Kṛṣṇa;* p. 10, « sābhāyē dāśā digā cāhi » *looked at the ten quarters in fright;* p. 11, « jñānā pāsilā nijā dēhē: uṭhi sāmbhāḷi kāḷēbārā » *senses came back into his body: getting up, he took care of his person;* ibid, 'Kaṅsa-janma': p. 2, « Kṛṣṇa-bāiri-bhābā icchi » *desired the inimical attitude of Kṛṣṇa*; p. 16, « dēbē pālāī swārgā chāṛi » *the gods fled, leaving heaven;* 'Rukmiṇī-haraṇa,' p. 15, « jētē āyudhā hāstē dhāri, sābu chēdilē Nārāhāri » *Narahari (Kṛṣṇa) cut to pieces all the weapons that he took in hand;* ibid., « Kṛṣṇā dhāīlē Rukmā-śirā: tāt-kṣāṇē tāḷē tāku pāṛi, pāñcā prākārē kāṭi dāṛhi: tā dēkhi Rukmiṇī sundārī, Kṛṣṇārā hāstā bēgē dhāri » *K. seized Rukma by the head; at once flinging him down on the ground, cut his beard in five places: seeing that, fair Rukmiṇī quickly took K.'s hand;* etc., etc. Examples are fairly common in Early Oṛiyā.

In Early Maithilī also, we have equally the non-l form: but it seems owing to the strong influence exerted by the Western Apabhraṅśa, the remains of Early Maithilī literature that we have show the non-l form with the characteristic Western « -u » (as much as in OB.). This « -u » form so far as Maithilī is concerned was purely literary, and has no

place in Modern Maithilī. Examples: Vidyāpati (VSPd. ed.), Pada 32, « sasana parasa khasu ambara rē, dēkhala dhani-dēha » *with the touch of wind the garment fell off, ho, the damsel's frame was seen*; Pada 40, « saba-jana ēka ēka cuni sañcaru, Śāma-daraśa dhani lēla » *all (her friends) moved about picking (pearls dropped from her necklace) one by one, and the damsel had her view of Śyāma (Kṛṣṇa)*; Pada 50, « ambara bighaṭu akāmika, kāmini karē kuca jhāpu suchandā » *of a sudden the garment slipped, and the lady with her hands covered her breasts with great grace;* ibid, « sundari rahu sira lāi » *the fair one remained hanging her head*; Pada 52, « candanē caracu payōdhara » *the breasts smeared with sandal-paste*; Pada 60, « takhanē upaju rasa, bhēlihu mōñē parabasa » *sentiment (of love) was born even then, (and) I became another's thrall*; Pada 75, « jakhanē duhu-ka dīṭhi bichūrali, duhu manē dukha lāgu : duhu-ka āsā-dīpa mijhāela, madana-ākura bhāgu.....bāma nayanā jaño bhēla dūtē, ō dāhina rahu lajāī » *when the two were out of (each other's) sight, sorrow afflicted the hearts of both; the lamp of hope of both went out, and the sprout of love was broken; .....the left eye was a messenger, but the right one remained in bashfulness*; Hara-gaurī Pada 9, « pāhuna āela, Bhabānī bhāga-chāla basaïē dia ānī » *the guest came and Bhavānī (Umā) brought the tiger-skin to sit upon*; etc., etc.

The non-l adjectival forms in Middle Bengali and New Bengali.

**691**. The non-l form gave OB. « -ī », *e.g.*, « calī » : with the definitive « -ā », Māgadhī Ap. « calia » became « caliā », and then by loss of the « -i- », it became « calā » by Early MB. times. A similar loss of the « -i- » occurs in the Western Hindī : cf. Hindōstānī— « calā », Kanaujī « calō », beside Braj-bhākhā « calyau (= caliaü) », ' Vernacular Hindōstānī ' of Ambala « caliā » (cf. also Bāṇgarū of Karnal « kahyā » = Hindōstānī « kahā »). The « -i- » seems to be preserved in the perfect tense in Standard Bengali « cāliyā-chē » and dialectal « cāĭl-chē [tsoĭlse] < cāli-chē », where « cāliyā (cāli) » is in all likelihood the passive participle (see *infra*, under ' Compound or Periphrastic Tenses ').

In the ŚKK., the non-l form is rather rare, *ts.* forms in « -ita » and the « -l- » participle adjective being more common; but instances

do occur: *e.g.*, p. 259, চলী চৈলী চন্দ্রাবলী « câlī (= calitā) bhâilī Cândrābâlī » *C. was gone*; p. 381, বাহুতে কনক চুড়ী, মুকুতা রতনে জড়ী « bāhutē kânākâ cuṛī, mukutā rātânē jâṛī » *on her arms gold bracelets, encrusted with pearls and gems*; etc. (these two examples « cali, jaṛī » are feminine). Examples of the « -ā » form are plentiful in other MB. literature: to quote a few random instances, Kṛttivāsa, 'Uttarā-kaṇḍa,' p. 177, পথে শুআ কুকুর « pâthē suā kukuṛ » *a dog lying on the way*; Vijaya-gupta, 'Padmā-purāṇa,' p. 12 তিতা বস্ত্র « titā bâstrâ » *wet cloth*, p. 38 টুটা « ṭuṭā » *broken*, p. 55 ভাঙ্গা « bhāṅgā » *broken*, এড়া রুটী « ēṛā ruṭī » *cast-away bread* (= *leavings of a meal*), p. 58 তোলা জল « tōlā jâl » *water drawn* (*from well or tank*), p. 107 পোড়া কপাল « pōṛā kâpāl » *burnt forehead* = *bad luck*, p. 69 মরা মানুষ « mârā mānuṣ » *dead man*, p. 132 পাকা মূলা « pākā mūlā » *ripe radish*, p. 158 দন্তগুলি ছোলা « dântâ-guli chōlā » *the teeth were well-scraped*, etc.; VSP., p. 386 লেখা « lēkhā » *written*, p. 989 আবোলা « ābōlā » *not uttered*, p. 1057 হারা « hārā » *lost*, etc.; Chuṭī Khān's 'Mahābhārata,' p. 55 বাণ কাটা গেল « bāṇ kāṭā gēlâ » *the arrow was cut into pieces*; etc., etc.

The « -l- » form in Middle Bengali.

**692.** Examples need not be adduced for the verb past tense, as « -il- » is *the* past base of Bengali. Passive participial adjectives in « -il- » were very much in evidence in MB. In the NB. the non-l adjective in « -ā » has practically superseded the earlier, more common « -il- » adjective (except in one or two phrases like গেল বছর « gēlâ bâchâr » *last year* in the Standard Colloquial: in the dialects it is still living, in forms like জুড়াইল দুধ « juṛāil dudh » *cooled milk*, সুতিল মানুষ « sutil mānuṣ » *sleeping man*, করাইল কাম « kârāil kām » *done work*, ভুখিল ছাইল্যা « bhukhil chāilyā » *hungry child*, etc.). The « -l- » form continues in full vigour in Oṛiyā and in the Bihārī dialects as an attributive adjective.

Examples from OB.: Caryā 6, « bēḍhila hāka » *a tumult that has been surrounded*; 8, « gēlī (=gēlā?) jāma bahuḍaï kaisē » (printed text = বহু উই « bahu uï », but cf. Commentary translation = « vyāghuṭati ») *how can a birth that is past* (gēlī = gata-) *come back?* 14, « rathē-caḍilā bāha-bāṇa »

? *carriage-riding scholars*; 33, « duhila dudhu ki bēṇṭē ṣāmāya », see *supra*, p. 263.

From MB.: ŚKK., p. 26, ভাঁগিল নেহা « bhâgilâ nēhā » *shattered love* (NB. ভাঙ্গা « bhāṅgā »); p. 45, আরতিল কাক « ārâtilâ kākâ » *greedy crow* (from *ts.* noun « ârati », or < « âratta = ârakta »); পাকিল বেল « pākilâ bēlâ » *ripened* (*ripe*) *bael-fruit* (= NB. পাকা « pākā »); p. 54, পাইল নিধি « pāïlâ nidhi » *received wealth* (= NB. পাওয়া « pāwā »); p. 99, ভুখিল বাঘ « bhukhilâ bāghâ » *hungry tiger* (< *tbh.* noun « bhukha »); p. 163, আউলাইল চিকুর « âülāïlâ cikurâ » *dishevelled hair*; p. 171, ভরিল যমুনা « bhârilâ Jâmunâ » *full Yamunā*; p. 195, ফুটিল বান্ধলী ফুল « phuṭilâ bāndhâlī-phulâ » *blooming* bāndhulī *flower* (cf. ফুটিত পদ্ম « phuṭitâ pâdmâ » *blooming lotus*, with *ts.* « -ita », in the same page); p. 216, রোষিলি রাধা দিল খর বচন « rōṣili Rādhā dilâ kharâ bâcânâ » *angry Rādhā gave* (*spoke*) *sharp words*; p. 207, পাকিল দ্রাক্ষা « pākilâ drākṣā » *ripe grapes*; p. 246, আসুখিল হইল « âsukhilâ hâïlâ » *became unwell* (from *ts.* noun « asukha »); p. 304, মজিল চিত না জাএ ধরণ « mâjilâ citâ nā jāē dhârâṇâ » *heart lost* (*in love*) *cannot be retained*; p. 370, দগধিলী রাধা জীএ তোর দরশনে « dâgâdhilī Rādhā jīē tōrâ dârâśânē » *Rādhā burnt* (*with love*) *as it were, will live* (*only*) *at thy sight* (*sts.* dagadha < dagdha); p. 392, বিষাইল কাণ্ড « biṣāïlâ kāṇḍâ » *poisoned arrow* (from noun « viṣa »); ibid., বজরে গড়িল বুক না জাএ ফুটিআঁ « bâjârē gâṛhilâ bukâ nā jāē phuṭiâ » *heart built of thunder-bolt does not burst* (NB. =গড়া গাঁড়া); p. 398, কাটিল ঘাঅত লেম্বু রস « kāṭilâ ghāâtâ lēmbū-râsâ » *lemon-juice in an incised wound*, etc.; from Kṛttivāsa, 'Uttara Kāṇḍa; p. 272, ভরিল সমাজে « bhârilâ sâmājē » *in full assembly*; ibid, 'Ayōdhyā Kāṇḍa'; p. 21, কাটিল কদলী যেন পড়ে ডালে মূলে « kāṭilâ kâdâli jēnâ pâṛē ḍâlē mūlē » *like a plantain tree that has been cut down, which falls with its branches and its roots*; Kavi-kaṅkaṇa, p. 118, ভুখিল বাঘিনী « bhukhilâ bāghinī » *hungry tigress*; p. 160, রাহুর ভুখিল বেলা « Râhurâ bhukhilâ bēlâ » *at Rāhu's hungry time*; Vaṅśī-dāsa, 'Padmā-purāṇa,' p. 48, কুপিল নন্দী « kupilâ Nândī » *angry N.*; p. 644, হারাইল ধন « hārāïlâ dhânâ » *lost wealth*; etc., etc.

The adjectival use of the « -l- » forms in OB. and MB., as well as in Early Maithilī (see below) establishes the passive construction as having originally obtained in place of the active one in the eastern languages.

When these « -l- » participles qualify feminine nouns (either subjects, as in the case of intransitive verbs, or objects, as in the case of transitive ones), in OB., in eMB., and in Early Maithilī, they take the feminine affix « -ī, -i » (see before, pp. 672 ff.): thus, in OB., « mēlili kāchi » (Caryā 8); « ghalili māli » (10); « buḍilī Mātaṇgī » (14); « lāgēli tāntī » (17); « lāgēlī ḍālī, sēji chāïlī, rāti pōhāïlī » (28); « ṭuṭi gēli kaṅkhā » (37); « lāgēlī āgi » (47); « ghariṇī caṇḍālī lēlī » (49); « phiṭilī ṣabarālī » (50): eMB. ŚKK., p. 72, কোণ পুরাণে কাহ্ন হেন শুণিলী কাহিনী « kōṇa purāṇē Kānha hēnā śuṇilī kāhiṇī » *in what Purāṇa, O Kānha, has such a tale been heard* (passive construction lingering in MB., with transitive verb); p. 9, বড়ায়ি চলিলী আন পথে « bāṛāyi cālilī āṇā pāthē » *the old dame went by another way*; p. 14, সে কি রাধিকা ভৈলি সীতা সতী নারী « sē ki Rādhikā bhailī Sītā sātī nārī » *is it that R. has become a chaste wife (like) Sītā*; p. 22, রাধা সিআঁ বসিলি শয়নে « Rādhā siā̃ basilī śayānē » *R. having come sat down on the bed*; p. 144, মথুরা লড়িলী বড়ায়ি হআঁ আগুআনী « Māthurā laṛilī bāṛāyi hā̃ā āguānī » *the old dame moved (towards) Mathurā, being the leader*; p. 145, বুলিতেঁ লাগিলী বড়ায়ি « bulitē̃ lāgilī bāṛāyi » *the old dame began to say*; ibid., গেলী রাহী « gēlī Rāhī » *Rādhikā went*; p. 156, হেন গুণী মনত চড়িলী রাধা নাএ « hēnā guṇī manā-tā caṛhilī Rādhā nāē » *thus pondering in mind, R. got into the boat*; p. 266, জিলী পদুমার ঝী « jilī Pādumārā jhī » *Padmā's daughter lived (again)*; etc., etc. In Late MB., and in NB., as the « -l- » form lost its original adjective nature, and became more and more a verb, this affixation of the feminine « -ī, -i » went out of use. The same thing has happened in Maithilī, though to a lesser extent.

Instances of the « -l- » adjective from Early Oṛiyā: 'Dhruba-carita,' p. 11, « āpaṇā ārjilā kārmā āpaṇē bhuñjaï » *one tastes (the results of) one's deeds done by oneself*; p. 73, « Dhrubārā arjilā bibhūti » *merits earned by Dhruva*; 'Rukmiṇī-haraṇa,' p. 11, « ōṣṭhā pācilā phāḷā bimbā » *lips (like) ripe* (i.e. *red*) bimba *fruit*; etc., etc. It is common also in Modern Oṛiyā.

Instances from Early Maithilī: Vidyāpati, (VSPd. ed.) Pada 37, « titala basana » *wet clothes*; 9, « nahāïli gōrī » *bathing fair woman*;

62, « mūruchali abhañō » *am one that has fainted*; 41, « nagara bharalā » *a well-filled city*; 21, « kāmini kōnē gaṛhalī » *by whom (this) woman was created?* (fem. affix « -i »); Hara-gauri Pada 17, « Śaṇkarē Gōrī karē dhari ānalī maṇḍapa-māṁjhē » *Gaurī was brought to the middle of the pavilion by Śankara holding her hand*; etc., etc.

Western Hindī shows adjectives in « -l- » which are extended forms from nouns: *e.g.*, « lajīlī (lajjā), sawādila (svāda), adōkhila (dōṣa), haṭhīlī (haṭha), raṇgīlā (raṇga), caṭakīlā (caṭak *splendour*), chaïla (chavi) » etc. occur in Bihārī's 'Sata-sai'; and similar forms like « lāḍilī » *petted* (√laḍ: > Bengali লাড়লী « lāḍ়lī »), « bhīgīlā » *wet*, « kaṭīlī » *cut*, « rasīlā (rasa) », « ghāyala (ghāta) », « gaila » *lane* (gata) etc. are fairly common in Braj-bhākhā and other Early Western Hindī literature. The extension of the passive participle form occurs, but that is rare.

### (2) The Past Conditional or Habitual.

**693.** The Past Habitual or Conditional occurs in most NIA. speeches. Of the Eastern languages, Assamese, however, does not show it. This past base is simply the old Present Participle, the Oṛiyā forms (retaining as they do the full « -nt- »: see next section) are clear on this point: OIA. « -ant-, -ayant- » > MIA. « -anta-, -enta- » > OB. « -anta-, -enta- » > MB. इत « -it- » (cf. Hoernle, Gaudian Grammar, §§ 298-300, §§ 506 ff.). To denote the conditional or habitual, « -it- » is inflected with the personal endings as an ordinary past form. The conditional or finite use of the present participle occurred in Second MIA. (cf. Tessitori, 'Grammar of OWR.,' § 123). Both the conditional and habitual uses of the present participle seem to be connected with the sense of *when, while, whilst, when that* etc., which is inseparable from this form when it is not frankly attributive: and this sense of duration implying almost a condition is emphasised in the locative absolute with the present participle, a construction which is found in the language of the Rig-Veda. The conditional and independent use of the present participle could thus normally evolve out of it. Cf. *e.g.*, the Pāli Jātaka formula, « atītē Bārāṇasiyaṁ Brahmadattē rajjaṁ kārentē », followed invariably by a past verb.

OB. as in the Caryās has the locative absolute with the present participle: *e.g.*, Caryā 42, « muḍhā acchantē lōa na pēkhaï » *people do not see while they are ignorant*; quotation in Commentary to Caryā 48, « ghara acchantē mā jāṅga (= jāha? jāwa?) baṇē » *when there is a home, go not (let us not go?) to the forest*; etc. But an example of the past conditional or habitual tense does not occur in the Caryās. In Early MB., this habitual or conditional past is fully established as a tense; and judging from its occurrence also in Early Oṛiyā and in Bihārī, it may be inferred that this temporal employment goes back to Māgadhī Apabhraṅśa.

Examples from MB.: ŚKK., p. 164, ডুবিআঁ মরিতোঁ যবে না থাকিত কাহ্নে « ḍubiā̃ mārităṁ jābē nā thākitā Kānhē » *I would have died by drowning if Kṛṣṇa were not (there)*; p. 256, জীয়ন্ত থাকিত যবে নান্দের নন্দনে। এত খনে আবসই হৈত দরসনে « jīyantā thākitā jābē Nāndērā nāndānē, ētā khānē ābāsāï hăitā dārāsānē » *if the son of Nanda were living, by this time certainly we would have seen him* (lit. *his viewing would have taken place*); p. 223, জানিতোঁ নাসিতোঁ, যাইতোঁ, « jānităṁ, nāsităṁ, jāïtẵ » *I would know (if I had known), I would not come, I would go*; p. 284, দিতোঁ « ditẵ » *I would give*; p. 307, চাহিত « cāhitā » *I would ask*; etc., etc.; Kṛttivāsa, 'Uttarā-kāṇḍa,' p. 103, আমি যদি থাকিতাঙ « āmi jādi thākitāṅ (= thākitām) » *if I had remained*; Kavi-kaṅkaṇa, p. 128, প্রতিদিন ক্ষিতিনাথ অঙ্গে বুলাইত হাত, চন্দনে করিয়া বিভূষিত। সুবর্ণ পিঞ্জর পর পুষিতেন নৃপবর « prāti-diṅ kṣiti-nāthṅ aṅgē bulāïtā hāṭṭ, cāndānē kāriyā bibhūṣitā: subārṇā-piñjārā-pārṅ puṣitēṅ nṛpā-bārṅ » *everyday the lord of earth would rub with his hand on its body, adorning with sandal (paste); the good king would tend it in a cage of gold*; etc., etc. Examples are copious in MB.

**694.** Forms in the other Magadhan speeches:

| Oṛiyā | Maithilī |
|---|---|
| 1. cālānt-i—cālānt-u; | 1. dēkhit-ī; |
| 2. cālānt-u—cālānt-ā; | 2. dēkhit-ah, dēkhit-ē̃; |
| 3. cālānt-ā—cālānt-ō. | 3. dēkhaït, dēkhit-athi. |
| (The affixes are those of the verb simple past.) | (Besides a number of forms with pronominal affixes.) |

| Magahī | Bhōjpuriyā |
|---|---|
| 1. dēkhat-ī, dēkhait-ī, -ū̃ ; | 1. dēkhat-ī, (fem.) dēkhat-yū̃ ; |
| 2. dēkhait-ȧ, dēkhait-aĩ ; | 2. dēkhat-ē, -as, -is ; *pl.* -ah ; |
| 3. dēkhaĭt, dēkhait-athi-n. | 3. dēkhit, dēkhat—dēkha(i)t-an. |
| (Besides forms with affixed pronouns.) | (Besides a few other forms for the third person.) |

Assamese expresses the past conditional by affixing the word « -hē̃tēn » to the inflected « -il- » past form : « kȧrilō̃-hē̃tēn, kȧrilō̃-hāk-hē̃tēn » etc. This « hē̃tēn » occurs in Early Assamese as « hēntē » (as in « pāïlō-hēntē » *I would receive* in 'Ādi-caritra,' p. 67), and it is undoubtedly the present participle of « √ah, ha » *to be*, in the locative absolute, « *ahantahi > *ahēntahi > hēntē », a variant of the other form « hȧntȧ, hātȧ » (see above, p. 739).

The « -it-, -at- » Future in the Modern Magadhan Speeches.

**695.** In Maithilī and Magahī, there is the use of the present participle form in « -t- » for the Future. In both these forms of Central Magadhan, the « -t- » future has ousted « -b- » future (for which see *infra*) in the 3rd person : in Maithilī there are also alternative « -t- » forms for the 1st and 2nd persons. Thus—

Maithili, 1st person : « dēkhat-iai, dēkhit-ȧhŭ (dēkhat-iai-nhĭ) » ;
2nd person : « dēkhat-iaĭ (dēkhat-iai-nhĭ) » ;
3rd person : « dēkhat (dēkhȧt-ai) », fem. « dēkhati », besides forms with the pronouns affixed — « dekhȧt-ai-nhi, dēkhȧtah, dēkhathu, dēkhathūnhi, dēkhathīnhi », fem. « dēkhatīhi ».

Magahī, 3rd person, only : « dēkhat (dēkhȧt-ai) », besides « dēkhatȧhin, dēkhȧtan, dēkhȧtathī, dēkhȧtin, dēkhȧtathin, dēkhȧtathīn(i) ».

Leaving apart the extended forms, with the pronominal affixes, the simplest form for the 3 person future in both Maithilī and Magahī is « dēkhat » : thus, « sē dēkhat » *he will see*. Here we have the simple participial base apparently : < « sē *dĕkkhanta » = *he seeing*. But in the

past conditional it is « sē dēkhait », which seems to represent an old oblique form, a locative absolute apparently : « tasmin *dṛkṣati (base *dṛkṣant-) > *tahī dĕkkhantē, dĕkkhanti > sē dēkhati, dēkhait (by epenthesis) ».

In dialectal Bengali, of Eastern Bengal (specially in the East Vaṅga area), there is also a future use of the « -t- » forms : thus, in East Sylhet Bengali, we have 1 pers. দেখ্‌তাম « dēkhtām » *I shall see*, also *I would see, if I saw*; 2 pers. দেখতায় « dēkhtāy », দেখতে « dēkhtē » ; 3 pers. দেখ্‌তো « dēkhtō », দেখ্‌তা « dēkhtā » (LSI., V, I, p. 226). From the future, an imperative use also seems to be found occasionally in East Sylhet : *e.g.*, আপত্তি করলাম, তিল কাটত না « āpātti kă'rlām, tilṛ kāṭṛtă nā » *I objected, 'don't cut the sesamum'* (LSI., V, I, p. 232). Similar use is found in Tippera, in Noakhali, and in Chittagong : *e.g.*, দিত না « ditā nā » *he will not give*, ক'রতাম ন « kă'rtām nă » *I shall not do*. The following peculiar construction is also noticeable, with the « -t- » conditional or future, to denote purpose or desire : আমি যাইতাম চাই « āmi jāïtāmṛ cāï » *I want to go* (besides যাইতে, যাইবার « jāïtē, jāïbārṛ » as in Standard Bengali), তুমি যাইতায় চাও « tumi jāïtāy cāo » *you want to go*, হে যাইত চায় « hē jāïtă cāy » *he wants to go*, honorific তাইন যাইতা চাইন « tāin jāïtā cāin » (as in Eastern Sylhet : LSI., V, I, p. 227). Cf. also দিতাম পাইরতাম না « ditām pāïrtām nā » *shall not be able to give*, কইর্‌তাম দিতাম ন « kăïrtām ditām nă » *shall not allow (them) to do* (as in Noakhali), আই যাইতাম্ লাগ্‌গিলাম « āmi jāïtām lāggilām » *I began to go*, তুই যাইতা লাগ্‌গিলা « tūi jāïtā lāggilā » *you began to go*, হিতে যাইতে লাগ্‌গিল্ « hitē jāïtē lāggil » *he began to go* (as in Chittagong : cf. Basanta Kumar Chatterji in VSPdP., 1326, p. 114, = Standard Bengali « jāïtē lāgil- » for all persons). Here we have simply the present participle adjective inflected as a tense even when it is not a finite verb. Such use is found in South-East Bengali of several centuries ago : thus in the Chittagong poet Ālāol of the 17th century, we have a line like কুবোল সহিতাম নারি « kubōlṛ sāhitāmṛ nāri (= nā pāri) » *I shall not be able to endure bad words* (VSP., p. 1142). The « -t- » future is also found in Mayang or Bishnupuriyā (LSI., V, I, p. 424), which seems to be an old extension of Sylhet Bengali in the Tibeto-Burman tracts of the east. With the « -r- » affix (see *infra*, 'Pleonastic Affixes'), Sylhet Bengali and

Mayang, again, have some forms with the « -t- » conditional or future to indicate the present or future (LSI., V, I, pp. 226, 423, 424).

This future use of the present participle in the Bengali dialects of the extreme east is not shared by the other forms of the language, and seems only to be a local development. But the point is not clear. It is plain that in Central Magadhan, the future use of the present participle made a start with the third person, and Magahī did not go beyond it. The future use of the third person is found in the 14th century Maithilī of Vidyāpati quite plentifully, but mainly in the third person. It cannot be surmised definitely whether this idiom originated in the Māgadhī Apabhraṅśa period as a form inherited equally by Central and Eastern Magadhan.

Mārkaṇḍēya in his 'Prākṛta-sarvasva,' notes that in Nāgara (i.e., Western) Apabhraṅśa, the present participle is used for all the tenses: thus, « sarvadā śatṛ: 'hontō' = bhavan, babhūva, bhaviṣyati vā » (XVII, 62, Vizagapatam ed., p. 119). This note is interesting: « hontō » is actually the source of the Gujaratī « hatō », Rājasthānī « thō » and Western Hindī « hatau, hutau, hatō, thō, thā » *was* (Tessitori, 'Grammar of OWR.,' §§ 113, 123), and of the Gujarātī and Western Hindī (Hindōstānī) present participle « hōtō » and « hōtā » besides; and further, the present participle affix « -ant- » has given the Western Panjābī, and Sindhī affix « -nd- » for the future base. These are all Western languages. But how far the future use of the « śatṛ » of Sanskrit characterised Māgadhī Apabhraṅśa cannot be known.

### (3) The Future Tense.

#### The OIA. Sigmatic or Inflected Future in NIA.

**696.** The future was formed by adding « -sya- » (with or without the additional vowel « -i- ») to the root in OIA. This inflexional or sigmatic future is preserved in many forms of NIA. as « -s-, -ś-, -h- », in W. Panjābī, Rājasthānī (Jaipurī and Mārwāṛī), Gujarātī and W. Hindī (Braj-bhākhā, Kanaujī, Bundēlī), and partially in E. Hindī (in the 3rd person only in Awadhī and Baghēlī, and in all the persons in Chattisgaṛhī;

the « -b- » future also occurs in the E. Hindī dialects, but never in the 3rd person). Of the Magadhan languages, Bhōjpuriyā preserves it in the 3rd person only, and in 2nd person as future precative; Magahī, 3rd person (beside the « -t- » future), and in the 2nd person as future precative; in Maithilī and in NB., it is found in the 2nd person as a future imperative (see *supra*, p. 908); and in Assamese and Oṛiyā, it seems to have been entirely lost.

The sigmatic future at one time was present in the East, and traces of it continued down to eMB. The OIA. sibilant has survived as a sibilant in Gujarātī, in some of the Rājasthānī dialects, in Western Panjābī (the MIA. « -ss- » < OIA. « -sy- » doubtless being retained as a single « -s- » in the latter: cf. *supra*, pp. 549-550, p. 79⁵). Thus: Gujarātī 1. « mārīś (māras)—mārīśū (mārsu) », 2. « māraśē (mārse)—mārasō (mārsō) », 3. « mārasē (mārsē) » = OIA. « mārayiṣyāmi », etc.; Jaipurī 1. « mārasyū — mārasyā » ; 2. « mārasī — mārasyō » ; 3. « mārasī — mārasī » ; Lahndā 1. « mārēsā — mārsāhā, mārsāh », 2. « mārēsē — mārēsō », 3. « mārēsī — mārēsin ». In the rest, where the « -sy- » form is preserved, it occurs as « -h- » ; and this change of « -s- » to « -h- » is an unexplained problem in MIA. and NIA. phonology (see *supra*, pp. 549-550, p. 783). Thus, Mārwāṛī 1. « mārahū — mārahā », 2. « mārahī — mārahō », 3. « mārāhī—mārahī » ; Braj-bhākhā 1. mārihaũ—mārihaĩ », 2. « mārihai—mārihau », 3. « mārihai—mārihaĩ » ; Awadhī 3. « mārihai (> mārē) — mārihaĩ », Bhōjpuriyā 3. « mārī — mārihē, mārihen », etc. The « -h- » is thus further lost intervocally in the Eastern languages: thus, « mārisyati » > MIA. « mārihaï, mārihiï » > NIA. « mārihi, mārī » (as in Bhōjpuriyā).

In Early MB. we have cases of the sigmatic future for the third person also. A number of instances occur in the ŚKK., and a few could be culled from 15th century Bengali: after which period it died out evidently when the intervocal « -h- » was slurred, and the form became confused with the present indicative (or the passive present, which itself was merging into the present active). No instance of the sigmatic future in the first person has been found, either in OB. or in MB.; and no

case of third person occurs in the Caryās ; only of the second person (see *supra*, p. 908).

ŚKK., p. 65, যবৈ তোরে মারিহে পরাণে। তবৈ তোক রাখিব কোণ জনে॥ « jabē tōrē mārihē pārāṇē, tabē tōkā rākhibā kōṇā jānē » *when he will strike you in life, then who will protect you?* ; p. 100, কাঁদিআঁ জাণায়িবোঁ কাঁশে। পাছে কাহ্নাঞি মোকে না দিহে দোষে॥ « kādiā jāṇāyibō Kāśē, pāchē Kānhāñī mōkē nā dihē dōsē » *I shall lament and inform Kaṁśa, and Kṛṣṇa will not (= should not) blame one after that* ; p. 180, হাথ দিতেঁ লিহে কলিআঁ « hāthā ditē lihē kaliā » *the black (stain) will smear (itself) on placing the hand* ; p. 251, কেহো যবে বেকত করিহে এহা কাজ। আহ্মার খাঁথার তবৈ তোহ্মে পাইবে লাজ॥ « kēhō jabē bēkātā karihē ēhā kājā, āmhārā khākhārā tabē tōmhē pāïbē lājā » *when someone will make this affair known, then (there will be) blame for me, and you will have shame* ; p. 26[1], নিষধ রাধাক যতনে॥ আর বার হেন না করিহে। পুরুষের আখি নিবারিহে॥ « niṣādhā Rādhākā jatānē: ārā bārā hēnā nā karihē, puruṣērā ākhi nibārihē » *carefully forbid Rādhā, that she will not do like this again, she will avoid a man's eyes* ; p. 323, শুণিআঁ কি বুলিহে বলভদ্র ভাই « śuṇiā ki bulihē Bālābhādrā bhāï » *what will brother B. say on hearing (this)?* ; p. 324, শুণী সব দেব গণে কি বুলিহে আহ্মারে « śuṇī sābā dēbāgaṇē ki bulihē āmhārē » *what will all the gods say to me hearing this?* ; p. 336, যবৈ কাহ্ন না মিলিহে করমের ফলে। হাথে তুলিআঁ মো খাইবোঁ গরলে॥ « jabē Kānhā nā milihē kārāmērā phālē, hātē tuliā mō khāïbō gārālē » *if, through the fruits of karma, Kṛṣṇa will not be obtained, then I shall eat poison with my own hands* ; cf. Kṛttivāsa, ' Uttarā-kaṇḍa,' p. 59, column 117, আইসুক ভৃগুরাম তবে সি প্রাণ জাইহে « āïsukā Bhṛgurāmā, tābē si prāṇā jāïhē » *let B. come, then indeed life will depart.*

### The « -itavya > -b- » Future in NIA.

**697.** The characteristic suffix for the future base in Bengali as well as Assamese and Oṛiyā is « -ib- », = « -ab- » of Bihārī and of Eastern Hindī. About the origin of this affix, there is no difficulty: it comes from the OIA. future passive participle gerundive in « -tavya- » or « -itavya », in Second MIA. « -(i)avva-, -(i)abba-, -ĕbba » and other

forms (Pischel, 'Gramm. der Pkt.-sprachen,' § 570). This affix does not occur in the Rig-Veda, and it is rare in other Vedic literature: it is a new formation, and replaces the Vedic gerundive « -tua » or « -tva ». In MIA. and in Classical Skt. it became much more evident. In Early MIA. it has the force of an imperative: *e.g.* Aśōkan, Rock Edict I Girnar, « na prajuhitavyaṁ na ca samājō katavyō »; Sarnath, « iyāṁ sāsanē viṁnapayitaviyē », etc., etc. There is here a vague mandatory sense, with an express future implication. The simple future notion evolved gradually; side by side with it, the old notion of an action which is to be done continued, and was modified into simply the notion of an act. In NIA. both the uses of this form occur: as a future passive participle (which finally became the future tense), and as a verbal noun. Thus, Gujarātī has verbal nouns in « -vũ », « karvũ = kariavvaüṁ, *karitavyakaṁ; kartavyakam », Rājasthānī (Mārwāṛī) in « -bō », « mārabō = *māriabbaüṁ, māritavyakam », and Western Hindī (Braj-bhākhā) « māribaũ, māribau », (Kanaujī) « māribō »; Marāṭhī has a subjunctive base in « -āv- », *e.g.*, impersonal « myā uṭhāvē » *I should rise*, lit. *it is to be risen by me* (= *mayā ut-sthātavyam), active « mī uṭhāvā »; and the Eastern languages, Eastern Hindī, Bihārī, and Bengali-Assamese and Oṛiyā, have the verbal noun in « -ab-, -ib- » as well as « -ab-, -ib- » as the base of the future tense, with personal terminations added.

As it has been noted before, the « -(i)tavya- > -iabb- > -ib- » is not a native *tbh.* form in the East (*supra*, pp. 374, 375, 486-487). In the Eastern dialect, whether 'Old Ardha-Māgadhī' or 'Old Magadhī' of the First MIA. stage, as we can see from Aśōka inscriptions, OIA. « -vya- » became « -viya- », not « -vva- » (as for instance at Girnar). This First MIA. « -viya- » could only give « -vī, -ī, -i » in the Modern Prācya languages. The change « -(i)tavya > -(i)abba » is a later, post-Transitional MIA. feature in the eastern dialects, and « -iabba » is either a *semi-tatsama* form introduced from Sanskrit in the Transitional period (before the softening and final dropping of the intervocal « -t- » in « -itavya » was carried out), or was an imposition from some Western dialect which normally changed « -vya- » to « -vv- » and then to « -bb- ».

The « -(i)tavya » > « -ib- » was originally a verbal adjective, and the construction with a transitive verb was in the passive, the « -ib- » form qualifying the object in that case. This old usage is still in force in OB., as in the examples from Caryā 29 below.

Cases of « -ib- » future in OB.: Caryā 5, « tumhē hōiba » (= yuṣmābhir bhavitavyam); 7, « kariba nivāsa » (= nivāsaḥ kartavyaḥ); 10, « tōē sāma karibē (= ? kariba ; ? < kariabbaï = *kariabbaē = kartavyakaḥ) ma (= maï) sāṇga » (= tvayā samaṁ kartavyō mayā saṇgaḥ); 14, « jāïba puṇu jiṇaüra » (= yātavyaṁ punaḥ jina-puram); 23, « tumhē jāïbē »; 28, « lōḍiba » (= Comm. « anvēṣayitavyaḥ); 29, « maï dībi piricchā » (= mayā dātavyā pṛcchā: dibi = *diabba, + fem. -I); 36, « kariba »; 39, « thākiba, khāïba maï »; 40, « kahiba » (kathayitavyaṁ); etc.

It will be noted that in the Caryās, the form is « -ib- », and not « -ab- » as in Central and Western Magadhan, showing that the language of the poems belong to the East Magadhan group. Like « -illa- : -alla- », this affix, « *-iabba, *-iĕbba, *-ĕbba » in Mag. Ap., ranged itself into two groups « -ibba- : -abba- », the Eastern Magadhan speeches adopting the former.

The affix for the 1st person future in many Bengali dialects (both in MB. and NB.) show « -m- », as « mâ, -mu », and « -ṇ- = -w̃- » as « -ṇâ, -ṇ », instead of « -bâ, -bō, -bū, -bõ, -bōhõ ». This is merely a phonetic change, a softening of « -b- » in connexion with the nasal to « -w̃-, -m- », which has been discussed before (pp. 531-532). This « -m- » has been wrongly referred to the Sanskrit affix « -maḥ » for the 3 pers. plural indicative present by some Bengali writers on Bengali philology.

## [G] Personal Affixes

### [I] Active (Kartari), Passive (Karmaṇi) and Impersonal (Bhāvē) Constructions (Prayōga) in NIA.

**698.** The personal affixes of the present or radical tense in NIA. are the phonetically decayed forms of those of OIA. Affixation for the participial tenses is a NIA. development. The future in Bengali and other

Magadhan languages, and in NIA. generally when it is of participial origin, followed the fortunes of the past. The formation of the past tense in typical NIA. of the first few centuries of the 2nd millennium A.C. agrees in principle with that of MIA. But subsequently, or it may be from the very beginning of the NIA. stage, there were new developments in some of the various groups of IA. The central language, W. Hindī, together with Eastern Panjābī, is most conservative, and has resisted innovations in the formation of the past, keeping true to the MIA. principle. The past tense in these speeches retains its MIA. character as the passive participle adjective qualifying the nominative when it is intransitive, and the object when it is transitive, the subject in the latter case being in the instrumental—the past of the transitive verb being thus a true passive albeit the construction of the phrase in nominal. Besides these active (intransitive) and passive (transitive) constructions for the past (« kartari » and « karmaṇi prayōgas »), the central speech has preserved (though dialectally) the old neuter or impersonal construction (bhāvē prayōga) for the intransitive verb, and has further extended this neuter construction to the transitive verb (cf. LSI., IX, pp. 50-52). Thus, OIA. « Kṛṣṇaḥ calitaḥ (calitakaḥ) » > MIA. « Kaṇhō caliaō, Kaṇhu caliaü » > NIA. (W. Hindī, Braj-bhākhā) « Kānha calyau » (Active Construction); OIA. « Kṛṣṇēna pustikā paṭhitā, * Kṛṣṇa-karṇēna pustikā paṭhitikā » (=MIA. idiom with instrumental postfix « -karṇa » and feminine in « -ikā ») > MIA. « * Kaṇha-(k)aṇṇē(ṇa)ṁ pŏtthiā paḍhiiā (paḍhīā), * Kaṇha-aṇṇēṁ, Kaṇha-aṇṇahī pŏtthia paḍhīa » > NIA. (Braj-bhākhā) « Kānha-naī, -nē pōthī paṛhī » (Passive Construction); OIA. « Kṛṣṇēna (* Kṛṣṇa-karṇēna) calitam (calitakam) » > MIA. « Kaṇha-(k)aṇṇē(ṇa)ṁ caliaaṁ, caliauṁ » > NIA. « * Kānha-nē calyau », not found in Standard Hindōstānī or Braj-bhākhā, but occurring in Vernacular Hindōstānī (Neuter Impersonal Construction); and on the basis of this last, a new formation with transitive verbs (Impersonal Construction with the Transitive Verb) was established in NIA., as in W. Hindī (Braj-bhākhā): *e.g.*, « Kānha-nē Rāhī-kaū dēkhyau », of which the OIA. translation, word for word, would be « Kṛṣṇēna Rādhikāyāḥ-kṛtē dṛṣṭam » for « Kṛṣṇēna Rādhikā dṛṣṭā ».

This MIA. principle of « karmaṇi, karttari » and « bhāvē » constructions, together with the NIA. extension, is substantially preserved in Rājasthānī, in Gujarātī, in Marāṭhī, in Western Panjābī, and in Sindhī, despite certain innovations. Rājasthānī in general agrees with W. Hindī, but its congener Gujarātī has confused the transitive impersonal construction with the transitive passive one, by making the past participle form qualify the object in the former construction as much as in the latter: *e.g.*, « tēṇē rāṇīnē jōī » *by-him with-reference-to-the-queen she-was-seen*, instead of « jōyū » *it-was-seen*. In this confusion some Rājasthānī dialects agree with Gujarātī.

Marāṭhī despite its affixing « -l- » to the passive participle has on the whole kept true to the MIA. standard: it has the active construction with intransitive verbs, and the passive with transitive ones, besides the impersonal with transitives. Its great innovation is adding personal affixes to the intransitive verbs (and following that, to some transitive verbs also: LSI., VII, p. 26), by which the past intransitive (also transitive in some cases) has become a regular inflected active past form, as much as in the Sanskrit perfect aorist or imperfect, or in the Bengali « -il- » past. Thus, « mī uṭhal-ō » for « mī uṭhalā » *I rose* (i.e. « aham utthita-laḥ+mē, mayā », instead of « aham utthitalaḥ = utthitaḥ », active), « myā rāṇī pāhilī » (= « mayā rājñī dṛṣṭā », passive), but « myā rāṇī-s pāhilē » (= « mayā rājñi-viṣayē dṛṣṭam », impersonal). The extension of the active construction to the transitive verb in some cases (*e.g.*, « mī bōlalō », or « bōlilō, bōlilā » *I said*, as in the 'Jñānēśvarī,' instead of the passive « myā bōlalā, bōlalī » etc. or impersonal « myā bōlalē ») shows that the old system has not been kept intact.

The Pahāṛī speeches on the whole agree with W. Hindī, and in some cases with Rājasthānī-Gujarātī in mixing up the impersonal and the passive. The Eastern Pahāṛī speech, Khaskurā, on the other hand shows a mixing up of the passive and active, by putting the subject in the instrumental, and the passive participle instead of qualifying the object is conjugated like a verb, taking affixes corresponding to the subject: *e.g.*, « mai-lē pāp garē (garyē, garyā = garya- < karia, *karita, kṛta + mē) »

*I sinned*, lit. *by-me sin done-by-me* or *did-I*). The MIA. principle is thus obscured here. (Cf. LSI., IX, pp. 26, 37, 147, 294, 328, 398-399, 466, 489, 572, 678, 695, 727, 783, etc., etc.)

The languages of the extreme west, W. Panjābī and Sindhī, both maintain the adjectival character of the passive participle, modifying it according to the gender and number of the object. But at the same time W. Panjābī employs pronominal affixes to emphasise the proper subject of the transitive verb (really instrumental), in addition to that of the intransitive; and Sindhī regularly adds these affixes to the intransitive (cf. LSI., VIII, Part I, pp. 270-271, and Trevor Bomford, 'Language spoken in Western Panjab,' JASB., 1895, p. 317, for W. Panjābī; LSI., VIII, Part I, pp. 67-68, for Sindhī). The use of pronominal suffixes in these western speeches is not confined to the passive participle only, but to other forms of verbs, and to nouns as well (LSI., VIII, Part I, pp. 42, 261), and is a special development in these, which is unknown to other cognate NIA., or to MIA. and OIA. The affixed pronoun in the passive participle or verb past base is to some extent necessitated in these speeches to ensure definitenes of the subject, as the instrumental post-position is frequently dropped (as in Panjābī, both Western and Eastern), or is non-existent (as in Sindhī, in which the oblique is employed for the instrumental). The affixation is merely formal, and does not imply any alteration in the old passive conception of the transitive past.[1]

[1] The use of the pronominal affix with nouns (*e.g.*, W. Panjābī 'ghar-am' *my house*, Sindhī 'piu-mē' *my father*), as well as dative and accusative use of the affixed pronouns (*e.g.*, W. Panjābī 'Sahīban mut-ēi khatt' *S. has-sent-to-thee a-letter*, 'kitu-s mōṭā' *he-made-it fat*, 'bukhār hī-s' *fever is-to-him*, etc.) in these western languages, as well as in the extra-Indo-Aryan (Dardic) Kaśmīrī, resembles the Iranian enclitic pronouns which one finds, *e.g.*, in Persian, in Paṣtō, and in Balōc (cf. Geiger's 'Grundriss der iranischen Philologie': C. Salemann, 'Mittel-persisch,' p. 291; P. Horn, 'Neu-persische Schriftsprache,' p. 118; Geiger, 'Die Sprache der Afghanen,' p. 217; 'Die Sprache der Balutschen,' p. 240). The whole of the Indo-Iranian area from Persia right up to the frontiers of the old Śaurasēnī (W. Hindī) area,—including the W. Panjābī (and probably also E. Panjābī in early times) and Sindhī tracts (among areas occupied by the NIA. speeches), the Dardic tracts, and those occupied by the Iranian speeches—seems to have been an area where

**699.** In the Magadhan languages, as well as in Eastern Hindī, on the other hand, the construction has become purely active, and the old MIA. principle has been completely ignored. The subject of a past sentence is in the nominative now at the present day, whatever might have been its nature originally. Traces of an instrumental affix may be found in the subject (*e.g.*, « -ē » in Assamese and Bengali), but the instrumental idea is now entirely absent. The personal forms, which (as in Sindhī and W. Panjābī) doubtless originally emphasised the instrumental-nominative, have in the Eastern languages lost their enclitic, emphasising character—have become personal inflexions pure and simple. Judging from indications in the earlier as well as later phases of these eastern speeches—OB., MB., NB., Early Maithilī, etc., as well as Early Awadhī and Modern Awadhī, and from comparison with other NIA. speeches and with the habits obtaining in MIA., we can surmise that the personal affixes were not added to the past passive participle (and to the future passive participle) in Māgadhī Apabhraṅśa, and that this affixation was not indispensable in the early stage of the neo-Māgadhan speeches. Thus, Māg. Ap. in all likelihood had « *haũ (?*haĩ), tũṁ, śē calilla(a) » (=aham, tvam, saḥ calitaḥ) and « *amhi, tumhi, tē calilla(a), calillahi » (= vayam, yūyam, tē calitāḥ), beside « *maĩ, amhahĩ, taĩ, tumhahĩ, tẽ, tẽhĩ rāa dĕkkhilla(a) » (= mayā, asmābhiḥ, tvayā, yuṣmābhiḥ, tēna, tāiḥ rājā dṛṣṭaḥ), and « *maĩ, amhahĩ, taĩ, tumhahĩ, tẽ, tẽhĩ raṇṇĩ dĕkkhillĩ » (= mayā, asmābhiḥ, tvayā, yuṣmābhiḥ, tēna, tāiḥ rājñī dṛṣṭā). Beng. made the first « mui, āmi, tui, tumi, sē, tẽhā calila » and « mui etc. rāya, rājā dēkhila (rāṇī dēkhili) » and then by affixation, « mui dēkhil-i, -ā-hō̃, -ō̃, -ū, -ām ; tui dēkhil-i, -is ;

the old Aryan enclitic pronouns were retained as living forms, and were later turned into suffixes : and these suffixes therefore were different in origin from the personal affixes of the Eastern languages (*e.g.*, OIA. 'mayā kṛtam, kṛtam mayā, kṛtam mē' > Lahndā 'kitu-m'; Old Persian 'mana kartam' > Middle Persian [Pahlavī] 'man kart, am kart,' and 'kart-am' > New Persian 'kard-am': [cf. Horn, *op. cit.*, p. 148]: compared with this, Early Bengali মুই কৈলুম্ 'mui kailum' *I did* is a different thing, originating in NIA. times from 'maĩ kaīlla'; and Hindī 'main-nē kiyā' is of course entirely different, showing no kind of personal or pronominal affixation).

tumi dēkhil-a, -āhā; sē dēkhil-anti, -enta, -ēn, -āin, -āñi (calil-ī, calil-āhō etc.) ». (Besides, the « bhāvē prayōga » with the object in the dative with « -kē » etc. was evolved: see *supra*, pp. 897-898.) Affixation was not fully established in Bengali even in the 15th century, as we can see from MB. literature, where the base form in « -ilā » is frequently used for all persons: and in fact, in some dialects even now the base form is used for the third person (*e.g.*, Standard Bengali « sē dēkhilā », Dacca « sē dēkhlā, dēkhlō », *he saw*, base only, but Calcutta Bengali « sē dēkhl-ē » with « -ē » suffix for the third person; so Dacca « sē kāĭrbā, kōrbō » *he will do* beside Standard « sē kārib-ē », Calcutta « sē kōrbē »). Similar affixation has taken place in other Magadhan, and in Eastern Hindī (*e.g.*, Awadhī: 1. « dēkhēū, dēkhiū, *pl.* dēkhī, dēkhā, dēkhan, dēkhēn »; 2. « dēkhisi, dēkhēs, *pl.* dēkhēn, dēkhā, dēkhī »; 3. « dēkhisi, dēkhai, *pl.* dēkhin-i, dēkhēn » etc.).

Pronominal affixation apparently was carried on independently in each of the various groups of dialects in the Magadhan area,—in West Magadhan (Bhōjpuriyā), in Central Magadhan, in the various Bengali and Assamese dialect groups, in Oṛiyā. But some common tendencies were shared by all or most of them. The most remarkable development has been in Central Magadhan (Maithilī and Magahī), which display a greater richness and variety in the matter of pronominal affixation than any other NIA. language—by which two or even three pronominal forms can be tagged on to the verb base. Thus we have Bengali মারিলাম, ‡ মারিলুম or ‡ মারিলি « māril-ām, ‡ māril-um, ‡ māril-i » *I, we beat* (past), = Oṛiyā « māril-i, māril-ū », Assamese « māril-ō », Bhōjpuriyā « māral-ī », Maithilī « māral-ahū, māral-ī »; but also we have Maithilī « māral-i-au-k » *I struck you*, or « māral-i-ai-nhī » *I struck him or them* (honorific object). We have here practically cases of polysynthesis, of long sentence words resulting from affixation. In this matter there may have been a strong influence of Kōl on Central Magadhan in the formative period of Maithilī and Magahī: with forms like « mār-al-i-au-k » or « mār-al-i-ai-nhī », we can compare Kōl (Muṇḍārī) « om-ad'-iñ-ae » *he-gave-it-to-me* and « lel-k-iñ-ako » for « * lel-ked'-iñ-ako » *they-saw-me*. The affixation in Eastern Magadhan is simpler, and approximate rather that of modern Dravidian

(*e.g.*, Bengali. « pāṛ-il-ām » *I read* = Tamil « paḍ-itt-ēn », root + tense affix + personal termination: see *supra*, p. 175).

**700.** Grierson, in two noteworthy papers to the JASB. for 1895 ('Suffixes in the Kāçmīrī Language' and 'Radical and Participial Tenses in the Modern Indo-Aryan Languages') has tabulated the various affixes of NIA. and suggested their etymologies. The Eastern languages have these affixes for the verb past tense, and the future tense; the Western languages have also the pronominal adjuncts; the Southern language Marāṭhī partially employs them. All this is opposed to the Midland language, W. Hindī. In this Grierson finds a point in support of the the theory of Inner and Outer Indo-Aryan groups (see *supra*, *Appendix A* to *Introduction*, pp. 165-166; JASB., 1895, p. 351). But the conjugational system cannot be assumed to prove much, as has been said before. The languages started in the East without the personal terminations, and in later times only they entered into the habit of affixation; whereas it seems likely that in the Western languages the enclitic has persisted from OIA. times (or might have been due to the influence of the contiguous Iranian), and were at once the cause and the effect of the absence or rare use of the instrumental post-position. Grierson derives all the affixes of the past verb in Bengali etc. (equally with those in other languages) from pronouns. But in some cases at least, they were merely extensions of the affixes of the present or radical tense. Bengali, Assamese and Oṛiyā, again, show a development distinct from Maithilī, Magahī and Bhōjpuriyā within the Magadhan family.

Except in the 3 sg., there is no distinction in Bengali-Assamese in the affixes of the intransitive and transitive verbs past tense. In Oṛiyā, the same affixes, sg. « -ā », pl. « -ē » are found for the verbs of both the kinds.

The affixes may now be discussed.

### [II] Affixes for the Past Tense.

**701.** MB. and NB. forms are given below. The affixes are added to the base in ইল্ « -il- » of which the « -i- » is dropped in most NB. dialects after influencing the preceding vowel.

*First Person*: অ « -å »; ই « -i »; উম্, উঙ্, উঁ (লুম্, লুঁ > হু), ওম্, অম্, ওঁ, ওহোঁ, আহোঁ, ওহো, আহো, ও « -um, -uŋ, -ū (-lum, -lū > -nu), -ōm, -åm, -ō, -ōhō, -åhō, -ōhō, -åhō, -ō »; আম, আঙ, এম্ « -ām, -āŋ, -ēm »;

*Second Person*: অ « -å »; ই « -i »; ইস, এসি, এস « -is, -ēsi, -ēsɨ »; উ « -u »; আ, আহা « -ā, -āhā »; এ, এঁ, এহেঁ « -ē, -ē, -ēhē »;

*Third Person*: no affix, simply ending in -ইল্ « -ilɨ »; অ (ও) « -å, (-ō) », for both transitive and intransitive verbs; আ « -ā »; এ « -ē » for transitive verbs only, dialectally; আক, ওক, এক « -ā-kɨ, -ō-kɨ, -ē-kɨ- », for both transitive and intransitive verbs; besides অন্তি, আন্তি, অন্ত, আন্ত, এন্ত, এন, আইন, আঞি, আঁই « -ånti, -ānti, -åntå, -āntå, -ēntå, -ēnɨ, -āĩnɨ, -āñi, -åi », honorific.

Standard NB., literary and colloquial, recognises only the following:—

*First Person*: আম « -ām », colloquially also এম, উম « -ēm, -um », and in poetry occasionally হু « -nu »;

*Second Person*: non-honorific, ই « -i »; ordinary, এ « -ē »; poetical আ « -ā »; honorific এন « -ēnɨ » (with আপনি « āpɨni ») ;

*Third Person*: অ « -å »; এক « ēkɨ » (rather archaic); এ « -ē » dialectally for transitive verbs; poetical আ « -ā »; besides honorific এন « -ēnɨ ».

### (1) The Affixes for the First Person Past.

**702.** The affix অ « -å ». This is the simple base form, and is found in MB. and OB.: আমি চলিল « āmi cålilå » *I went*, আমি, মুই রাখিল « āmi, mui rākhilå » *I kept*; cf. OB. Caryā 35 « maï bujhila » *I understood* (see *supra*, p. 808). The source of this ইল « -ilå » is Māgadhī Ap. « -illaa, -illaŵa (< -ila-ka) », MB. « -ilå, -ilå », in NB. pronunciation often ইলো « -ilō, -lō ». This simple base is not found in NB., although it is common in eMB., becoming less common in lMB., and found but infrequently in post-17th century MB. As indicated above, the absence of affix means preservation of the OIA. conditions.

In OB., the « -ila » base had a feminine for « -ilī, -ili », according as the subject of an intransitive verb or the object of a transitive one was feminine. Early MB. carried on this feminine affixation, but it has died out from eMB. times. Examples have been given above, p. 958.

**703.** The affix ই « -i ». This is now confined to the dialects of West Rāḍha, and to 'S.-W. Bengali,' and in any case is regarded vulgar. It was fairly common in MB. It seems originally to have been a (West) Rāḍha form. Although used for both singular and plural, the evidence of Oṛiyā shows it to have been originally singular: Oṛiyā « mū āsil-i », pl. « āmbhē āsil-ū » *I came, we came*; « mā dēkhil-i, āmbhē dēkhil-ū » *I saw, we saw*. The affix seems only to be an extension of the present (singular) « -i » to the past tense (*supra*, pp. 934, 935).

**704.** The affixes উম্, উঙ্, উঁ (লুম, নু > হু) ওম্, অম্, ওঁ, ওহোঁ, আহোঁ, ওহো, আহো, ও « -um, -uṇ, -ū, (-lum, -lū > -nu), -ōm, -ām, -ōṁ, -ōhōṁ, -āhōṁ, -ōhō, -ō ». These form one group, and in their formation, two affixes seem to have converged: the « -ō » of the present (=OB. -aʷa < MIA. -ama < OIA. -āmaḥ: *supra*, pp. 934-935), and the old first personal pronoun nominative « * haū, hāu » as in OB. (pp. 807-808 *supra*) agglutinated to the past base (in « -ilā, -ilā »); « * haū » seems to have been added to the present base (see *supra*, p. 934), and an extension of it to the past was a matter of course. Of the fuller forms, ইলাহোঁ « -ilā-hōṁ » occurs in eMB. (as in the ŚKK.), and ইলোহোঁ « -ilō-hōṁ » is found in the Early Assamese; and this and * ইলহোঁ « -ilā-hōṁ » seems also to have occured in MB. and the other forms, with loss of nasalisation, are found in MB. and Early Assamese. As can be expected, « * haū > hōṁ » as the nominative pronoun should occur with the intransitive verb; and that is what we find from eMB. In the ŚKK., the ইলাহোঁ « -(ilā-)hōṁ » form occurs with six verbs, all intransitive: আছিলাহোঁ « āchilāhōṁ » *I was*, আইলাহোঁ, আয়িলাহোঁ « āilāhōṁ, āyilāhōṁ » *I came*, জিলাহোঁ « jilāhōṁ » *I lived*, পড়িলাহোঁ « pāṛilāhōṁ » *I fell*, বাঢ়িলাহোঁ « bāṛhilāhōṁ » *I increased*, হয়িলাহোঁ, হৈলাহোঁ « hāyilāhōṁ, hāilāhōṁ » *I was* (to which we may add a seventh intransitive form showing « -hōṁ », although in a different tense—মরিতাহোঁ « maritāhōṁ » *I would die*): Kṛtti-vāsa similarly has তপস্যা করিল আমি নহিলাহোঁ অমর « tāpasyā kārilā āmi, nāhilāhōṁ āmarā » *I performed austerities, but did not become immortal* ('Uttarā-kāṇḍa,' p. 29); নিমন্ত্রণে গেলাহোঁ « nimāntraṇē gēlāhōṁ » *I went to an invitation* (ibid, p. 15); also হইলাহোঁ « hāilāhōṁ » (pp. 26, 30, 36). MB. « jīlāhōṁ, pāṛilāhōṁ » etc. would thus agree with Skt. « jīvitō' haṁ, patitō'ham ».

The ŚKK. uses « -õ » (at times « -ō » by dropping the nasalisation) with both transitive and intransitive verbs. This apparent employ of the full « -hõ » form with intransitives only was not maintained in Assamese: in the Early Assamese of the 15th and 16th centuries, we find it employed with transitive verbs also—*e.g.*, Dēvêndra Nāth Bēz-baruwā, 'Asamiyā Bhāṣā Ārū Sāhityar Buraūjī,' Jorhat, Saka 1833, pp. 75, 173, « kārilōhõ » *I did*, p. 89, « lābhilōhõ, pāṛhilōhō » *I received, I studied*, p. 138, « cinilōhõ » *I recognised*, p. 169, « bulilōhõ » *I said*. In Early Maithilī, the corresponding « hũ » form seems to be restricted to the intransitive: *e.g.*, Vidyāpati has « bhēlihu » *I was*, « mõñē cukalihu » *I ceased*, « achalihũ » *I was*, « gēlihu » *I went*, etc. (Pada 63); but in later Maithilī, « -hũ » is found for both the kinds of verbs. It has apparently become « -ũ » in Magahī. From the 14th century, the « -hõ » and the « -õ » forms had merged together, and the former occurs in the ŚKK. as a survival only (*e.g.*, for *one* « āchilāhõ » there are some *six* cases of « āchilõ »; « āilõ » occurs 11 times beside « ā(y)ilāhõ » 9 times, and other intransitive verbs show only the « -õ » form). The Oṛiyā « -ũ » of the plural seems to represent the « -õ (<-āmaḥ) ». The OB. « acchilẽ » (see *supra*, p. 808) seems to be scribe's error for « āchila », or it might be for « āchilõ »; in the latter case, the affixation for the past in imitation of the present could be said to have begun from OB. times.

The form « -ilāhõ » thus converged into « -ilõ », but « -ilāhõ » could also give « -ilāw̃ō », and these would easily result in the MB. and NB. forms « -ilū, -iluŋ, ilum, -ilōm, -ilăm, -inu » etc., since in MB. « m » final and intervocal interchanges with « w̃ », written ঙ « ŋ »; and MB. forms like « -ilõ, -ilū » could develop the off-glide « w̃ » (-ilõw̃, -ilūw̃), which would easily resolve into « m ».

**705.** The affixes আম, আঙ, এম্ « -ām, -āŋ, -ēm ». It is not unlikely that « -ām » has partly evolved from « -āhõ » as above ( -ilāhõ > -ilāw̃ō, -ilāw̃ > ilāŋ, -il-ām). But this « -ām » should rather be affiliated to আমি « -āmi » *I (we)*, affixed to the past base, for this reason that in all the spoken dialects, where « -ām » occurs, the « -m » is retained intact, and there is no trace of a nasalised form « *-ilã » or « *-inã » such as

we might expect to be present in MB. or NB. if « * -ilãw̃ < -ilāhõ » were the only source.

By Vowel Harmony, « -ilām » gives « -ilēm », which is regarded as a refined form, and is frequently used in literature and formal discourse.

**706.** A plausible etymology for the « -āmi, -ām » affix would be the OIA. substantive verb « asmi »: the use of the passive participle with « asmi » in the active sense is found in MIA. and medieval Skt. (*e.g.*, « viditō'smi, vismṛtō'smi » etc.: cf. E. J. Rapson, 'Specimens of the Kharoṣṭhī Inscriptions discovered by Dr. Stein at Niya in Chinese Turkestan: Tentative Transcriptions and Translations,' British Museum, 1903, p. 7). The Sinhalese past tense is formed on the same plan by affixing forms of « √ as », present tense, to the passive participle (Geiger, 'Litteratur u. Sprache der Sinhalesen,' § 60). The same method seems to occur in the Bengali perfect tenses (see *infra*, 'Compound or Periphrastic Tenses'). But « asmi » does not occur as « āmi » either in Bengali or in other Magadhan: the equivalents of « asmi » in Bengali are « āchi » (* acchāmi) and « hāï » (* asāmi). A source like « paṭhita + asmi » is untenable for the NB. « paṛilām », not only because of the non-continuance of OIA. « asti, asi, asmi » in Bengali, but also because of the fact that personal affixation is late in the language, and is either pronominal, or is by analogical extension of affixes from the present.

Hoernle explained the « -ām » affix as being the Skt. « -āmi », present sg. affix: according to him, Bengali has preserved the original present indicative termination « -āmi », in forms like « pāṛ(h)ilām » = Māgadhī « * paḍhidāmi ». But this derivation is inadmissible: MIA. « -d- » does not become « -l- » in Bengali (see *supra*, p. 433), and « -m- » intervocal of OIA. occurs in NIA. only as the nasalisation of the contiguous vowel.

(2) The Affixes for the Second Person, Past.

**707.** The affix অ « -ă » is the simple base form without any personal termination, found in MB. for the 2nd person as much as for the other two persons, but is now obsolete.

The affix ই « -i » is of obscure origin. It occurs with the past in « -il- » and in the future in « -ib- ». It is not found in the radical tense and with the past conditional. Bengali-Assamese alone among Magadhan speeches has it. The fact that it is contemptuous, being used with the familiar « tui (tōrā) » form of the 2nd personal pronoun, shows that it was originally a singular affix. The corresponding affix in Oṛiyā is « -u », *e.g.*, « tu thil-u » *thou wert*, « tu dēkhil-u » *thou didst see*. The Central Magadhan languages have confused the plural and singular; but it seems that the 2 pers. affix « -ē » in Magahī (as in « hal-ē » *thou wert* or *you were*, « dĕkhal-ē » *thou didst see* or *you saw*, beside « halẽ, dēkhal-ẽ »; Maithilī does not possess the « -ē » form, but the nasalised one only) and in Bhōjpuriyā (as in « dēkhal-ē, dēkhal-as » singular, « dēkhalâh < * dēkhalahu » plural) is connected with the Bengali « -i », it being exceedingly probable that the « -ē » was formerly « -a-ï » (cf. Maithilī « dĕkhalaï » beside « dĕkhalẽ, 2 personal forms).

There is the other singular 2 personal affix « -is, -s » (see p. 979 below) with which the « -i » cannot be connected. In the absence of any other indication as to its source, it can only be referred to the 2 sg. imperative in « -hi, -a-hi » (see *supra*, p. 904), which would give « -i, -aï (-ai, -ē) » by loss of « -h ». The Oṛiyā « -u » similarly can be best explained as the 2 sg. imperative in « -hu » (*supra*, p. 906). This « -hi » lost its original function as an imperative affix, and became associated, first, it would seem, with the future base, and then with the past: we should note that « -i » is the only 2 personal contemptuous or singular affix for the future, whereas « -is » may be used for the past; and « -i » is not found with the past habitual (« câlib-i, dib-i », but « chil-is » beside commoner « chil-i », and « câlit-is, dit-is »; but we never find « câlib-is, dib-is ») : this apparently shows that « -i » became first definitely attached to the future base, and then it was extended to the past; and the use of the future and the imperative should be taken into consideration in this connexion. There is an « -ahi » affix (< OIA. -asi) for the 2 sg. present tense in Western Apabhraṁśa, whence the imperative « -ē, -aï » affix in the Western languages, *e.g.*, Hindōstānī « tū kar-ē » Gujarātī « tū

kar-ē », and Mārwāṛī « t(h)ū kar-āĪ » (< tū kar-ahi); but this present « -ahi » apparently did not occur in Māg. Ap., and is not represented in Bengali, which has only « -as, -is » < « -asi ».

**708.** The affixes ইস, এসি, এস « -is, -ēsi, -ēs » are contemptuous in sense, being used with « tui, tōrā », and were consequently originally singular. They represent the OIA. « -asi » which is preserved in the radical tense. The affix « -asi » has been partly extended to the past base, but the future did not take it up, apparently deciding for the « -hi > -i » from the imperative. The forms « -is » etc. are exceedingly rare with the past tense in NB., the employ of it with the « -il- » past being only occasional. MB. instances also are rare. In NB. it may be used with the past of « √āch » *to be*, as ছিলিস « chil-is » *thou wert*, both by itself as well as in the past progressive and perfect tenses, *e.g.*, যাচ্ছিলিস « jāchchilis » *thou wert going*, গিয়েছিলিস « giyēchilis » *thou hadst gone*, দিয়েছিলিস « diyēchilis » *thou hadst given*; but the « chil-i » form would be preferred. We may similarly occasionally hear নিলিস, দিলিস « nil-is, dil-is », but such forms would not be regarded as normal in the Standard Colloquial. It seems that analogy tried to attach « -is » to the past base, but has failed so far, although apparently this analogical use began early. We have thus in Kṛttivāsa ('Uttarā-kāṇḍa,' VSPd. ed., col. 124) ব্রহ্মবধ করিয়া তুমি লুকাইলিস ডরে « brāhmā-bādhṣ kāriyā tumi lukāilis ḍārē » *killing a Brahman, you hid in fear* (here we see the improper use of « tumi », instead of « tui », with an « -is » form). I have not found « -is » with the past in the ŚKK., but apparently there is one case in the Caryās, *e.g.*, Caryā 37, « jaïsanē acchilēsa taïchana (= taïsana) accha » = ? *as thou wert, so be thou*; in Caryā 39, we have « baṇgē jāā nilēsi parē bhāgēla tōhāra biṇāṇā » *thy science* (vijñāna) *fled away after thou didst take a wife in Vaṅga*: here « nilē si » may be either an « -ēsi » form, or it is « nilē » (conjunctive in « -ilē ») + « si » emphatic particle, as in Caryā 20—« jaubaṇa mōra bhailē si pūrā » *on my youth being mature*. The « -ēsi » would thus seem to have been attached to the past as early as OB. The vocalism in « -ēsi, -ēsa » seems to be due to a combination of the base form in « -a » + « -isi » (see p. 935): « *acchilla-isi > *āchilais(i) > āchilēs(a) ».

**709.** Grierson explained the « -i » as an instrumental pronominal enclitic: « mār-il-i » = *struck-by-thee* (karmaṇi prayōga), « cal-il-i » *gone-by-thee* (bhāvē prayōga); and the « -is » was explained by him (as an affix for the past habitual derived from the present participle) as being 'the direct pronominal suffix for the nominative'—« -s- » and « -i- » being respectively nominative and oblique forms of a second personal pronoun (JRAS., 1895, I, p. 371). There cannot be any question of a 2nd personal pronoun in « -s- » from the existing specimens of IA., and Grierson considered this « -s- » (as in Bengali « -is » in « mār-it-is » etc.) 'as a termination borrowed either from the first or the third person,' but at the same time the possibility of « -is » being the OIA. « -asi » is admitted by him (*op. cit.*, p. 374). The « -s- » form of the first person occurs in Lahndā and Sindhī, and in the Dardic Kaśmīrī: it is a singular form, if derived from OIA. « asmad »; but the whole question is rendered extremely problematical (*op. cit.*, p. 365 for the « -s- » for the 1st person). The use of the 3rd person « -s- » (<Prakrit « sē » *his*, which is an enclitic: Grierson, *op. cit.*, p. 347) for the 2nd pers. is hardly more satisfactory as an explanation. The well-known « -asi » which has survived in the radical sense should not therefore be ignored. And as for regarding « -i » as an oblique form of the 2nd personal pronoun, and referring it to the MIA. « bhē » or « uyhē » (JASB., 1895, p. 374, p. 346), there is this great difficulty that in Bengali-Assamese, which alone preserves the « -i », the form is contemptuous and as such cannot originally have been a plural suffix, whereas the MIA. « bhē, uyhē » are definitely plural ones.

**710.** The affix উ « -u » is found dialectally in 'South-West Bengali' and in North Central Bengali, and is distinctly of Oṛiyā affinity: কৈলু « kaĭlu » *thou didst do*, গালু = গেলু « gyālu = gēl-u » *thou didst go*, etc. It is singular in origin, and can only be referred to the imperative in « -hu, -u » (see above, p. 906). It is found in the present also, *e.g.*, আছু « āchu » *thou art*.

**711.** The affixes আ, আহা « -ā, -āhā » were originally plural, being used with « tumi (tōmārā) », the old plural of the 2nd person, and never

with « tui ». They seem to be the same affix as the « -aha » of the radical 2nd plural (see *supra*, p. 935). The past base to which this 2nd person pl. affix was added (in Bengali-Assamese) apparently was extended by the definitive « -ā » : « calilā + -aha > * cālilāha, cālilāhā, * calilāā, cālilā » (cf. « khāhā, jāhā » for the imperatives: *supra*, pp. 903, 907). The « -ā » might, again, be simply the base in definitive « -ā », without the personal termination « -āhā ». The « -āhā » form occurs in eMB. (ŚKK.) and in Early Assamese side by side with « -āhă, -ā ». Late MB. has only « -ā » ; and as a result of Vowel Harmony, through influence of the « -i » of « -il- », this « -ā » can be altered to « -ē » in NB., as in the Standard Colloquial চ'ল্লে « cōllē » < « cālilā » *you went* (*supra*, pp. 400-401). Among ŚKK. forms in « -āhā » may be quoted আছিলাহা « āchilāhā » *you were*, গেলাহা « gēlāhā » *you went*, পড়িলাহা « pāṛilāhā » *you fell*, হয়িলাহা « hāyilāhā » *you became* ; cf. imperative ওলাহা « ōlāhā » beside ওলাহ « ōlāhā » *take down, put down*. In Modern Assamese, the affix is « -ā », honorific ; and Oṛiyā has retained it as « -ā (< -āhā) ». Cf. Maithilī simple form for 2nd person past « dĕkhalāh < dĕkhalahŭ », and Bhōjpuriyā « dĕkhalahŭ », where we have the « -ahu » form as in the imperative.

**712.** The MB. forms এ, এঁ, এহেঁ, « -ē, -ẽ, -ēhẽ » make one group. Judging from the ŚKK., the nasalised form « -ẽ » is the proper one for this affix, and this is only shortened from the older and fuller « -ēhẽ ». In the ŚKK., it is either « -ēhẽ », or « -ẽ » : and it is rarely « -ē » without the nasalisation : thus আণিলেঁ, আণিলেহেঁ « āṇilẽ, āṇilēhẽ » *you brought*, এড়িলেহেঁ « ēṛilēhẽ » *you abandoned*, কইলেঁ « kāīlẽ » *you did*, করায়িলেঁ « kārāyilẽ » *you caused to make*, গঢ়িলে « gāṛhilẽ » *you built*, নিলেহেঁ « nilēhẽ » *you took*, সাধিলেহেঁ « sādhilēhẽ » *you performed*, চাহিলেঁ « cāhilẽ » *you looked at*, etc. No instance of « -ẽ, -ehẽ » with intransitive verbs occurs in the ŚKK. : originally it was probably used with transitive verbs. « -ēhẽ > -ẽ > -ē » is thus its development in NB. (Of course, in NB. the « -ē » can also be from « -ilā » by Vowel Harmony ; see preceding paragraph.) This affix is unknown to Assamese and Oṛiyā. But Maithilī « -ẽ, -aĩ », Magahī « -ẽ, -ahĩ » (« dĕkhalẽ, dĕkhalaĩ ; dĕkhalẽ, dĕkhalahĩ ») seem to be the same affix.

The source of this « -ēhẽ, -ẽ, -ē » is obscure. The full form being « -ēhẽ », connexion with the Prakrit enclitic 2nd pers. pl. « -bhē, -uyhē » as suggested by Grierson (JASB., 1895, pp. 374, 346) is not impossible, but « bhē, uyhē » are otherwise unknown. It is a politer form than the « -i, -is » ones, both in MB. and NB. Is it that here we have the instrumental of the respectful or polite form for the pronoun of address « ahā̃, ahaī », which is still current in Maithilī? (see *supra*, pp. 850-852). The fact of « -ēhẽ, -ẽ > -ē » not being found with intransitive verbs in the ŚKK. should be recalled: « āṇilēhẽ » can therefore very well be from MIA. « *āṇilla- » + « *ahāhī, *ahẽhī » = instrumental pl. of « ahā- » (= OIA. ānīta-la- + āyuṣmadbhiḥ).

[3] The Affixes for the Third Person, Past.

**713**. The oldest Bengali had three forms for the passive participle as used with the pronoun third person or with the noun: « -ila (< -illa) », the simple base without any affix; « -ilaẇa, -ilaa (< -illa-a, i.e., -illa- + -ka) », with an extension by the pleonastic « -ka > -a » (*supra*, pp. 652-653); and « -ilā (< -ila + -ā) », strengthened by the definitive « -ā » (*supra*, pp. 658 ff.). The NB. equivalents of these are respectively, ইল্, ইল, (ইলো), ইলা « -ilạ, -ilȧ (-ilō: MB. -ilȧ), -ilā ». All the three are found: « -ilạ » is dialectal, occurring in North Bengali and North Central Bengali (with both transitive and intransitive verbs), as well as in Eastern Vaŋga dialects (Sylhet, Kachar, Mayang, Chittagong and Chakma, where « -ilạ » seems to be preferred with intransitive verbs); « -ilạ » is also restricted to the intransitive verb in Modern Assamese; « -ilȧ » is found in the « sādhu-bhāṣā » and in the East Bengal dialects with both transitives and intransitives, and in the Standard Colloquial with intransitive verbs (see *supra*, p. 974); while « -ilā » is now archaic and poetic for NB., and is found commonly in MB. and in Early Assamese, and in Oṛiyā « -ilā » is the only form in which this affix occurs for the 3rd person singular (« -ilā » however, occurs in Eastern Vaŋga, in Mayang as honorific, i.e. plural).

All these three forms « -ila > -ilạ; -ilaa, -ilȧ > -ilȧ; -ilā » lack a personal or pronominal termination and this colourless form was accepted for

the third person. Doubtless there were slight shades of difference between the three; « -á » and « -ā » forms were possibly more emphatic. Also the base form without any affix, « -ila > -il্ », retained its old adjectival nature unmodified in connexion with intransitive verbs, and this distinction is largely maintained now. In the Caryās, we find both « -ila » (= « -ila » as well as « -ilaa, -ilaẁa ») and « -ilā » (see *supra*, p. 947).

**714.** The affix এ « -ē »: occurs in West Bengali (including the Standard Colloquial), North Bengali and Assamese, with transitive verbs only: *e.g.*, Standard Colloquial সে চ'ল্‌ল, সে গেল, [ʃe ʤollo, ʃe gælo] *he walked, he went*, North Bengali চলিল্‌, গেল্‌ [tsolil, gɛl], Assamese « si cālil, si gāl », but for *he gave, he ate*, we have Standard Coll. সে দিলে, খেলে [ʃe dile, khele], North Bengali দিলে, খাইলে, খালে [dile, khaile, khale] besides দিল্‌, খাইল্‌ [dil, khail], and Assamese « dilē, khālē ». The Bihārī dialects show a similar differentiation (see *supra*, p. 93). No such differentiation between intransitive and transitive verbs is found in the East Bengal dialects, in which typical forms would be [tsoĩllo, tsollo; gɛlo] and [dilo, khailo], or as in Chittagongese [tsolil, gɛl] and [dilo, khailo].

The restriction of the « -ilē » affix to the transitive verb past tense in a continuous tract embracing Rāḍha, Varêndra and Kāma-rūpa, and excluding Vaŋga (E. and S.-W.) and Caṭṭala (S.-E. Vaŋga), is noteworthy: equally noteworthy is the occurrence of the « -ila > -il্ » for the intransitive in Varêndra (partially), in Kāma-rūpa, and in E. Vaŋga and Caṭṭala. The « -ē » affix occurs in the future 3rd person (-ib-ē) for all verbs, in the both « sādhu-bhāṣā » and in the Standard Colloquial, but not in East Bengal dialects, in Assamese, in Oṛiyā, which use the « -á » (-ibá, -bá). The usage in the future does not help us here.

The explanation seems to be as follows. The intransitive past is in its origin a verbal adjective qualifying the subject: here no special verbal suffix was necessary, for the adjectival nature remained long with intransitive, right down to eMB. (see *supra*, p. 958,—the feminine adjectival « -i » continued to be used with both the kinds of roots). Hence the simple « -ila > -il্ », or « -ilaa > -ilá >-ilā, -ilō », was enough for it. But the

transitive past was not like that, and its nature developed into that of a proper verb with an object. So too the future form, both transitive and intransitive, partook more of the nature of the verb. In some of the dialects of the Bengali group, an affix gradually came to be attached to these. And that affix we find in NB. as « -ē » for both transitive past, and transitive and intransitive future.

The « -ē » was never a literary favourite in MB., the simple « -ā » or « -ā » base being commonly employed for the past third person. The composite « sādhu-bhāṣā » here followed the MB. preference for « -ā » in the past tense, but not in the future. But nevertheless, the « -ē » is found in MB. works—in the ŚKK., for instance. Thus, as 3 personal forms, we find in the ŚKK., for *he did*, কৈলে, কইলে « kāilē, kāïlē » 4 times, করিলে « kārilē » once (= NB. Standard Coll. ক'র্‌লে, ক'ল্‌লে [korle, kolle]), while কইল, কয়িল « kā(y)ilā » occurs 17 times and করিল « kārilā » 6 times (= NB. ক'র্‌ল, ক'ল্‌ল [korlo, kollo]); for *he received*, পাইলে « pāïlē » (= NB. পেলে [pele]) occurs once, but পাইল « pāïlā » (= NB. পেল [pelo]) 7 times; for *he sent*, পাঠাইলে, পাঠায়িলে « pāṭhā(y)ilē » (= NB. পাঠালে, [paṭhale]) 3 times, পাঠাইল, পাঠায়িল « pāṭhā(y)ilā » (= NB. পাঠাল [paṭhalo]) 4 times; for *he said*, ব্‌ইলে « builē » (cf. NB. ব'ল্‌লে [bolle]) once, বুয়িল, বুয়িল « bu(y)ilā » (cf. NB. ব'ল্‌ল [bollo]) 28 times; for *he gave* দিলে « dilē » once, দিল « dilā » 10 times; for *he took*, নিলে « nilē » 5 times, নিল « nilā » 6 times, and আণিলে « āṇilē » *he brought* is found once. The « -ē » for the 3rd person thus goes back to the 14th century. It is not, however found in the Caryās.

This « -ē » affix I take to be the « -ē » of the radical or present tense, 3rd person, extended to the past transitive base: দেখিল « dēkhilā » *seen, he saw* changed to দেখিলে « dēkhil-ē », NB. দেখ্‌লে « dēkhl-ē », on the analogy of দেখে « dēkh-ē » *he sees*; but an intransitive form like গেল « gēlā » = *gone*, fem. গেলি « gēli », sufficiently retained its adjectival nature not to require a verbal affix. We should note that the plural affix « -ānti, -āntā, -entā » was similarly extended to the past verb, *as an honorific form merely* (see *supra*): « -ē » was the characteristic 3rd pers. affix, and the plural as an honorific form was less frequent. This

extension of the « -ē, -ȧnti » etc. was accomplished possibly during the transition from OB. to eMB.: it was established by the end of the 14th century, and if the ŚKK. does not use it exclusively, it is because the literary speech tends to preserve the older tradition (in keeping to the older, unaffixed « -ȧ » form).

A partial agreement with Maithilī may be noted. In Maithilī, in the honorific, the transitive past base takes the affix « -thi » (< -anti) of the present honorific (= original plural), because its nature is that of a verb: « dēkhala-thi » *saw*. But the intransitive past base (with its adjectival nature) to denote the honorific takes the affix « -āh(a) » which is found with *nouns* and *adjectives* in Early Maithilī: « sŭtal-āh(a) » *slept*. (This « -āha » is very common in the 'Varṇa-ratnâkara' MS., see *supra*, pp. 102-103: it seems to be the Māg. Ap. genitive in « -āha » extended to form the plural, like « -rā » of Bengali, « -kā » of Bhōjpuriyā).

In the Standard Colloquial, some intransitive verbs are seen to employ the « -ē » affix, in apparent contradiction to the rule that it is confined to transitives only: thus নাচলে « nāclē » *he danced*, কাঁদলে « kā̃dlē » *he wept*, হাঁটলে « hā̃ṭlē » *he walked*, খাট্‌লে « khāṭlē » *he laboured* (but খাট্‌ল « khāṭlȧ » *it fitted*). Cases like these can be explained as a phonetic development out of « -ilā » forms of MB. — <« nācilā, kāndilā, hāṇṭilā, khāṭilā » etc. (see *supra*, pp. 400-401): but the proper explanation is that these verbs are really transitives with cognate objects like নাচ, নাচা, নাচন « nācȧ, nācā, nācȧnȧ », কাঁদা, কান্না, কাঁদন « kā̃dā, kānnā, kā̃dȧnȧ » etc. understood and sometimes expressed. The « -ē » is thus never extended to intransitives in the dialects in which it is employed. On the other hand, through the influence of the « sādhu-bhāṣā » and of East Bengal dialects, the « -ȧ » from is now being used at times by Standard Colloquial speakers with the transitive also—*e.g.*, পেল, খেল, দেখ্‌ল, দিল « pēlȧ, khēlȧ, dēkhlȧ, dilȧ » *he obtained, ate, saw, gave*, beside the proper « -ē » forms.

The credit of first noticing the difference between the intransitive and transitive past bases in Bengali as well as of suggesting explanations belongs to Grierson (JASB., 1895, pp. 366, 374, 350; LSI., V, I, 1903, p. 13, foot-note; cf. also 'Prabāsī' for 1329, Pauṣa, pp. 382 ff.). In

the JASB. article, a form like মারিলেক « māril-ē-(kṣ) » *he killed* Grierson sought to explain (on the analogy of Maithilī forms with affixed object and subject pronouns)as being from « * māril-ai-ka », being either < « *māril-āya-ka » = *killed-this*(object)-*by-him*, where « āya » was the (Western) Apabhraṅśa equivalent of Skt. « idam », and « ka » was a third personal pronoun with instrumental power having affinities in Kaśmirī; or < « * māril-ahahī-ka » = *killed-that*(object)-*by-him*, where « ahahī » was the oblique of « aha », the (Western) Apabhraṅśa equivalent of Skt. « adas ». But there is nothing in MB. and OB. to warrant such derivations. We have the « -ēka » affix with intransitive verbs from the eMB. period. Grierson formulated another explanation in the LSI.: খালে « khālē » *he ate* = « khāīlā » *eaten* + « -hi » *by him, by them*. But this « -hi » as an enclitic instrumental pronoun cannot be otherwise assumed from MB. and OB.

**715.** The « -kṣ » affix in the forms অক, ওক, এক « -ākṣ, -ōkṣ, -ēkṣ » in the past tense is pleonastic: possibly it was polite or honorific in Early Bengali. This is discussed below, under ' Pleonastic Affixes,' pp. 989 ff.

**716.** The honorific forms —অন্তি, আন্তি, অন্ত, আন্ত, এন্ত, « -ânti, -ānti, -ântâ, -āntâ, -ēntâ » and এন, আইন, আঞি, আঁই, « -ēnṣ, -āïnṣ, -āñi, -āï » have been extended from the present tense by adding to the past base in « -ilâ ilā ». As has been explained before, they form two groups—the verbal « -anti » and the nominal « -āna, -ana, -ān-i, -an-i », the latter having ousted the former (see *supra*, p. 936). In the eMB. of the ŚKK., we find the verbal « -nt- » forms only: কাঢ়িলান্ত « kāṛhilāntâ » *took off*, চাহিলান্ত « cāhilāntâ » *looked at*, গেলান্তি « gēlānti » *went*, কহিলান্ত, কহিলেন্ত « kâhilāntâ, kâhilēntâ » *said*, etc.; and there are no « -n(i), -ñi » forms, which came in later. Early Assamese has « -ântâ » — « thâilântâ, bhâilântâ » *was* (*were*), « kâilântâ » *did*, etc. Maithilī and Magahī also have « -thi (< -anti) » (*supra*, p. 937) : but in Maithilī « -thi » occurs only with transitive verbs (Maithilī « dēkhalṣ-thi », but « calal-āhṣ », whereas Magahī has both « dēkhalṣ-thi, calalṣ-thi »).

In later MB., « -nt- » and « -n- » occur side by side in the texts. « -ēntâ, -āntâ » are the common affixes in Chuṭī Khān's ' Mahābhārata ' (VSPd. ed.): and « -ēnṣ » is already well-established in Kṛttivāsa. The

nominal « -n- » form may thus be said to have successfully invaded the domain of the verb in the 15th century. In the ' Padmā-purāṇa of Vaṅśī-dāsa (17th century: Maimansing), « -āï (< -āni) » is almost the rule for the past third person honorific: *e.g.*, p. 43, পুলস্ত্য কহিলাঁই « Pulâstyâ kâhilâï » *P. said*; p. 71, কহিলাঁই মেনকাসুন্দরী « kâhilâï Mênâkâ-sundârî »; p. 98, ব্রহ্মা চলি আইলাঁই « Brâhmâ câli âïlâï » *B. came away*; p. 109, ধরিলাঁই « dhârilâï » *caught*; p. 185, দিলাঁই « dilâï » *gave*; p. 194, বলিলাঁই « bâlilâï » *said*; p. 196, ভাবিলাঁই « bhâbilâï » *thought*. The « -āni, -āñi, -āï » form is still current for the honorific in E. Vaṅga.

The nominal « -n- » figures in Bhōjpuriyā (*e.g.* « rahal-an » *was, were* = Bengali রহিলেন « rahil-ēn̐ », « dekhal-an, dekhal-ani » *saw* = Bengali দেখিলেন « dēkhil-ēn̐ »). In Assamese « dēkhilā-hāk » *you saw*, « dēkhilŏ-hāk » *we saw*, the affix « -hāk » is found with the 2nd and 1st person to form the plural, and this also is undoubtedly the nominal « -na, -nha » with pleonastic « -ka ». In Maithilī and Magahī, the nominal « -nh- » is added to the verb, but commonly with a dative-accusative (and not nominative-instrumental, or simple plural) force: *e.g.*, Maithilī « dēkhathi » *he* (honorific) *sees* (< *they see*), but « dĕkhathī-nhi » (honorific) *he sees* (< *they see*) *them* (i.e. *a respected person*), and « dēkhiai-nhi » *sees them* > *sees a respected person*: and so with the past tense—« dĕkhaḷ-thi » beside « dĕkhaḷ-nhi » (here active « -nhi » as an equivalent of « -thi »), « dĕkhaḷ-k-ai » (object), « dĕkhaḷ-thi-nhi » (object). In the intransitive, « -nhi » is used for the indirect object only. So Magahī « dĕkhaḷ-thī », « dĕkhaḷ-thī-n » (object « -n- »). Oṛiyā too adds the plural affix (found with the noun) to the past and future bases of the verb, but it is not « -n- » of the genitive, but « -ē- » < « -ahi » of the instrumental (see *supra*, p. 724): *e.g.*, sg. « dēkhilā », pl. « dēkhil-ē » *saw*; sg. « hōilā », pl. « hōil-ē » *were*.

### [III] The Affixes for the Future Tense.

These are exactly on the lines of the past, and detailed treatment is not necessary.

**717.** The forms for the First Person in MB. and NB. are: অ (ও), ওহোঁ, ওঁ, (বোঁ, বুঁ > মু, ম, ও), আম « -ā (-ō), -ōhŏ, -ŏ (-b-ŏ, -b-ū > -mu, -m,

-ŋ = w̃), -ām ». The base in « -å » —ইব « -ib-å » —occurs in OB. and MB. (including the ŚKK.), and has been adopted as the « sādhu-bhāṣā » form, without any personal affix. In the ŚKK., « -ō̃ » is the affix for the first person, and « -āhō̃, -ōhō̃ » do not occur there; but the « -hō̃ » forms may be attested for eMB. from Early Assamese « håibō-hō, dibō-hō » beside « håibō, dibō » (= New Assamese « håm, dim ») *Ĭ shall be, I shall give.* The eMB. « -ō̃ » may have been also the result of « -aw̃a, -ama ». In any case, it would seem to have extended from the past; and in the past, already in the 14th century, « -ilā-hō̃, -ilō-hō̃ » had given « -il-ō̃ ». The Early MB. « -ō̃ » lost its nasalisation through confusion with the base in « -å », and the Standard Colloquial « -ō » (-bō), is commonly written ব « -bå » following the « sādhu-bhāṣā » spelling. The « -m-, -ŋ- » forms have been noted before (p. 967). The affix « -ām » is found in Maimansing, and is evidently the same form as in the past (see *supra*, pp. 976-977).

**718.** The affixes for the Second Person are (in addition to the base form অ « -å » in MB. and OB.): ই « -i » contemptuous or familiar; উ « -u » contemptuous and familiar, in MB.; এ, এঁ, এহেঁ « -ē, -ē̃, -ēhē̃ » polite, of which the shortened form « -ē » alone occurs in NB.; and আ, আহা « -ā, -āhā » polite and ordinary (besides এন্ « -ēnạ » with আপনি « āpạni » honorific, from 3rd person).

Of these, « -i » and « -u » are the same as in the past tense (pp. 978-980). « -ēhē̃ » is found in the ŚKK., *e.g.*, উঠিবেহেঁ « uṭhibēhē̃ » *you will rise*, করিবেহেঁ « kåribēhē̃ » *you will do*, রুষিবেহেঁ « ruṣibēhē̃ » *you will be angry*, etc.; also the contracted « -ē̃ » and the denasalised « -ē » are found there; and in the same work « -ibēhē̃ » occurs as a contrached « -ibhē̃ » in বহিভেঁ « båhibhē̃ » *you will carry* (p. 175). This « -ēhē̃, -ē̃, -ē » has also apparently been extended from the past. So, too, « -ā, -āhā », also polite forms. « -ā » is found in MB.—চলিবা, করিবা « cålibā, kåribā »; and this « -ā » might by Vowel Harmony give the Standard Colloquial চ'ল্‌বে, ক'র্‌বে [colbe, korbe]. These last two forms (-ā, -āhā) are not found in the ŚKK., but the « -āhā » can be attested from Early Assamese: *e.g.*, « kåribāhā » (as in p. 852 *supra*). The « -ā » affix is now quite common in East Bengal dialects: the Standard Colloquial prefers « -ē ».

**719.** The affixes for the Third Person are: অ « -å » (< -aa,-å) the base, in OB. and MB. (found at the present day in East Bengali and in Modern Assamese); এ « -ē », in the « sādhu-bhāṣā » and in the Standard Coll. (= same as the « -ē » of the 3rd person past: some influence of the « -ē » in the 3rd person sigmatic future of eMB.— « -hē » —described before at p. 965 —is very likely here: « -ibē » is found in the ŚKK., in both transitive and intransitive verbs, and also in Early Assamese); and the honorific অন্ত, এন্ত, এন, আঞি, অঞি etc. « -åntå, -ēntå, -ēnṛ, -āñi, -åñi », as in the past tense. Besides, there is the affix এক « -ēkṛ » with pleonastic « -ka », found in the ŚKK. and in Early Assamese, and also in the NB. « sādhu-bhāṣā » and in West Rāḍha dialects: this is discussed below.

[IV] The Affixes for the Conditional or Habitual Past.

**720.** They also agree with those for the other two participial tenses. There are some restrictions: for the 1st person, ই « -i » does not occur; for the 2nd person contemptuous (= old singular), ইস্ « -is » is used, and never (or rarely in some dialects) ই « -i » or উ « -u »; and for the 3rd person, similarly, এ « -ē » is not found.

[H] Pleonastic Affixes.

[I] The Pleonastic Affix « -ka ».

**721.** The pleonastic affixes added to the tense forms are noteworthy in Bengali as in the other Magadhan languages. The most common of these affixes is « -ka ».

In NB., the forms for the 1st person are free from the pleonastic affix, at least it is not added directly to the verb; but it is added to the 2nd person past and future (ordinary, with « tumi »), and to non-honorific 3rd person past and future (and in some dialects to the 3rd person past habitual), as well as 3rd person imperative, and but rarely to the 2nd person imperative: *e.g.*, তুমি দিলেক, দিলাক, দিবেক, চ'লবেক « tumi dil-ēkṛ, dil-ākṛ, dibē-kṛ, cå'lbē-kṛ » (never, however, « tui dibi-kṛ, cå'lbi-kṛ) »; সে দিলেক, চ'লেক, দিবেক, চ'লবেক « sē dilē-kṛ, cå'llē-kṛ, dibē-kṛ, cå'lbē-kṛ »; সে দিক্, চলুক « sē di-kṛ (< diu-kṛ), cålu-kṛ ». Except in the case of 3rd person

imperative, the use of « kṛ » is regarded as archaic in the « sādhu-bhāṣā » and is to a great extent dialectal in Bengali.

Of the present-day dialects, that of West Rāḍha has a marked preference for the « -ka », commonly in the third person: and it is found also in North Bengali (which has a special employ with the 2nd person polite imperative = original passive?: *e.g.*, খাযেক « dyākhēkā < dēkhē-ka = ? * dēkhiai + ka », p. 130, LSI., V, I; so রাখেক « rākhēkā < ? * rākhiai + ka », p. 179, ibid; also cf. p. 216, in Haijong dialect: see *supra*, p. 918), in Mayang (where it seems to occur as « -gā »), and in Chittagong (in the Chakma dialect, rather rarely). It is found pretty frequently in MB., from the ŚKK. downwards, generally with the third person, occasionally with the second, and very rarely with the first. Already in the ŚKK. we have forms like ধরিলেক « dhārilēkā » *caught*, চাহিলেক « cāhilēkā » *looked*, হিফিলেক « hiphilēkā » *cast*, নহিবেক « nāhibēkā » *will not be*, করিবেক « kāribēkā » *will do*, লৈবেক « lāibēkā » *will take*, etc. In the ŚKK., it is noteworthy that the « -ka » has also been found with the 1st person future and with the 3rd person present—this sort of use with the first and third person is not noticed ordinarily: thus ŚKK. নিবোক « nibō-kā » *I shall take* (p. 287), and পোড়েক « pōṛē-kā » *burns* (p. 110). In the NB. Standard Colloquial, however « -ka » may be used with negatives in all persons and tenses as a detached word, without any special force, unless it be of some sort of finality: *e.g.*, দেবো না ক' « dēbō-nā-kā » *I shan't give*, সে দিলে না ক', দেয় নি ক' « sē dilē-nā-kā, dēy-ni-kā » *he didn't give*, তুমি দিও না ক' « tumi diō nā kā » *you won't give*, নাইক' = নাহি-ক' « nāï kā < nāhi-kā » *is not, are not*; in cases like the above, the negative phrase may be taken as one group-word to which the affix is added.

The « -ka » for the 3rd person imperative is already well-established in the ŚKK., although the older form without the affix is still equally common (see *supra*, pp. 903, 907).

The « -ka » is absent in the Caryās as a verbal affix.

**722.** Of the other Magadhan Languages, Bhōjpuriyā alone seems not to employ it with the past and future bases. It is fairly common in Early Oṛiyā, specially with the past in the 3rd person (sg. « -ilā-kā »,

pl. and sg. honorific « -ilē-kȧ »): but Oṛiyā never used it with the 3rd person imperative. The « -ka » affix for the verb, however, has fallen into disuse in Modern Oṛiyā. So, too, Early Assamese shows as much preference for the « -ka » as Bengali; *e.g.*, 'Ādi-caritra,' p. 3, « bhȧ̆ilēkȧ » beside « bhȧ̆ilȧ » *was*; p. 7, « bōlȧntōkȧ » *they say*, « thākȧntōkȧ̆ » *they are*; p. 9, « thākibēkȧ » *they will be*, « bulibēkȧ » *they will say*; p. 20, « nā-hi-k-ȧntȧ » *they are not*; p. 28, « nā-hi-k-ay » *is not*; p. 36, « thȧ̆ilēkȧ » *was*; p. 43 « yōgāïlēkȧ » *supplied*, etc., and elsewhere « nu-hi-k-ō » *I am not* (cf. Standard Coll. Bengali নই ক' = নহিক' « nȧ(h)ï-kȧ » *I am not*, নাই ক' « nā(h)i-kȧ » *he is not*). All this usage is curtailed in Modern Assamese, where we find the « -ka » only with the 3rd person imperative, as in Bengali: *e.g.*, « kȧr-ō-kạ̇ » *let him do*. The unstableness of the « -ka » in Oṛiyā and Assamese is remarkable: and it is almost equally unstable in MB. and NB., being commonly attached to the imperative only.

The « -ka » features also in Central Magadhan. Its use in Magahī is rather restricted, it being found only in the 3rd person past both transitive and intransitive. The root « √ha » *to be* in Magahī also occurs as « √ha-k », for all the three persons. But in Maithilī « -ka » has a greater importance. It is added to the 3rd person of the simple past tense of the transitive verb (« dēkhala-k » beside poetic or earlier « dēkhala » *he saw*), where it apparently refers to the subject; but in the 1st, 2nd and 3rd persons, it can be added pleonastically where the verb-form takes the pronominal affixes referring to the non-honorific object: *e.g.*, 1st person: « dĕkhal-ī, dĕkhala-hū, dēkhalạ̇ » *I saw* (simple form), « dĕkhal-i-ăi, dĕkhal-i-a(h)u; dĕkhal-ăi, dĕkhal-a(h)u » *saw* (with affixed « -ăi, ahu » referring to the object in the 3rd and 2nd persons); and optionally, the latter group can have « -ka », as « dĕkhal-i-ăi-k, dĕkhal-i-ău-k; dĕkhal-ăi-k, dĕkhal-ău-k »; so 2nd person « dĕkhal-ȧh » beside « dĕkhal-ahȧ-k »; and 3rd person « dĕkhala-k » *he saw* (simple), « dĕkhal-k-ăi, dĕkhal-k-ău » (with object pronoun « -ăi, -ău »), beside optionally « dĕkhalạ̇-k-ăi-k, dĕkhal-k-ău-k » (in which two « -k- » affixes occur: the first « ka » refers apparently to the 3rd person subject, and the second « ka » is simply pleonastic). Early Maithilī as in literature does not show these curious extensions

the form for the 3rd person was simply in « -ala »—« dēkhala », and not « *dēkhala-ka », as in Modern Maithilī. This we find in the old poetry, in Vidyāpati, in the 'Varṇa-ratnākara.' The affixation of the pleonastic « -ka » etc. thus developed along independent lines in Maithilī.

**723**. The usage in MB. and NB. and in Maithilī shows that the « -ka » is not restricted to a single person: it is found with all the three. We have a very popular pleonastic « -ka » affix in Bengali with other parts of speech also: we find it with nouns (*e.g.*, plural affixes গুলাক « gulā-kṛ » beside গুলা « gulā », আদিক > দিগ « -ādi-kṛ > -di-gṛ » beside আদি > দি « ādi > -di », একটুক « ēkṛ-ṭu-kṛ » *a little* beside একটু « ēkṛ-ṭu »; etc.), and dialectally it is found with conjunctions (*e.g.*, কিন্তুক for কিন্তু « kintu-kṛ = kintu » in North Bengali). This « -ka » is always handy to give a point, a supposed elegance to a form in the speech of the uneducated classes in many dialectal areas: we see that in the case of learned Sanskrit words. The pleonastic « -ka » with verb forms appears to be the same affix noted under 'Formative Affixes,' No. 36 (pp. 682-683). It came specially to be associated with the 3rd person past and future in Bengali because there was no prominent affix for these finite verb forms—nothing comparable with the « -āhõ, -õ, -ām » etc. of the first person, or with « -is, -āhā, -ēhẽ » of the second. Sometimes it was thought to be quite a polite form too. The same apparently was the reason for the other Magadhan speeches: and if Maithilī restricted it to the transitive past 3rd person (*e.g.*, « dēkhalak » beside « calal »), it was because the past intransitive still retained a great deal of the original adjectival nature.

The link vowel of the pleonastic « -ka » in the 3rd person already occurs as « -ē » (and not « -ā » or « -å ») in the ŚKK. In the future, the 3 pers. affix was « -ē », and « -kå » was simply added to it. In the past, it was apparently the transitive verbs in « -ē » in the 3rd person that first took up the « -ka » (we should compare with the state of things in Maithilī in this matter): in the few instances of « -il-ē-ka » that we find in the ŚKK., there is no case of an intransitive verb. From the transitive it was apparently extended, as « -ē-ka », to the intransitive forms from the 15th century onwards.

**724.** Grierson, basing his observations on the modern Maithilī use of « -ka » for the 3rd person past of the transitive verb, explained this « -ka » both as an instrumental pronoun referring to the subject (*e.g.*, « dĕkhal-k-ai » *seen+by him* [k]+*object* [ai]), and as a nominative pronoun (*e.g.*, « dĕkhal-ī-au-k » = *seen+by me* [ī]+*for you* [au]+*he* [k]: JASB., 1895, p. 350). But an *ensemble* view of the whole question would certainly connect other facts with what we see in Maithilī, and make the simple explanation of the « ka » as the pleonastic affix as the more likely one, rather than regarding it as a problematic 3rd personal pronoun « -ka ». Grierson found support in postulating the 3rd personal pronoun « -k- » from the Assamese forms « bōpāi » *my father*, « bāpā » *your father*, and « bāp-ē-k » *his father*: but another explanation may be suggested for these forms: « -āi (bōp-āi) » may be compared with the affix of endearment found in Bengali personal names (for which see *supra*, 'Formative Affixes,' No. 9, p. 662); « -ā (bāp-ā) » for the 2nd person is an affix of respect, such as we find in the Assamese 2nd personal forms of the verb; and « -k (bāp-ē-k) » is just the pleonastic affix, perhaps originally added as a polite form, to the naked word « bāp ».

Among other NIA. speeches, the Jaipurī form of Rājasthānī has a fondness for this pleonastic « -ka » which can be compared with the Magadhan usage (LSI., IX, II, p. 35).

**725.** The « -ka » affix has had a very important place among the affixes of IA. Already in OIA., from post-Vedic times, this affix was employed with a variety of forces (cf. Franklin Edgerton, 'The *k*-suffixes of Indo-Iranian,' Part I, Leipzig, 1911). It seems to have been re-introduced in MIA., evidently through the influence of a large percentage of the Skt. *tss.* and *stss.* which showed it. The pleonastic use of it has been exhaustively noted by Pāṇini. We find that the « -ka » could be used in Skt. pleonastically, or with a sense of contempt, pity, littleness, or unfamiliarity, in connexion with all sorts of forms—inflected pronouns and inflected verbs (mainly 3rd pers. sg.), as well as indeclinables, in addition to noun bases (cf. Pāṇini, V, iii, 71-78, 85, 86): *e.g.*, the instances given by the grammarians,

« uccaiḥ : uccakaiḥ ; śanaiḥ : śanakaiḥ ; tvayā : tvayakā ; yuvayōḥ : yuvakayōḥ ; yuṣmāsu : yuṣmakāsu ; jalpati : jalpataki ; pacati : pacataki ; pāti : pātaki ; svapiti : svapitaki ; ēhi : ēhaki » ; etc. It is not unlikely that a revived « -ka,-kka » should develop in MIA. and NIA. a similar employ as a pleonastic.

### [II] The Pleonastic Affix « -ra ».

**726.** An affix « -ra » occurs in dialectal NB. and in MB. In NB. this is found in West Rāḍha (*e.g.*, in the Sarāki dialect of Ranchi) in connexion with the conjunctive in « -i(y)ā » : *e.g.*, খাইআর « jāïārṛ = jāïā-rṛ » *having gone*, খাইআর « khāïā-rṛ » *having eaten*, উঠিয়ার « uṭhiyā-rṛ » *having risen* (LSI., V, I, pp. 88, 89) ; it is found also in the dialects of East Vaṅga—in Sylhet, Kachar and Mayang dialects, in Tipperah, Noakhali and Chittagong. The usage in East Vaṅga is more extensive : the « -ra » occurs not only with the conjunctive, *e.g.*, Chittagong দিয়ারে, করিয়ারে, আইয়ারে « diyā-r-ē, kāriyā-r-ē, āïyā-r-ē » *on having given, on having done, on having come*, Mayang « ēilā-rā » *on having come*, but also with the present (radical) and the past conditional (< present participle) tenses, to indicate continuous or progressive action : *e.g.*, E. Sylhet যাইয়ার, যাইত্রাম, যাইয়াম « jāïyā-rṛ, jāït-r-ām, jāï-r-ām » *I go, I am going* (beside যাইতেছি « jāïtēchi » as in Standard Bengali) ; কর্ত্রা « kārṭ-r-ā » *is* or *are doing* ; যাইত্রায় « jāït-rā-y » *you are going* (beside যাইতেছ « jāïtēchâ ») ; হয়র « hâyâ-rṛ » *is happening* ; and Mayang « pait-rā » *are getting*, « jā-r-gā » *he goes*, « tumi-te āho-r-ai (= āïsa-r-āy) » *you are coming*, « sōre dākāite hin kŏrtā-r-ā » *thieves and robbers are making destitute*, « āmi kākuti kŏriyā-r » *we pray*, « bāpōk gum jā-r » *the father sleeps*, « tā huŏr rākhe-r » *he tends swine*, « bōk paiyā mōring-kŏrau-r-i » *I am dying of hunger*, etc., etc. (LSI., V, I, pp. 419 ff.) ; Chittagong করির beside করি « kări-rṛ, kări » *I (we) do*, করর beside করস « kărā-rṛ, kărâs » *you do*, করের beside করে « kărē-rṛ, kărē » *he does, they do*, খাইর, খাই « khāï-rṛ, khāï » *I eat*, খাওর « khāo-rṛ » *you eat*, খায়ের, খার « khāyēr-ṛ, khā-rṛ » *he eats*, আঁই উয়াসে মরির « āi uāsē mări-rṛ » *I am dying through starvation*, আঁই তোঁয়ার খেজমৎ করিয়ের « āi tōārṛ khēzmât kăriyēr-ṛ » *I am doing service for you*, etc. ; and Chakma « mărāṇ-ārṛ » *I am dying*, « gărāṇ-ārṛ » *I am doing*, « bhābē-rṛ » *he is thinking*, etc.

The MB. examples are all found in the ŚKK., and the « -ra » there occurs, not with the conjunctive, but with the finite tense forms—present, past and future, as well as imperative: thus: p. 39, আছের « āchē-rā » *is*; p. 195, শোভের « śōbhē-rā » *is beautiful*; p. 69, বাজের « bājē-rā » *sounds*; p. 152, গেলির « gēli-rā » *it went* (=gēlā-rā? ); p. 2, চিন্তির « cinti-rā » *he deliberated* (non-l past in « -i »: *supra*, p. 947); p. 50, বেঢ়িলের « bēṛhilē-rā » *it surrounded*; pp. 50, 193, 279, দিবোঁর « dibŏ-rā » *I shall give*; p. 84, হৈবের « hâibē-rā » *it will be*; p. 334, কহিআরোঁ « kâhiā-r-ŏ » *let me narrate*; p. 11, কহিআর « kâhiā-r-â » *do tell*; p. 72, খাআর « khāā-r-â » *do eat*; pp. 16, 115, 319, 336, 394 দিআর « diā-rā » *do give*; p. 38, দিআরু « diā-r-u » *let him give*. In the imperative forms, the base seems to be the non-l passive participle in « -iā », to which « -rā » is added, and the whole is treated as a base to which the personal suffixes are attached. Cf. the Sylhet and Mayang forms, and the Chittagong idiom তুই দিয়ারে মুই দিয়া « tui diyā-r-ē mui diyā » *on your giving, I would give*, or *if you have given, then I have given also* (VSPdP., 1326, p. 251).

**727.** The fact of this « -ra » occurring in the two extreme dialect areas of Bengali—in Early West Bengali, in modern dialectal West Bengali, and in modern extreme Eastern and South-Eastern Bengali—would suggest that it was a common Bengali affix, but its development has been localised in certain tracts. It seems to occur sporadically in other dialects also in MB.: *e.g.*, Vijaya-gupta's 'Padmā-purāṇa' (Barisal), ধূপের ধোঁয়া দিয়ারে বাসিত করে কেশ « dhūpēr̤ dhōā diyārē bāsitâ kârē kēś̤ » *perfumes hair with incense smoke* (VSP., p. 186).

The « -ra » affix apparently occurs in other NIA., outside Bengal and the Magadhan area. We find it in Rājasthānī (*e.g.*, Mārwāṛī « hūya-r, whē-r » *having become* beside « hūy-naĩ, hō, hō-kar, whētō-kaṇaĩ », « māra-r » *having struck* beside « mār-kar, mār-naĩ, mārī-naĩ »; Central Rājasthānī, Jaipurī etc., « whaĩ-r, hō-r » *having become*, « māra-r » *having struck*; Mēwātī « hō-r, mār-ar »), where the affix « -ra » is added to the conjunctive participle; we find it in Pahāṛī, *e.g.*, Khas-kurā « gārē-ra » *having done*, « bhayē-ra » *having been* (where the « -ra » has been explained as a conjunction meaning *and*, which is added to the oblique form of the passive

participle), beside the « -i » conjunctive « gari, bhai » *having done, having been* (LSI., IX, IV, p. 36); Sirmaurī « khāy-rō » *having eaten* (where « -rō » seems to the a post-position : LSI., ibid., p. 465); also « -rō » in other Pahāṛī dialects (LSI., ibid., pp. 570, 602).

The etymology of the Bengali « -ra » is puzzling, and probably the source is not one, but many. In the NB. conjunctives, whether of West Rāḍha or of S.-E. Vaṇga, it can very well be post-positional in origin, from « pâṛ, pâr-ē » *after*, used in an adverbial sense. We have Modern Bengali instances like W. Rāḍha যায়ে বাদে « jāyē bādē » *after having gone* (where « bādē » *after* is the Perso-Arabic « ba'd ») =Standard Colloquial গিয়ে পর « giyē pâṛ » : Cf. Haijong dialect (Maimansing) উঠিয়ামি « uṭhiyā-mi » *after getting up*, দেখিয়ামি « dēkhiyā-mi » *on seeing* where « -mi » is the locative affix (see *supra*, p. 751) ; we can also compare Marāṭhī « uṭhilyā-var » *on having risen*, « sōḍilyā-var » *on having left*, where « var=par ». The « -ra » in Khas-kurā, explained by Grierson as meaning *and* (< apara), can similarly be a postpositional form. In the present forms, in Bengali, the « -ra » can very well be the conjunction « āra, ãara, aara < apara » *and* : « karē-ṛ » *does and=does, continues to do, is doing*. So, too, in the MB. past and future. But the addition of it to a verbal base, and then tagging on personal suffixes to it (as in the MB. imperative 1. « kâhiā-r-ō̃ », 2. « kâhiā-r-â », 3. « diā-r-u » and in NB. of E. Sylhet 1. « jāĩt-r-ām, jāĩ-r-ām » 2. « jāĩt-r-āy », 3. « jāĩt-r-ā », and Mayang 2. « āho-r-ai », 3. « kŏrtā-r-ā ») is a unique phenomenon. I would suggest that here the « -r- » is the contracted form of « √kâr », and the affix is simply the verbal auxiliary added on to the root : « kâhiārõ < *kahiā+karõ » = « kathitaṁ karōmi » *I make it described*, for « kathayāmi » *I describe it* ; « diāru < *diyā+karu » = « dattaṁ karōtu » for « dadātu » : « jāĩt-rām = *jāĩta + karõ, *karām » (Bengali « √kâr » + affix « -āmi ») = *going I do = I go on, I am going* ; and a form like « jāĩ-rām » or « āhō-r-āi » shows a combination of a regular conjugation in the present + the « -r- < √kâr » and personal affixes combined. The genitive affix « kara > -âṛ » implying connexion may also have something to do with it.

### [III] The Pleonastic Affix « -li » of MB.

**728.** The affix লি « -li » occurs in the ŚKK. less than half a dozen times with the future or precative imperative : *e.g.*, করিহলি « kărihâ-li » *you will do* ; দিহলি « dihâlī » *you will give* ; গাঅ গড়াহলি « gāă gaṛāhâli » *you will roll* (*your*) *body* ; চলিহলি « câlihâli » *you will go.* An equivalent of this affix has not been found in any NB. dialect Bhōjpuriyā among Magadhan speeches has an « -l- » form which is added to the old present (or radical) tense to form a present definite or future (LSI., V, II, p. 52). In some of the Rājasthānī dialects, in Marāṭhī, in Khas-kurā, and in Gaṛhwālī and Kumāūnī (Central Pahārī), the future is also expressed by an « -l- » form.

The MB. « -li », occurring as it does with an original future form to strengthen its force, seems to be equally a future-indicating suffix, as in the other NIA. speeches, and to be identical with that. Various derivations of this « -l- » suffix have been suggested (cf. Beames, 'Comp. Gramm.,' II, p. 163 ; Bhāṇḍārkar, 'Wilson Lectures,' p. 272 ; Hoernle, 'Gauḍian Grammar,' §§ 501, 509 ; Bloch, 'Langue Marathe,' p. 241). The derivation suggested by Bloch for this suffix seems to be the most likely one : it is the passive participle of a Prakrit root « lē » *to take* (corresponding to the Skt. « √ lā » : cf. similar alternation between Prakrit and NIA. « √ dē » and Skt. « √ dā »), such as we find, for instance, in Hindōstānī « lī-ā », in Brajbhākā « lī-nau », in dialectal Bengali লিলে « li-l-ē » (=in Standard Bengali নিলে « ni-lē » with merging of নী « √ nī » and লহ « √ lâh < √ labh » in it). This « * lī (a) > li » would seem to be added pleonastically, and in MB. it is used in both genders. Cf. similar future use of « gā, gau ( < gata ) » in Western Hindī (and in Maithilī).

### [IV] The Pleonastic Affix « khan » or « khun ».

**729.** The colloquial of Calcutta and the surrounding districts uses the word খন « -khân̐ » or খুন « -khun̐ », or অখন, অখুন « -ākhân̐, -ākhun̐ » after vowels, pleonastically with all persons in the past and future tenses : *e.g.*, যাবো-(অ)খুন, দিলুম-খুন, হবে-(অ)খুন « jābō-(ā)khun̐,

dilum-khuṇ̆, hăbē-(ă)khuṇ̆ » *I shall go, I (we) gave, it will be.* There is just a suggestion of the finality or instantaneous completion of the action : here the force of the OIA. « kṣaṇa » *instant*, its source, is preserved. Its origin has been given *supra*, p. 857, under 'Adverbs of Time in খন « khăṇ̆ ».' It seems to occur also in Magahī, in forms like « kailăkai-khan » *did*, « kahalăkai-khan » *said*, « chŏṛalăkai-khan » *gave up*, « chŏṛaulăkai-khan » *caused to give up*, « ailăi-khan » *came*, besides « kariăĭ-khăn » *I do, I shall do*, etc. (as in the 'Gospel of St. Mark, in Măgadhi,' Calcutta, 1890 : a form which does not occur in Grierson).

In dialectal Bengali (Khulna, Jessore, etc.), this form has been reduced to « nē » ( < ănē < ăănē < ăhănē [ɔxɔne], =ăkhănē) with the future only : দেবোনে « dēbō-nē » *I shall give*, যাবানে « jābă-nē » [ zabane ] *you will go*, etc.

### [V] The Pleonastic Affix '-ṭā.'

**730.** The Mayang dialect apparently uses a pleonastic affix « tā » : thus, « eil-tā » *he came* « eilā-tā » *they have come*, « peilăng-tā » *I got*, « koraurī-tā » *I am making* « ose-tā, āse-tā » *is*, beside « eil » *he came*, « dekhilo » *he saw*, « nā-peil-gā » *did not get*, « korauri » *I do*, « āse » *is*, etc. This « -tā » is found with nouns and pronouns also ( LSI., V, I, pp. 419 ff.).

Mayang does not distinguish between cerebrals and dentals, as much Assamese, and this « -tā » can well represent a cerebral « -ṭā ». This « -ṭā » apparently is the 'Enclitic Definitive' noted at pp. 780-781, and at p. 686. Its use with verbs is not noticed elsewhere in Bengali, but it seems to be present in Oṛiyā as « -ṭi », especially in Early Oṛiyā : *e.g.*, « tu jĭbu-ṭi » *will you go ?* (cf. LSI., V, II, p. 381, Expletive Additions) : Early Oṛiyā, 'Dhruva-caritra' (Contai ed., p. 16) « pāĭbă-ṭī kăhi » *where will one get it ?* ; 'Bhāgavata, Vastra-haraṇa' p. 8, « năṛăkē păṛibă-ṭi jāĭ » *will fall in hell* ; 'Rukmiṇī-haraṇa,' p. 3, « sē dhărmē băñcă-ṭi-ki sukhē » *live happily in that* dharma (cf. Oṛiyā « ṭikē » = Bengali একটু, টুক্ « ēkă-ṭu, -ṭu-kă », p. 780) ; 'Rāsa-līlā,' p. 8, « ămbhărā pūrilā-ti kāḷa » *my time is over* ; etc.

### [VI] The Pleonastic Affix « -ḍa ».

**731.** In the OB., the two forms « gāï-ḍa » *sang* and « sanāïḍa » *signified* occur (Caryā 2). They represent OIA. causative passive participles « gāpitam » and « saṁjñāpitam » + the pleonastic affix « -ṭa > -ḍa » = « -ṛa » in NIA. (=Formative Affix No. 46, pp. 689 ff., *supra*). Use of this pleonastic affix for verb-forms is known in other NIA., although this figures no longer in that connexion in Bengali (of Rājasthānī dialects, LSI., IX, II, pp. 30, 59).

## [I] The Participles.

### [I] The Present Participle.

**732.** The present participle occurs in Bengali in two forms: in the base-form in অন্ত « -ântâ », and in the locative in ইতে « -itē ». It represents the OIA. active present participle in « -ant- » (the « śatṛ » of the Indian grammarians). These have been discussed under 'Formative Affixes,' Nos. 3 and 28. Other instances of the « -ântâ » form may be given: পড়ন্ত « pâṛ-ântâ » *falling*, নিবন্ত « nib-ântâ » *dying out* (*as a flame*), উঠন্ত « uṭh-ântâ » *rising*, জ্বলন্ত « jwâl-ântâ » *burning*, সাজন্ত « sāj-ântâ » *fitting*, ফুটন্ত « phuṭ-ântâ » *blossoming*, *boiling* (*bubbling*), অফুরন্ত « â-phur-ântâ » *unending*, etc. The affix « -ântâ » is an archaic survival (doubtless a literary one) for Bengali, with the « -n- » fully retained: it ought to have been * আৎ « -ât- »: we actually find « -ât- » in some rare instances in MB.: *e.g.*, VSP., p., 658, জীঁত « jīyâtâ » *living*. The participle as an attribute of the subject of a sentence, *e.g.*, as in Hindōstānī (cf. Platts, 'Hindustānī Grammar,' p. 332), is not found in Bengali. The Assamese equivalent is « -ōt- »: « kâr-ōt-ā » *doer*, « câl-ōt-ā » *walker*, « di-ōt-ā » *giver*, etc. Oṛiyā has a form in « -u, -ū » as in « kâru, kârū » (which is different in origin from the « -ântâ » participle,) as the present participle absolute (see *supra*, p. 678). In Maithilī, the affix occurs as « -ait », fem. « -ait-i », in Magahī as « -ait, -at, -it » (feminine with « -ī » added); and in Bhōjpuriyā the same forms as those of Magahī occur.

The absolute or attributive use of the « -ântâ » participle is found only with one root in the Caryās: thus in 18, we have « jīvantē maalē

(=maïlē) ṇāhi bisēsō » *there is no difference between the living and the dead*, where it is instrumental ; also in 49, « jīvantē maïlē nāhi biśēṣa » ; and in 23, « jivantē bhelā bihaṇi maēla » *died without having been a living one*, where it is apparently nominative. The form is also restricted in use in eMB., but a few instances are found : thus ŚKK., p. 256, জীয়ন্ত « jīyanta » *living*, p. 276, মারন্তা « mārantā » *one who strikes*.

**733**. The present participle in ইতে « -itē » represents the proper Bengali transformation of the MIA. « -anta » to « -ita- »—the native line of development in the language, represented in the Past Conditional or Habitual also. It is an inflected form—a locative absolute, and it indicates the condition under which an act is done. In dialectal Bengali, the uninflected form occurs either in forming the progressive tense (*e.g.*, কর্‌তাছে [kɔrtase] < কর্‌িত্‌+আছে « kārit+āchē » in Maimansing Bengali), or to indicate either the simple participle, or when repeated a condition (*e.g.*, আসিৎ আসিৎ « āsit āsit » *while coming* in Manbhum, Khāriā-ṭhār dialect : LSI., V, I, pp. 93, 94). A locative of the present participle in « -it- » with the common postpositional affix for the locative case, *viz.*, ত « -tṛ », seems to feature in the progressive tense in dialectal North Bengali : see *infra*, under ' Compound or Periphrastic Tenses.' By repeating the « -itē » form, continuity of the conditional or concurrent event is indicated : thus, আমি যাইতে সে আসিল « āmi jāïtē sē āsilā » *on my going* (lit. *I going*), *he came* ; আমি যাইতে যাইতে সে আসিল « āmi jāïtē jāïtē sē āsilā » *while I was going, he came* ; আমি খাইতে খাইতে বলিব « āmi khāïtē khāïtē balibā » *I shall narrate while eating* ; তার এমন ভাই থাকতে সে কষ্ট পায় « tārṛ ēmanṛ bhāï thāktē sē kaṣṭa pāy » *with such a brother living, he suffers* ; সে নাচিতে নাচিতে আসে « sē nācitē nācitē āsē » *he comes dancing* ; গান গাইতে গাইতে সুতা কাটে « gānṛ gāïtē gāïtē sutā kāṭē » *spins while singing*, etc. The « -itē » form practically is in adverbial relation to the finite verb. This adverbial employ with an oblique form of the present participle is found in other NIA. speeches : *e.g.*, Early Assamese « -āntē » (fairly common) ; Oṛiyā « āntē », *e.g.*, (« kārāntē » *whilst doing*, also *on doing, about to do* : cf. « cālāntē mōdinī kāmpāï » *the earth trembles while he walks*, as in Jagannāthadāsa) ; Maithilī « -itahī », (*e.g.*, « dekhitahī » *on seeing*) ; Hindōstānī

« -tē » (see Platts, 'Hindustānī Grammar,' pp. 333, 335), *e.g.*, « sārī rāt talaphtē kaṭī » *the whole night passed in restlessness* (lit. *I being agitated*), « ḍartē ḍartē maĩ pās giyā » *I approached (it) in great fear* (*fearing much*), « ham gātē gātē sītī haĩ » *we* (fem.) *keep singing while we stitch*: in all the above, the oblique form is a locative; but in Old Western Rājasthānī, the source of Gujarātī and Mārwārī, where also this adverbial participle occurs, and in Marāṭhī similarly, the oblique form seems to be an absolute plural genitive (Tessitori, 'Grammar of OWR.,' § 124: but Jules Bloch and V.K. Rājawāḍē suggest the MIA. absolutive in « -tvā-nam, -ttāṇaṁ » as in Pali and Ardha-māgadhī as the source of the Marāṭhī as well as Gujarātī « -tā »: 'Langue Marathe,' p. 260).

In the Caryās, the locative or adverbial participle occurs in a number of instances: *e.g.*, « (15) jāntē, jāantē *while going*; (16) buḍantē *while sinking*; (20) biārantē *while discussing*, (23) païsantē *while entering*; (30) suṇantē *on hearing*; (31) cāhantē cāhantē *while seeing*; (39) amiā ācchantē bisa gilēsi *while there is nectar thou swallowest poison*; (42) mūḍhā acchantē lōa na pēkhaï *while he remains a fool a man does not see*; dudha majhē laḍa ṇacchaṁtē dēkhaï =? dūdha mājhē laḍa āchantē na dēkhaï *he does not see the butter* (*fat*) *while it is the midst of the milk*; (44) aṇa cāhantē āṇa biṇaṭhā *while asking for the one, the other is destroyed*; (50) jāgantē *while keeping awake* »; cf. also (6) « taraṅgantē = ? turaṁ gantē » *going quickly*; and « ghara acchantē mā jāṇga baṇē », *supra*, p. 960.

MB. instances: ŚKK., p. 11, পাছে পাছে জাইতেঁ পথ হারাইল আহ্মি « pāchē pāchē jāītē pathā hārāīlā āmhi » *I lost the way while going after* (*her*); p. 15, বাহুত বলয়া শোভে পাএত নুপুর। চলিতেঁ চলিতেঁ তোর রুণুঝুণু বাজে॥ « bāhu-tā bālāyā śōbhē, pāē-tā nupūrā: cālitē cālitē tōrā ruṇu-jhuṇu bājē » *armlets grace* (*your*) *arms, on* (*your*) *feet anklets*: *while walking, these your* (*trinkets*) *tinkle*; p. 27, তাক সোঁঅরিতেঁ মোর মনে বাঢ়ে তাপ « tākā sōāritē mōrā mānē bāṛhē tāpā » *sadness grows in my mind while I remember it all*; p. 355, যেবা কিছু দুখ দিলোঁ পার হৈতেঁ নাএ « jēbā kichu dukhā dilō pārā hāitē nāē » *all the trouble I gave* (*thee*) *while crossing in the boat*;

ibid, না শুনিলোঁ তোর বোল লঅঁা জাইতেঁ পাণী « nā śuṇilō̃ tōrā bōlā lāā̃ jāïtē̃ pāṇī » *I did not listen to thy words while fetching water*; p. 376, চাহিতেঁ চাহিতেঁ পাইল আচম্বিত « cāhitē̃ cāhitē̃ pāïlā ācāmbitā » *while seeking (looking for), found of a sudden*; etc., etc.; Kṛttivāsa, 'Ayōdhyā-kāṇḍa,' p. 24, কান্দিতে কান্দিতে যান ভরত শত্রুঘন « kānditē kānditē jānạ Bhāratạ Śātrughānạ » *Bharata and Śatrughna go weeping*; VSP., p. 709, নকুলক দেখন্তে সকল যায় মরি « Nākulā-kā dēkhāntē sākālạ jāyạ māri » *all go dead while seeing N.*; ibid, p. 182, দুই চক্ষু থাকিতে « dui cākṣu thākitē » *while the two eyes exist*; etc., etc.

This adverbial or locative absolute present participle goes back to OIA., and occurs throughout the history of IA.: cf. Rig-Veda, 1, 184, « ucchạ́ntyām uṣási » *at Dawn as it shines forth* > *when Dawn shines forth* (Macdonell, 'Vedic Grammar for Students,' § 205); see also *supra*, p. 959.

From MB. times, the adverbial present participle in « -itē » has been confused with the infinitive in « -itē », for which see *infra*, under 'Verbal Nouns and Infinitives.'

### [II] The Past (Passive) Participle.

**734.** The Bengali Passive Participle comes from the OIA. « -(i)ta », fortified either by « -ā » or by « -il-, -il-ā ». We have thus two types, the « -ā » type, and the « -l- » type, of which the latter is obsolete in the Standard Colloquial. They have been fully discussed under the 'Past Tense,' *supra*, pp. 940-959. In NB., the perfect tenses are made with a verb form in ইয়া « -iyā » + the auxiliary substantive verb « āch » (and « thāk »): করিয়াছি « kāriyā-chi » *I have done*, করিয়াছিলাম « kāriyā-chilām » *I had done*, করিয়া থাকিব « kāriyā thākibā » *I shall have done*. In Early Bengali, this « -iyā » occurs as ই « -i », and also as ইআঁ, ইয়াঁ, ইঞা « -iā̃, -iyā̃, -iñā » etc.,—and the nasalised forms are still in use in West Bengali dialects.

This « -iyā » form is commonly explained as the conjunctive form = *having done*, but in the periphrastic combination of the tense, it is likely that it is the passive participle rather than the conjunctive indeclinable (see *infra*, under 'Compound or Periphrastic Tenses').

That the « -iyā, -i » form represents the Passive Participle also (in addition to the conjunctive) is seen from its adjectival or adverbial employ which has occasionally a present participial force : thus, মাঝে লক্ষ্মীর মূর্ত্তি, দুই পাশে দুই হাতী শুঁড় উচু করিয়া দাঁড়াইয়া « mājhē Lakṣmīr̤ mūrtti, dui pāśē dui hātī śūṛ̤ ūcu kāriyā dāṛāiyā » *in the middle the figure of Lakṣmī, on two sides two elephants standing with trunks raised high* ; শিব নাচি নাচি যায় « Śibā nāci nāci jāy » *Śiva goes dancing* ; Kṛttivāsa, 'Ayodhyā-kāṇḍa,' p. 20, কান্দিয়া কান্দিয়া রাণী আইল বাহির « kāndiyā kāndiyā rāṇī āīlā bāhir̤ » *the queen came out weeping* : cf. কান্দিতে কান্দিতে যান ভরত শত্রুঘন at p. 1002. The transition in significance from the passive participle adjective to the active present participle can easily happen through intransitive verbs.

Causative and Denominative verbs form their passive participle in আন, আনো « -ānā, -ānō », which is discussed below under those verbs.

## [ J ] The Conjunctives.

**735.** There are two Indeclinable Conjunctives, or Gerunds, in Bengali, one ending in ইয়া « -iyā » (> Standard Coll. এ « -ē » with mutation of preceding vowel), the other in ইলে « -ilē » (> Standard Coll. লে « -lē », with accompanying mutation through influence of the « -i- »). Both mean *having done*, or *having finished*: but « -iyā » indicates merely a *succession of actions or events* done by or with reference to the *same* subject, while « -ilē » implies a *condition or precedence in a succession of acts* performed by the same subject or by different subjects : *e.g.*, আমি আসিয়া দেখিলাম « āmi āsiyā dēkhilām » *having come, I saw* =*I came and saw* ; সে আসিলে (এলে) পরে আমি দেখিলাম « sē āsilē (ēlē) pārē āmi dēkhilām » *I saw after he came* ; আমি সময় মত ফিরলে যেতে পারি « āmi sāmāy̤-mātā phirlē jētē pāri » =*I may go if I return in time* ; খেয়ে নাও, খেলে পর হাঁটতে পারবে « khēyē nāō, khēlē pāṛ̤ hāṭṭē pārbē » *eat (your fill), you will be able to walk if you eat (enough)* ; আমি গেলে তুমি যেও « āmi gēlē tumi jēō » *you will go if I go (after I have gone)* ; দিলে দেয় « dilē dēy » *gives when one gives him*, পেলে দেয় « pēlē dēy » *gives if he gets* beside পেয়ে (পাইয়া) দেয় « pēyē=pāīyā dēy » *gives after he gets*, etc., etc. There are other points of difference in the idiomatic use of these two forms (cf. Milne, ' Bengali Grammar,' pp. 180-189), but

the outstanding fact is that « -ilē » is conditional with reference to the same subject or different subjects, and « -iyā » is sequential with the same subject.

### [ I ] The Conjunctive or Absolutive in ইলে «-ilē».

**736.** The conjunctive in ইলে « -ilē » is based on the passive participle in « -il- », and it is occasionally an adjective and occasionally a noun, like the « -(i)ta- » participle in Sanskrit and also like its cognate « -al- » form in Bihārī. It is adjectival in character when it occurs absolutely with a noun or pronoun : *e.g.*, রামে মার্‌লেও ম'রবে, রাবণে মারলেও ম'রবে « Rāmē mārlē-ō mōrbē, Rābaṇē mārlē-ō mōrbē » *he (Kālanēmi) will die, whether Rāma kills him or Rāvaṇa*; আমি তাকে দিলে তবে সে বাঁচে « āmi tākē dilē tābē sē bā̃cē » *he would live only if I give him*; and it is a verbal noun where it occurs with the genitive, *e.g.*, আমার না দিলে কিছু আসে যায় না, কিন্তু তোমার দেওয়া চাই « āmārṛ nā dilē kichu āsē jāy nā, kintu tomārṛ dēwā cāï » *it doesn't matter* (lit. *nothing comes or goes*) *through my not giving, but you should give* (lit. *your giving is wanted*); or where it forms an absolute clause word : *e.g.*, দিলে হয় « dilē hāy » *it would be well to give, it won't be bad to give,* lit. *if there were a giving, it may be* (*good*); cf. Standard Colloquial (dialectal) আমার আদেখলায় = « আদেখিলাএ « āmārṛ ādēkhlāy < « ā-dēkhil-ā-ē » *me not seeing, during my not seeing.*

« -il-ē » is a locative form, and as a locative it has an absolutive or conditional force. It can be compounded with other verbs in « -itē » and in « -iyā », to express, in the former case, a subjunctive or purposive gerund (*e.g.*, করিতে গেলে « kāritē gēlē » *if one is do, when one is to do,* খাইতে দিলে « khāïtē dilē » *when one gives to eat, if one is given to eat*), and, in the latter case, to denote a past conditional (*e.g.*, খাইয়া গেলে « khāïyā gēlē », *after one has eaten* or *after one has started to eat on*, or, *after one has finished eating,* দেখিয়া নিলে « dēkhiyā nilē » *after one has finished seeing,* etc.). Unlike the conjunctive in « -iyā », it cannot be repeated to indicate repetition or continuity : *e.g.*, করিয়া করিয়া, ক'রে ক'রে « kāriyā-kāriyā, kōrē-kōrē » *having done again and again,* but not « kārilē-kārilē », the reason apparently being that as a past base « -ilē » is already perfective and final, and continuous or imperfect action cannot be well expressed by it. This

doubling of the « -iyā » or « -i » conjunctive is found OB., and also its equivalent form in MIA. and OIA. (*e.g.*, saṁsmṛtya saṁsmṛtya, pītvā pītvā, etc.)

Instances of the conjunctive in « -ilē » from OB. and MB.: (Caryā 2) « rāti bhaïlē » *when it is night* ; (5) « sāṅkama-ta caḍilē » *after getting upon the bridge* ; (20) « -jaubaṇa mōra bhaïlē si pūrā » ? *as soon as my youth was mature* ; ŚKK., p. 84, নান্দ গোপ শুনিলেঁ হৈবের কোণ গতী « Nāndagōpā śuṇilē hāibērā kōṇā gāti » *what will be the fate* (*then*), *when the cowherd Nanda hears?* ; p. 98, তপত দুধ নালে ন পীয়ে, জুড়াইলে সোআদ তার « tāpātā dudhā nālē nā pīē, juṛāïlē sōādā tārā » *hot milk is not drunk through a straw, its taste* (*comes*) *when it is cooled* ; p. 107, বল কইলেঁ জানায়িবোঁ রাজাএ « bālā kāïlē jāṇāyibō rājāē » *shall make the king know if you use force* ; p. 297, যে বুধি করিলেঁ রহে আহ্মার জীবন « jē budhi kārilē rāhē āmhārā jībanā » *by doing such contrivance by which my life can endure* ; p. 299, হেন কাম করিলেঁ নাসিবোঁ তোর পাশে « hēnā kāmā kārilē nāsibō tōrā pāśē » *shan't come near you if you do such a thing* ; etc. etc.

The conjunctive use of the locative form of the « -il- » base is found in other Eastern Magadhan : *e.g.*, Oṛiyā « dēkhilē » *if one had seen, when one has seen* ; Assamese « hâl-ē, hâl-ât » (= Bengali « hâilē, * hâilē-tē »). In Maithilī, Magahī and Bhōjpuriyā, the ablative of the verbal noun in « -al- » is used : *e.g.*, Maithilī « carī nahī bhēṭalā-sā » *through not getting fodder*, « ghumalā-sā kī lābh ahī » *what profit is there from wandering about* (Grierson, ' Maithilī, Grammar,' p. 48 : the adjectival « -al- » is rather restricted in Maithilī, see Grierson, pp. 113-114, and hence the locative absolute use of it is not found in Maithilī, corresponding to Bengali সে এলে « sē ēlē » *on his coming*, etc.) ; Bhōjpuriyā « paṛhalē, paṛhalē-sē » (Hoernle, ' Gauḍian Grammar,' § 488). With the locative use of the « -il- » participle in Bengali we may compare the Hindōstānī oblique use of the past participle to denote a condition or sequence (see Platts, ' Hindustānī Grammar,' pp. 337-338 : *e. g.*, kyū itnī rāt gayē tum āyē « *why have you come at this late hour of the night*, lit. *when so much of the night is gone* : =কেন এত রাত গেলে তুমি এলে « kēnā ētā rāti gēlē tumi ēlē » ), « pahar din caṛhē, maĩ utrā » *when the sun had risen to one watch, I came down* =বেলা এক পহর হ'লে « bēlā

ēkṛ pāhāṛṛ hōlē »). Compare also Marāṭhī « cālalyā-s », dative of the perfect participle in « -l- », =*having walked.*

The use of the passive participle locative, absolutely, with a noun or pronoun in the locative, to indicate the conjunctive, is found in OIA. and MIA.: *e.g.*, « dṛṣṭē sūryē, punar api bhavān vāhavēd adhva-śēṣam » (Mēgha-dūta) : « alē, lāa- śālaē haggē ; gōṇā maḷē (=maḍē), aṇṇē kiṇiśśaṁ ; pavahaṇē bhaggē, avalaṁ ghaḷāïśśaṁ ; tuma'ṁ maḷē (=maḍē), avalē pavahaṇa-vāhakē huviśśadi » *I say, I am the king's brother-in-law ; if the oxen are killed, I shall buy others ; if the carriage is broken, I shall have another built ; if you die, then there will be another carriage-driver* (Mṛcchakaṭika) ; etc., etc.

[II] The Conjunctive in ই « -I », ইয়া « -IYĀ », ইয়াঁ « -IYÃ ».

**737.** In the « sādhu-bhāṣā », the gerund or conjunctive is formed by adding « -iyā » to the root : চলিয়া « cal-iyā » *having gone*, রাখিয়া « rākh--iyā » *having kept* : in the Standard Colloquial, this « -iyā » is contracted to « -ē », and there is mutation of the preceding vowel : চ'লে [ cʰole , রেখে [rekhe]. In MB., especially in West Bengal texts, « -iyā » also occurs in a nasalised form, side by side with the non-nasalised one, and this is written ইয়াঁ, ইঞা, ঞা, ইঞাঁ « -iyã, -iñā, -ñā, -iñã » etc. This nasalised form was a living one in some forms of West Bengali, and at the present day it occurs as (ই)য়েঁ, ইয়াঁ « -(i)yẽ, -iyyã » [iẽ] in the West Rāḷha dialects. In addition to this « -iyā, -iyã », MB. (and the NB. language of poetry) has another form—in « -i » ; *e.g.*, চলি, রাখি « cal-i, rākh-i ». The Caryās show all the three, as « -iā, -iã, -i (-ī) » : thus, « -i, -ī » : « (1) pāṇḍi *having spread* ; (2) duhi *having milked*, cauri *having stolen*, thira kari *making steady* ; (4) cāpī *having pressed*, cumbī *having kissed* (6) chāḍī *giving up* ; (7) dēkhi *having seen*, gaï *having gone* ; (9) païsi *having entered* ; (15) chāḍī ; (16) suni *having heard* ; (21) uṭhi *having got up* ; (22) raci raci *building again and again* ; (26) dhuni dhuni *carding (cotton) again again* », etc., etc. ; « -ia » : « (1) diṭa (=diḍha) karia *making firm*, pucchia *questioning* ; (5) phā(ḍ)ḍia *splitting* ; (10) bhañjia *breaking* ; (15) bujia *having closed* ; (39) nāsia *destroying* », etc. ; « -iā » : « (2) dēkhaïā= ? dēkhiā *having seen*, bāhiā

*walking* (<*bearing*) ; (11) māriā *having killed* ; (12) tōḍiā *destroying*, kariā *having done* ; (35) bhaṇiā *having spoken* ; (50) laïā *having taken* » ; and « -iā » : « (26) laïā *having taken*, (50) diā *having given* (= instrumental postposition) » ; etc.

In South-East Bengali (Chittagong and Chakma dialects) there is an affix নে « -nē » (-iā-nē), or নই « nāï » (-i-nāï) which figures in connexion with the « -iyā -i » conjunctives : *e.g.*, আইয়ানে « āïyā-nē » *having come, on coming* (Chittagong : LSI., V, I, p. 313), and « jēi-nāï » *having gone*, « ēi-nāï » *having come* (=āïsi-nāï), « jāgi-nāï » *having kept awake*, « hāi-nāï » *having become*, « di-nāï » *having given*, « dēi-nāï » *having seen* (=dēkhi-nāï), « bēi-nāï » *having sat down* (<bahi-nāï, basi-nāï), etc. (LSI., V, I, pp. 324 ff.). This « -n- » affix seems to be connected with the « -ā, -nā, -yā » of OB., MB. and dialectal NB. (W. Bengali). We can compare the Early Oṛiyā conjunctive affix « -iṇà », found plentifully in literature (*e.g.*, Jagannātha-dāsa's 'Bhāgavata, Kaṅśa-janma' : « emāntē śuṇi Śukā yāti, bāsiṇa rājā-ku kāhānti » *hearing this, the sage Śuka after having smiled, says to the king* : ibid., 'Rāsa-līḷā,' « pāśiṇà gālē ēhi bāṭē, dēkhiṇà cāhānti ucāṭē » *entering, they went by this way ; seeing, they look sadly* ; 'Rukmiṇī-haraṇa,' « kànyāku kārāïṇà snānà » *afer having bathed the bride* ; « bhājiṇà sārbē kālē cūrà » *breaking, they pulverised everything*, etc., etc., occurring side by side with the other Oṛiyā conjunctive affix « -i », the one which in actual use now. But apparently this « -iṇà » form is obsolete now.

In the other Magadhan speeches, the « -i » affix is the only one which obtains, and in the Bihārī dialects this « -i » conjunctive is strengthened by the conjunctive of « √ kar »—« kar-i » (also in Oṛiyā, where it often becomes « kiri », *e.g.*, « dekhi-kiri » *having seen*), « kar », or by a dative postposition « kai, kā, kē ». The « -i » conjunctive features in other NIA. : the « -ĭ » is sometimes dropped (as in Awadhī and Hindōstānī), but generally it is reinforced by « kari, kar » or by some post-position.

So far as Bengali is concerned, we have thus these forms : « -i ; -i-ā ; -i-ā » ; and connected with the last is S.-E. Bengali « -i-nē, -iā-nē ; -i-nāï, -iā-nāï », and Oṛiyā « -iṇà ».

In the Māl Pāhāṛiā dialect of Western Bengali (Santal Parganas), the word হেনক « hĕnâkɖ » is added to the conjunctive, which sometimes retains the nasalisation characterising this West Rāḍha speech: *e.g.*, গুটিয়াঁই হেনক « guṭiyāi hĕnâkɖ » *having collected*, উঠি-হেনক « uṭhi-hĕnâkɖ » *having risen*, গাঁয়ে-হেনক « gāyē-hĕnâkɖ » *having gone*, আসি-হেনক « āsi-hĕnâkɖ » *having come*, etc. (LSI., V, I, pp. 99, 100). This word « hĕnâkɖ » occurs also with the noun: *e.g.*, চাল্‌চলন-হেনক « cālɖ-cālânɖ-hĕnâkɖ » *following (bad) ways, through bad ways*. This « hĕnâkɖ » is obscure, but it may be a verbal noun from « √hâ—hâânɖ » ( = Standard Bengali হওন « hāōnɖ ») put in the dative and used postpositionally (cf. the change of « √kâr » to « √ kēr » in the same dialect). In any case, the conjunctive with « hĕnâkɖ » stands apart in Bengali dialects.

**738.** The conjunctive has always had a most important place in the history of IA., and in giving this place to this form in IA., Dravidian influences seem to have something to do. In the Vedic speech, the conjunctive is formed by « -tvī, -tvā, -tvāya », which are old cases of a verbal noun stem in « -tu » (this « -tu » also figures, in the accusative and dative « -tum » and « -tavē », as infinitive affixes in OIA.), and by « -yā, -yă (-t-yā, -t-ya) » (Whitney, 'Sanskrit Grammar,' §§ 989 ff.). The « -tvī, -tvā, -tvāya » group occurs with the root not compounded with a preposition, adverb or substantive, and the « -(t)yā, -(t)ya » group occurs with the root when it is so compounded: but this rule was not adhered to in many early Skt. works (Whitney, 'Sanskrit Grammar,' § 990, 2), and was entirely ignored in MIA., no discrimination along that line being made in their use. In addition to these affixes, it can be assumed, from the statements of grammarians (*e.g.*, Pāṇini, VII, i, 48) and from the forms actually in use in Early MIA. (Pali, Aśōkan Prakrits), that other ones—« -tvī-nam » and « -tvā-nam », and probably also « tū-nam » —were also in use in OIA., although they have not been found in Vedic and Skt. literature. In Early MIA., the affixes employed are: (Pali) « -tvā, -tvāna, -tūna, -ya » (the last often assimilated with preceding consonants), « -iya » (with a developed « -i- », from the preceding one), and « -yā-na, -iyā-na » (a comparatively rare form, with « -na » added to « -ya », or « -yā », by analogy of « -tvā :

-tvā-na » : cf. W. Geiger, ' Pali Grammatik,' §§ 208 ff.), as well as « -tuṁ » of the infinitive (in a few rare cases : E. Müller, 'Pali Grammar,' p. 128) ; and (Aśōkan) « -tpā<-tvā », « -ti=-tti<-tvī », « -tunaṁ », « -ya, -tya » (assimilated), besides « -tu » (= « tuṁ » of the OIA. infinitive, transferred to the conjunctive : cf. A. C. Woolner, ' Asoka Inscriptions, Text and Glossary,' Calcutta, 1924, I, p. xxxvii). In Second MIA. the forms employed or noted are : « -tvā > -ttā, -tā (after nasals) » ; « -tvā > * -tu(v)ā > -dua » ; « -tvānam > -ttāṇaṁ » ; « -tvānam > * -tuvāṇaṁ > -tuāṇaṁ » ; « -tūṇa(ṁ) > -dūṇa > -ūṇa(ṁ) » ; « -tvī > -ppi, -pi, -vi » ; « -tvīnam > -ppiṇu, -piṇu, -viṇu » ; « -tya > -cca » ; « -ya > -ia » (also assimilated forms) ; and also « -(i)yāṇa(ṁ) », like the Pali « -(i)yāna » ; and through a blend of « -tvā » and « -tyā, -tya », there is « -ccā », and through contamination with « -tvāṇa(ṁ) > -ttāṇa(ṁ) » and « -yā > -yāṇaṁ », there arose also the further extended form « -ccāṇa, -ccāṇaṁ » ; besides, there is « -āē » (< OIA. -āya), as well as « -ya > -ia > -i » as in Apabhraṁśa (Pischel, ' Grammatik der Prakrit-Sprachen,' §§ 581-594). And in addition to all these, a form « -dāṇi » is given by Vararuci (X, 16) for Māgadhī (this « -dāṇi » is probably for « -ttāna », with « -d- » on the analogy of « -dūṇa < -tūna »).

Of all these forms found in Second MIA. through the whole of the Indo-Aryan tract, the employ of particular ones in different parts of the country can roughly be noted. The « -tvī(naṁ) > -ppi(ṇu), -vi(ṇu) » form occurred in the Gujarātī-Rājasthānī area (cf. H. Jacobi, 'Bhavisatta-kaha,' p. 42 ; ' Sanatkumāra-carita,' p. 18 ; Tessitori, ' Grammar of OWR.,' § 131, 1). The « -tūna > -dūṇa > -ūṇa » affix was current in Mahārāṣṭrī (but the Modern Marāṭhī « -ūn » for the conjunctive, with the dental « -n- », does not represent the Mahārāṣṭrī « -ūṇa », but is another form, « -ō-n-i, -au-n-i » in Early Marāṭhī, of nominal origin, in which « -n-i » is a post-position : cf. Jules Bloch, 'Langue Marathe,' pp. 261-262). The affix which seems to have been commonly employed in the North-East, in the Midland, and in the North-West, and also in the South-West, in the Late MIA. period, was « -ya > -ia, -i », and probably also « -i ». The MB., Oṛiyā, Assamese, Bihārī, as well as Eastern Hindī and Western Hindī « -i » is

obviously derived from it : also the OB. strengthened form « -I » ; and « -ia » occurs also as an archaic literary form in OB. It also seems very probable that the extended form of « -ya », namely, « -iyāna, -(i)yāṇa(ṁ) » (as in Pali and Ardha-māgadhī, the latter an eastern speech : Pischel, § 592) was current in the form of Māgadhī Apabhraṅśa prevailing in Bengal : and this « -(i)yāṇa (ṁ) » can easily give the dialectal Bengali ইআঁ « -iyã », ইঞা « -iñã » : cf. MIA. « tāṇa(ṁ) » > তাঁ « tã », « tēṇa(ṁ) » > তেঁ « tẽ » (*supra*, p. 373). In S.-E. Bengali, the nasal could well be preserved (cf. East Bengali তান « tāṇ̇ » honorific genitive < « tāṇa[ṁ] = tēṣām ») ; and this « -iyāṇa(ṁ) » form (of which « *-iṇa, - ina » is evidently a contraction), looking like a verbal noun, was put in the locative in Chittagong Bengali and in Chakma (-iyān-ē, -in-aï). Cf. the use of « -mi » in Haijong : দেখিয়ামি « dēkhiyā-mi » *having seen*, etc. (*supra*, pp. 751, 775). We cannot postulate any post-positional form « -inai » for the S.-E. Bengali (like the suffix in Gujarātī « karī-nē » *having done*, « thaī-nē » *having been*) : such a post-position (« -nai < kaṇṇahī- < karṇa- » : Tessitori, 'Grammar of OWR.,' § 131, § 71) is unknown to Bengali. The Oṛiyā « -i-ṇa » is simply by analogical addition of the « -ṇa » to the « -i » form : MIA. « *calia, caliyāṇa(ṁ) » probably gave rise to a similar juxtaposition in Māgadhī Apabhraṅśa « cali, caliṇa(ṁ) ». The Bengali strong form, and the most characteristic one, *viz.*, « -iā, -iyā » is apparently the « -i » form fortified either with the definitive « -ā » or with the « -ā » from « -iyāṇa(ṁ) > -iã ».

**739.** Tessitori derived the Gujarātī conjunctive in « -I » (as in « cālī-nē » *having walked*, « mārī-nē » *having struck*) from the passive participle in « -ia » (nom. « -iu », locative « -ii », whence « -I »), rather than from the Apabhraṅśa absolutive in « -i » ('Grammar of OWR.,' § 131). This is quite likely, and the use of the postpositional affixes is indeed a strong support. It is even probable that in the North Indian languages, where the conjunctive has been fortified by a postposition (like « kē » in Hindōstānī), the passive participle form had exerted some influence. But « OIA. *cal-ya > calia > calī, cali > NIA. cali, cal » is a perfectly normal development. And even the OB. form in « -I », « cāpī » *having pressed*, etc., can represent a MIA. « -ia » : it can be well surmised

that in some dialects of Apabhraṅśa, Second MIA. « -ia » became « -ī » in the NIA. (cf. *supra*, 'Phonology,' pp. 302-303, 307), side by side with « -i » by simple dropping off the « -a » in this most commonly used affix.

**740.** The lavish use of the conjunctive is a noteworthy characteristic of Bengali, as of other NIA. speeches. Tibeto-Burman (Boḍo) influence has been suggested in this connexion (J. D. Anderson, 'The Origin of Bengali,' JRAS., 1911, p. 524). Dravidian influence is equally likely, or perhaps likely to a greater extent, from MIA. times (see *supra*, p. 175). For NIA., this is a characteristic inherited from MIA. There is nothing unnatural in a Bengali sentence like ভোরে উঠে, স্নান সেরে চারটি খেয়ে নিয়ে, জিনিষগুলো সঙ্গে বেঁধে নিয়ে গাড়ীতে চড়িয়ে দিয়ে, পথে তার বাড়ী হ'য়ে তাকে তুলে নিয়ে, সময় থাক্‌তে ষ্টেশনে পৌঁছে টিকিট ক'রে আটটার গাড়ী ধ'রে চ'লে যেও « bhōrē uṭhē, snānạ́ sērē cār-ṭī khēyē-niyē, jinisạ́-gulō sạ̀ŋgē bē̃dhē-niyē gāṛī-tē cạ̀ṛiyē-diyē, pạ̀thẹ̄ tārạ́ bāṛī hạ̀'yē tākē tulē niyē, sạ̀mạ̀yạ́ thāktē ṣṭēśạ̀nē pā̃uchē, ṭikiṭ kạ̀'rē āṭ-ṭā-rạ́ gāṛī dhạ̀'rē cạ̀'lē jēō » (with 15 conjunctives and only one finite verb) = *get up early, finish your bath, have some breakfast (of rice, etc.), bind up the articles and take them with you, put them down on the top of the cab, go to his house on the way and pick him up, arrive at the station in time, buy your ticket and catch the 8 o'clock train and leave*: and such « -iyā > -ē » sentences have their prototype in MIA. —in Pali and in Classical Sanskrit : *e.g.*, Pali, « cōrā kujjhitvā,...tiṇhēna asinā brāhmaṇaṁ dvidhā chinditvā, maggē chaḍḍētvā, vēgēna anubandhitvā, tēhi cōrēhi saddhiṁ yujjhitvā, tē sabbē pi mārētvā, dhanam ādāya puna dvē kōṭṭhāsā hutvā, aññamaññam yujjhitvā, aḍḍhatiyāni purisa-satāni ghātētvā, ētēna upāyēna yāva dvē janā avasiṭṭhā ahēsuṁ tāva aññamaññam ghātayiṁsu » (Vēdabbha Jātaka); and Sanskrit, « atha sa brāhmaṇas tam paśuṁ rākṣasam matvā bhayād bhūmāu nikṣipya dā̆ivaṁ nirbhartsya gṛham uddiśya prasthitaḥ », or « sa duṣṭā̆śayō bakaḥ kramēṇa tān pṛṣṭham ārōpya jalā̂śayasya nā̂tidūrē śilāṁ samāsādya tasyām ākṣipya svēcchayā bhakṣayitvā bhūyō' pi jalā̂śayam samāsādya jalacarāṇām mithyā-vārttā-sandēśā̆iḥ manāṁsi rañjayann (=rañjayitvā) āhāra-vṛttim akarōt » (Pañca-tantra).

**741.** The conjunctive in « -iyā » is frequently used as an adverbial gerundive : it is either repeated, or is used singly : in the latter case, generally it is of similar meaning with the finite verb modified by it, and the two form a compound verb : *e.g.*, কান্দিয়া কান্দিয়া রাণী আইল বাহিরে « kāndiyā kāndiyā rāṇī āīlā bāhirē » *the queen came out weeping* (Kṛttivāsa, 'Ayōdhyā-kāṇḍa,' p. 20) ; কষিয়া বাঁধা « kaṣiyā bādhā » *to bind tight* ; টানিয়া ধরা « ṭāniyā dharā » *to hold tight* ; চুটিয়ে বলা « cuṭiyē balā » *to speak fully, not to mince matters* (colloquial) ; চাপিয়া বসা « cāpiyā basā » *to sit heavy* ; হাঁটিয়া > হেঁটে চলো « hāṭiyā > hēṭē calō » *walk quick !* ; চ'লে এসো « ca'lē ēsō » *come quick !* (see *infra*, under 'Compound Verbs.')

**742.** Occasionally in MB. we find « -ā » for the « -i » of the conjunctive : *e.g.*, ŚKK., p. 348, পরিধান কর নেত বাসে « pāridhānā kārā nētā bāsē » *having put on a fine garment* ; p. 361, কেহ্নে সর জাইতে মোকে বোল « kēnhē sārā jāītē mōkē bōlā » *why do you ask me to move away ?* ; VSP., p. 860, চরণ পাখাল আসুন মহাশয় « carāṇa pākhāla āsuna māhāśaya » *please go wash your feet, sir* (lit. *come after having washed*). Cases like these do not demonstrate the presence of a form in « -ā » in MB., either a verbal noun, or due to the loss of « -i », for the conjunctive : these are simply due to scribe's mistakes for করি, সরি, পাখালি, etc. In Caryā 27 : « adha-rāti bhara kamala bikasiu » *through half the night the lotus blossomed*, where « bhara » may be for « bhari », as in other NIA. speeches, or it may be regarded as the second part of an adverbial compound « adha-rāti-bhara » (see *supra*, p. 702).

### [K] Verbal Nouns, and the Infinitive in হৈতে « -itē »

**743.** The following are the forms for the Verbal Noun in Bengali :

(1) the অন « -ana » noun, with extensions of the affix as অনা, না « -anā, -nā » and অনী, উনী, নী « -anī, -unī, -nī » ;
(2) the অ « -a, -ṇa » nouns, with an extension ই, ই « -i, -i »
(3) the ই « -i » nouns ;
(4) the nouns in আ « -ā » from the simple passive participle ;
(5) the nouns in ইল « -il- » from the « -il- » passive participle ;
(6) the nouns in ইব « -ib- » from the future passive participle.

**744.** (1) This group of affixes has been discussed before ('Formative Affixes, No. 5, 5a, 5b,' pp. 656-658, *supra*). It is one of the most widely used forms from OB. times. Instances from the Caryās: « (2) dharaṇa; (22) maraṇa; (36) cēaṇa, bēaṇa (< cētana, vēdana); (46) phuḍaana = phuḍaṇa (sphuṭana) »; MB. examples are copious. The extended « -ā » form is also found in the Caryās: *e.g.*, (21) « jōṇa tuṭaa (= tuṭaï, ṭuṭaï = truṭyati) avaṇā-gavaṇā (= āgamana-gamana) »; cf. also (7) « avaṇā-gavaṇē Kāṇhu bimana bhaïïlā (= bhaïlā) » *K. has become sad at this coming and going* (= saṁsāra) : this « avaṇā-gavaṇā », or « *āvaṇā-gavaṇā » of OB. has given the NB. আনাগোনা « ānā-gōnā ».

In Hindōstānī the « -nā » affix (= « -nau » in Braj-bhākhā, « -nō » in other W. Hindī dialects), same as the Bengali অনা « -anā », is used as the infinitive : also its equivalent « -ṇā » in Panjābī.

**745.** (2) This is a verbal noun in অ « -a » which is quiescent, but which is traceable only in roots ending in a consonant (see *supra*, pp. 895-896). Thus, NB. বোল « bōla » *speech*, eMB. (ŚKK.) « bōl-a », OB. (Caryā 41) « bōl-a », MIA. « bŏll-a » (cf. Suffix No. 1, p. 652). There was a feminine (diminutive) extension of this by « -i » < « -ī < -ia » < « -ikā » (see *supra*, Suffix No. 24, pp. 672 ff.) : thus, NB. and MB. বুলি, বুলী « bul-i, bul-ī » *speech*, OB. (Caryā 41) « bōl-ī », MIA. « * bŏlliă < bŏlliā » ; so ফেরি, ফিরি as in ফিরি করা « phēri, phiri kārā » *to hawk goods*, মুড়ি as in মুড়ি দিল « muṛi dilā » *covered (oneself) up* (< *gave a covering up*), etc.

This verbal noun affix (-a, -ă), and the next one ( -i ), have become much confused in Bengali (in the Standard Colloquial), owing to the formative affix being dropped in each case : but it is still possible to distinguish the latter by the presence of the epenthetic « -i » in the dialectal forms of words which originally had it.

**746.** (3) The verbal nouns in ই « -i » form a much larger class, but the affix is now no more a living one (see *supra*, Suffix No. 25, p. 674). The verbal noun in « -i » is known to Maithilī, *e.g.*, « dekhī, dēkh » (Grierson, 'Maithilī Grammar,' p. 109); and it seems that it is used to form the compound tenses like « dēkhai-chī » *I am seeing, I see*

( « dēkhai » = oblique of « dēkhĭ »), « dēkhai-achĭ, dēkhaïchĭ, dēkhaïch » *he sees*, etc. It seems to occur in the other Bihārī speeches—« dēkh = * dēkhi », oblique « dēkhē ».

**747.** The Infinitive in Bengali appears to be the Verbal Noun (3) put in the locative. The Infinitive proper in Bengali has the characteristic affix ইতে « -itē » (in the Standard Colloquial reduced to তে « -tē » with mutation of preceding vowel) : *e.g.*, করিতে, চলিতে, খাইতে « kăr-itē, cāl-itē, khā-itē » *to do, to go, to walk*. This « -itē » of course is entirely different from the present participle affix « -itē » (*ante*, p. 999). The « -itē » of Bengali is best explained as the old verbal noun in « -i », *plus* the locative affix « -tē », dialectally « -t » as in Chittagong. The formation seems to a new one in Bengali. Thus, আমাকে যাইতে হইবে « āmākē jāïtē hăibē » *I shall have to go, I must go* ( lit. *with-reference-to-me in-the-act-of-going* i.e. *to-go it-will-be*) ; সে চলিতে পারে « sē cālitē pāre » *he can walk* (= *he in-the-act-of-walking is-able*) ; করিতে লাগিল « kăritē lāgilă » *began to give*, দিতে চাহিল « ditē cāhilă » *wanted to give* (but দিতে দিতে চাহিল « ditē ditē cāhilă » *wanted* [or *gazed*] *while giving*) ; যাইতে দাও « jāïtē dāo » *let go*. The « -itē » form is used with roots like চাহ « cāh » *to want, to look at*, হ « hă » *to be*, দে « dē » *to give, to allow*, পার « pār » *to be able*, যা « jā » *to go*, to denote Acquisitives, Permissives, Desideratives and Gerundives (see below, under ' Compound Verbs '). In other NIA. speeches, a verbal noun is also used : *e.g.*, « mōtē jibāku hēbă » *I shall have to go*, besides « jāï hēbă », where « jāï » is certainly a verbal noun in the locative ; Bhōjpuriyā « bahē lāgal », Maithilī « bahē, bahai laglāh » *began* (plural or honorific) *to blow* ; Assamese « bābă--lăi dhărē » *blows* ; Early Awadhī « lagē parōsana nipuna suārā » *clever cooks began to serve* (Tulasī-dāsa, ' Rāma-carita-mānasa ') ; W. Hindī « bolnē lagā » *began to say*, « jānē dō » *let go*, « khānē hōgā » *will have to eat*, etc., etc. Cf. the use of the « -ibă- » noun in OB. and MB. (below, pp. 1017-1018). For the use of a verbal noun form in a similar construction in OWR., see Tessitori, ' Grammar of OWR.,' §§ 132, 134.

There is in Ardha-māgadhī an infinitive in « -(i)ttaē » (cf. Pischel, § 578) : « pucchittaē » *to ask*, « sumarittaē » *to remember*, « tarittaē »

*to cross*, etc. This could easily give the Bengali ইতে « -itē », through a Māgadhī Apabhraṅśa form « *-ittaï » (this form « -ittaē », attested from Ardha-māgadhī, could very well have occurred in Māgadhī Prakrit also). But it is not likely that this has been preserved in Bengali. The « -itē » form does not occur in any other Magadhan language. The Standard Bengali « -i-tē » has a dialectal form « -i-tṛ́ », where the « -tṛ́ » is obviously the locative « -tṛ », and this « -i-tṛ́ » cannot represent the MIA. « -ittaē »—the loss of two final syllables would be an insurmountable difficulty. The evidence in favour of a later, nominal origin of « -i-tē » as a locative form is exceedingly strong, not only from Bengali itself (with its use of the « -iba » noun), but also from other cognate speeches.

The OIA. infinitive affixes were « -tum, -i-tum » and « -(i)tavē », respectively the accusative and dative forms of the verbal noun in « -(i)tu ». They are preserved in Pali as « -(i)tuṁ, -(i)tavē », and in Asokan as « -(i)tuṁ » which passed on to the conjunctive in some dialects (cf. A. C. Woolner, 'Asokan Text and Glossary,' I, p. xxxvii), but it remained in Second MIA. as an Infinitive as « -(i)ḍuṁ, -(i)uṁ » (Pischel, § 573 ff.). This affix is not preserved in NIA. and neither is « -(i)tavē », which seems to have fallen into disuse in Second MIA. itself (unless « -ittaē » is its form in Second MIA., as Pischel thinks with E. Müller, 'Grammatik der Prakrit-sprachen,' § 578).

The « -itē » Infinitive is liable to be confused with the « -itē » Present Participle, and it is at times difficult to decide which form it really is: *e.g.*, তাহাকে যাইতে দেখিলাম « tāhākē jāïtē dēkhilām » *I saw him going*, where « jāïtē » may be equally the Present Participle = *(while) going*, or the Verbal Noun locative = *in the act of going*. (See *infra*, under 'Periphrastic Tenses.') In Chittagong Bengali, this verbal noun has become so much confused with the participle that by contamination it takes personal affixes: *e.g.*, আঁই যাইতাম লাগ্‌গিলাম « āi jāïtām lāggilām » *I began to go*, তুঁই যাইতা লাগ্‌গিলা « tūi jāïtā lāggilā » *you began to go*, হিতে যাইতা লাগ্‌গিল « hitē jāïtṛ́ lāggilṛ́ » *he began to go*, (Basanta Kumār Chatterji, VSPdP., 1326, p. 114); Noakhali dialect,

খাবাইতা লাইগ্‌জ « khābāitā laïg-ja [laigzɔ] » *to feed you have begun* = Standard Bengali খাওয়াইতে লাগিয়াছ « khāwā-itē lāgiyāchā » (LSI., V, I, p. 309). The « itē » also figures in Chittagong as ইতু « -itu » *e.g.*, যাইতু লাইল [zaitu lail] *began to go* (= Standard « jāïtē lāgilā »), where the « -u » seems to be for « -ō » < « -ā », by confusion with the present participle base in « -it-ā ».

**748.** (4) The passive participle in « -ta, -ita » can be used as a noun of action in Skt. and in Pkt.: *e.g.*, « na bahunā śrutēna ; tasya gatâgatam kō' pi na jānāti ; nṛtyād asya sthitam manōharam ; mahā-svanāir dundubhi-nāditāiś ca ; madhuraṁ hasitam, madhuram aśitam, madhuraṁ calitam madhuraṁ ramitam ; madhuraṁ tassa bhāsitaṁ ; ēkassa caritaṁ seyyō ; katañ ca sukataṁ seyyō ; sucaritañ carē ; avakidē viśumalēdi ( = apakṛtam vismarati) » ; etc. The passive participle in « -(i)ta » > « -(i)a » obtained the definitive « -ā » in OB., and from that resulted the Bengali verbal noun as well as passive participle in « -ā » (see *supra*, 'Formative Affixes, No. 7,' p. 660 ; also non-I passive participle form, *supra*, p. 944). The « -ā » form occurs in Assamese : *e.g.*, « jowā » [zowɑ] *going*, « śōwā » [xowɑ] *sleeping*, « kârā » *doing*, etc. It is found in Oṛiyā : *e.g.*, « dēkhā » *sight, seeing*, « jāṇā » *knowing*, etc. It does not occur in the Bihārī dialects and in Eastern Hindī. But in the Hindōstānī passive participle formation (*e.g.*, in expressions like « kiyā-karnā, jāyā-karnā, dēkhā- cāhnā », compound verbs) the form is really a verbal noun.

In MB., the « -ā » verbal noun is not so prominent, nouns in « -ibâ » and « -âṇâ » being more popular : but its occurrence is not rare. Thus, VSP., p. 68, বান্ধা নিছে « bāndhā nichē » *taken in pledge* ; p. 83, চিনা পুছা « cinā puchā » *recognising and enquiring* ; p. 123, দিয়া নাড়া দেই তাড়া « diyā nāṛā dēi tāṛā » *gives a shake, and then drives away* ; elsewhere MB. and NB. লেখা জোখা « lēkhā-jōkhā » *writing and computing*, নাচা « nācā » *dancing*, কেনাবেচা « kēnā-bēcā » *buying and selling*, রাঁধাবাড়া « rādhā-bāṛā » *cooking and serving*, etc., etc.

The Bengali « -ā » form has been derived by some from the verbal noun in ইবা « -ibā » : « câlibā > * câliwā > * câlwā > câlā ; khāïbā > * khāïwā > khāwā » (cf. 'Prabāsī' for Aṣāḍha, 1324, p. 264). But this line of

derivation is inadmissible: the MIA. « -bb- » results in « -b- » in Bengali, whereas a form like « khāwā » can be written and pronounced « khāā », and the « ŵ » there is euphonic only (see *supra*, pp. 338-342, 533). To derive « khāā » from « khāïbā » would be to postulate the entire loss of a MIA. double consonant group in a NIA. language—a phonological development not found in the Bengali Standard Dialect: and the « -ā » form is a Standard Dialect form. It would indeed be difficult for the same form to occur as « -ibā » and as « -ā » side by side in the same dialect and at the same time.

**749.** (5) The verbal noun in ইল « -ilâ » is now obsolete in Bengali, but it occurred in Early Bengali, though not very commonly. The verbal form in « -ilâ- » in the locative figures partly as the absolutive conjunctive (in « -ilē »), for which see *supra*, p. 1004. It occurs also in Assamese and Early Oṛiyā. In the Bihārī dialects its equivalent, the « -al » verbal noun, is exceedingly common. It figures also in Marāṭhī. Examples in Bengali: OB.: « bhēlā bihani » (Caryā 23) = হইলে বিহনে (বিনে, বিনা) « hâïlē bihânē (binē, binā) » *without having been*; MB.: ŚKK., p. 249, বিনি যাচিলেঁ « bini jācilē » *without asking*; Vaṅśī-dāsa's 'Padmā-purāṇa,' p. 435, হারাইলা হেনা বাসি « hārāïlā hēnâ bāsi » *I regard it as lost = as a loss*; তুমি জনমিলা হতে « tumi jânâmilā-hâtē » *from your birth*; 'Caitanya-Bhāgavata,' p. 71, তুমি দিলে বিনা « tumi dilē binā » *without your giving*; etc., etc. Cf. Oṛiyā, 15th century Inscription of Puruṣottama-dēva at Puri Temple (see *supra*, p. 107): « hârilā-dōṣâ » *sin of robbery*, « kâlā » *doing*, genitive « kâlā-râ »; Early Assamese, 'Âdi-caritra,' p. 72, « Śaṇkārē dēkhāïlâ cāhilâ » *wanted to show Śaṅkara*; Modern Assamese « bul-il-ât » *on having said*.

For Bihārī, cf. Grierson, 'Maithilī Grammar,' § 183; for Marāṭhī, see LSI., VII, pp. 27, 31.

**750.** (6) The verbal noun in ইব « -ibâ » is from the same source as the future base. This form occurs in all Magadhan languages: it is regularly declined like any other verbal noun, although in NB., its employ has been restricted to the base ইবা « -ibā » (combined with মাত্র « mātra » to form an adverb—*e.g.*, বলিবামাত্র « bâlibā-mātrâ » *immediately*

*after speaking,* দেখিবামাত্র « dēkhibā-mātrā » *on seeing,* etc.) and the genitive ইবা-র « -ibā-rṛ » (*e.g.*, দিবার « dibā-rṛ » *for giving*; ইবা « -ibā » itself may represent an old genitive form: see *supra*, p. 752). Thus, OB. (Caryā 8) « bāhaba-kẽ (=bāhiba-kẽ) pāraa (=pāraï) » *is able to row,* = MB. বাহিবারে পারে « bāhibārē pārē »; eMB. (ŚKK.), p. 3, মানুষ নিয়োজিল মারিবাক তাএ « mānuṣa niyōjilā māribā-ka tāē » *employed a man to kill him*; p. 200, ফুল তুলিবাক তরেঁ « phulā tulibā-ka tārẽ » *with a view to pluck flowers*; p. 395, হাঠিবাক « hāṭhībā-kā » *to walk,* etc.; 'Caitanya Bhāgavata,' p. 11, মথুরা দেখিব করি « Māthurā dēkhibā kāri » *for to see Mathurā*; Vaṅśī-dāsa's 'Padmā-purāṇa,' p. 108, আছে আছিবার মত নদীয়া নগর « āchē āchibārṝ mātā Nādīyā-nāgārṝ » *there is the city of Nadiyā (if at all a town were) to exist*; p. 165, লাগে বলিবার « lāgē bālibārṝ » *begins to say*; p. 473, আছুক ছুইব আরে « āchu-kṝ chuibā ārē » *ah, let alone merely touching*; p. 592, দেখাইব করি « dēkhāībā kāri » *with a view to show*; p. 608, দিবা করি « dibā kāri » *with a view to give*; VSP., p. 609, ভূমিতে টালিব করি « bhūmitē ṭālibā kāri » *with a view to throw on the ground*; p. 620, মারিবার মোক « māribārā mōkā » *to kill me*; etc., etc. The « -ib- » form is much used in North Bengal. The present progressive tense is formed in Assamese with the verbal noun in « -iba »: *e.g.*, « kāribā-lāi dhārē » *is doing.* In Assamese, the « -iba » noun is fully declined: *e.g.*, « kāribā, kāribā-r, kāribā-lāi, kāribā-t »; so in Oṛiyā: « kāribā, kāribā-ku, kāribā-rā, kāribā-ru », etc.; also in the Bihārī dialects, *e.g.*, Maithilī « karab, karăbā-k, karăb-ẽ, karăbā-sā, karăbā-mẽ ». The use of the « -(i)tavya » form as a verbal noun is found in other NIA., like E. Hindī, *e.g.*, « calab, karab »; W. Hindī, *e.g.*, Brajbhākhā « calibaũ, karibaũ », oblique « calibẽ, karibẽ »; Rājasthānī (Mārwārī), *e.g.*, « mārabō, caḷabō »; Gujarātī, *e.g.*, « mārvũ, cālvũ »; and Marāṭhī, *e.g.*, « uṭhāvayā-, māravayā- », etc. In most of these (*e.g.*, E. Hindī, Brajbhākhā, Rājasthānī, Gujarātī) this form is used as an infinitive.

**751.** Relative Participle Adjectives are formed in Oṛiyā and in the Bihārī dialects with the past and future passive participles used adjectivally: *e.g.*, Oṛiyā « mu-dēbā dhānā » *money that is to be given by me,* « mu-kālā kāmā » *work that was done by me* = Bihārī « hamar kail kām ». The « -ib-, -il- » forms are not used in Bengali as adjectives for this purpose.

The past participle in « -ā » is so used, to denote the past relative idea: *e.g.*, আমার পরা কাপড় « āmārṛ̊ pārā kāpāṛ̊ » *cloth (dhōtī) worn by me*, তার করা কাজ « tārṛ̊ kārā kājṛ̊ » *work done by him*: the employ of the « -il- » form is unknown. The « -ib- » verbal noun is used in the genitive, beside the verbal nouns in « -ā » and in « -ānṛ̊ », to indicate the present or future relative participial idea: *e.g.*, আমার পরিবার (পরার, পরনের) কাপড় « āmārṛ̊ pāribā-rṛ̊ (pārā-rṛ̊, pārān-ērṛ̊) kāpārṛ̊ » *'dhōtī' worn by me, to be worn by me*; ভিক্ষা দেবার চা'ল « bhiksā dēbārṛ̊ cā'lṛ̊ » *rice set apart for giving as alms*; জল খাবার ঘটী « jālṛ̊ khābārṛ̊ ghāṭī » (*water*) *vessel to drink water from*; etc., etc. We have this genitive use of the verbal noun, rather than mere adjectival juxtaposition, from Early Bengali times.

Verbal Nouns of Reciprocity are treated below, under 'Reduplicated Verbs.'

### [L] The Compound or Periphrastic Tenses: Progressive and Perfect.

**752.** The following are the types of these tenses which are found in New Bengali:

(1) চলিতেছে, চলিতেছিল (চলিতে থাকিবে) « cālitēchē, cālitēchilā (cālitē thākibē) » *is walking, was walking (will be walking)*; করিতেছে, করিতেছিল (করিতে থাকিবে) « kāritēchē, kāritēchilā (kāritē thākibē) » *is doing, was doing (will be doing)*. This is the typical Progressive Form of Standard Literary Bengali. It is made up of the verbal form in « -itē » *plus* the substantive verb « āch » conjugated and employed as an auxiliary (« āch » for the past, « thāk » for the future). The « ā- » of « āch » is absorbed by the preceding « -ē » of « -itē », but in dialectal Bengali of East Bengal the full forms চলিতে আছে, চলিতে আছিল, করিতে আছে, করিতে আছিল « cālitē, kāritē + āchē, āchilā » etc. still occur.

This progressive form is the recognised one in the « sādhu-bhāṣā », and is found in the Vaṅga dialects: some typical forms may be given [tso(I)ltese, tso(I)ltesilo, ko(I)rtese, ko(I)rtesilo; tso(I)lte ase, tso(I)lte asilo, ko(I)rte ase, ko(I)rte asilo], also [tsoltase, tsoltasilo; kortase, kortasilo]. But it is not current in the spoken dialects of Rāḍha (including

the Standard Colloquial of Calcutta and the Bhāgīrathī basin), of Varêndra, and of Kāmarūpa.

(2) A type, which occurs in MB. as a verbal form in ই « -i » *plus* the substantive verb « āch » (contracted to « -ch- »), in the present generally, and rarely in the past. The future with this « -i » form is unknown. Thus, MB. চলিছে, চলিছ « câli-chē, câli-châ », করিছে, করিছ « kâri-chē, kâri-châ », চলিছিল « câli-chila », করিছিল « kâri-chilâ ». This form is used in MB. in a vaguely continuative or progressive sense, and also in a perfect sense. With static verbs, it can easily indicate the progressive idea. In NB., the « -i » of « câli », which underwent epenthesis, is now dropped. It occurs in Assamese (where the « -i- » is retained), generally as a progressive in the present, and always as pluperfect in the past, but the perfect sense for the present form is also found.

This ill-defined tense form of MB. has given the West Bengali (including the Standard Colloquial) present and past *progressive* forms, like চ'ল্‌ছে, চ'ল্‌ছিল, ক'রছে > ক'চ্ছে, ক'রছিল > ক'চ্ছিল [ cʃole(h)e, cʃolecʃhilo ; kore(h)e, koce(h)e, korecʃhilo, koccʃhilo ] ; in North Central Bengali and North Bengali, it retains its vague employ, being used both for the present progressive and the present perfect in the present form, and for the simple past or past perfect in the past form, exactly as in Assamese. In the East Bengal dialects, it is used regularly for the *perfect* only, *e.g.*, [tsolse, tsolsilo ; korse, korsilo ; tsolse, tsolsilo, korse, korsilo] = *has walked, had walked ; has done, had done*,—the progressive sense being indicated by the « -itē » form in the East Bengali dialects.

The « -i » form occurs also in Oṛiyā, but here it is definitely perfect, and in the past and future Oṛiyā employs its characteristic root « √tha » : thus « kâri-âchâï, kâri-châï » *has done*, « kâri-thilā » *had done*, « kâri-thibâ » *he will have done.*

(3) A Perfect form made with the passive participle adjective in ইল « -il- » *plus* the substantive verb « āch « (contracted as usual). This is comparatively a rare form, and occurs in West and Central Rāḍha dialects (*e.g.*, হ'ল্‌ছে « hōl̤-chē » *has become*, ম'ল্‌ছে « mōl̤-chē » *has died*, গেল্‌ছে, গেল্‌ছিল « gēl̤-chē, gēl-chilâ » *has gone, had gone*, in Murshidabad, Birbhum

etc. ; cf. LSI., V, I, p. 72); and also in North Bengali (*e.g.*, আইন্ চে « āïn-cē = āïl-chē » *has come* : LSI., V, I, p. 174); and it seems to be confined to intransitive verbs and to denominatives and causatives of denominative origin.

(4) A Perfect form in ইয়া « -iyā » *plus* the substantive verb (« āch » in the present and past, and « thāk » in future) : in the MB., « -iyā », or « -iā », occurs also in the nasalised form « -iñā, -iyã, -iã » : thus, MB., and NB. « sādhu-bhāṣā » চলিয়াছে, চলিয়াছিল ( চলিয়া থাকিবে ) « câliyāchē, câliyāchilâ (câliyā thākibē) » *has walked, had walked (will have walked)*; করিয়াছে, করিয়াছিল ( করিয়া থাকিবে ) « kâriyāchē, kâriyāchilâ (kâriyā thakibē) » *has done, had done (will have done)* ; MB. (generally in West Bengal), besides the simple « -iyā » form in a variety of spellings, we find also চলিঞাছে, চলিয়াঁছে, করিঞাছে, করিয়াঁছে « câliñāchē, câliyāchē, kâriñāchē, kâriyāchē » etc. This perfect is found in NB., specially in the Rāḍha dialects, with « -iyā » contracted to « -ē, -iyē » and « -iñā, -iyã » to « -ẽ, -iyẽ » [ -ẽ, -iẽ ] : *e.g.*, Standard Colloquial চ'লেছে, ক'রেছিল [cʃolecʃ(h)e, korecʃhilo], in other Rāḍha dialects, চলেঁছে, ক'রেঁছিল [cʃolẽcʃhe, korẽcʃhilo], etc. It occurs also in the Vaṇga dialects, but never with the nasalised form : and it seems there it is less common for the perfect than the « -i » form (No. 3 above). The « -iyā, -iyã » form seems properly not to belong to the dialects of the North, and its presence there is due to literary and other influences. In some cases, this form indicates a static or continuous process also : see *infra*, § 757.

**753.** The progressive (whether in the « -itē » form or in the « -i » form), as can be plainly seen from MB. literature, is comparatively a late time-idea in the Bengali verb. The progressive does not seem to have been fully established in the language before the 17th century ; and although both the « -itē » and « -i » forms occur in literature of the 15th, their occurrence is but extremely rare and hesitating, in authentic texts, and the « -i » form is found both for the progressive and the perfect. In Early MB., the simple present is used for the progressive. The beginnings of the development of the compound progressive in « -itē » and of the compound indefinite tense in « -i », however, can be taken back to the 14th century : for

already in the ŚKK. we have instances of both: thus, *e.g.*, কালিনীর তীরে বহে মন্দ পবনে। তোহ্মাক চিন্তিতেঁ আছে নান্দের নন্দনে॥ « Kālinīrā tīrē bāhē māndā pābānē: tōmhākā cintitē āchē Nāndērā nāndānē » *the gentle breeze is blowing* (lit. *blows*) *by the bank of the Kālindī* (= *Yamunā*): *the son of Nanda is thinking of you* (p. 202: here in « cint- » we have not a native Bengali root, but a *ts.* one, as described *supra*, p. 879), and ধিরেঁ ধিরেঁ কাহ্নাঞি মো আইলোঁ। নিকটে। নিহুড়িআঁ চাহোঁ পাণি লইছে মোকটে॥ « dhirē dhirē Kānhāñī mō āïlō nikāṭē, nihuṛiā cāhō pāṇi lāïchē mōkāṭē » *gently, O Kṛṣṇa, I have come closer: I bend down and look, the water has come up* (or *is coming up?*) *to the brim* (p. 153). The form লইছে « lāï-chē » would show that it was an old one, some time having elapsed for the fuller « lāï+āchē » to be so contracted. The « -itē » form for the progressive is thus certainly found in West Bengali of the ŚKK., but it is most curious that it would not be used in the West Bengal dialects of present day as a proper native dialectal form.

The origin of these different periphrastic methods may be now discussed.

**754.** (1) The « -itē », MB. « -itē », is doubtless the present participle: চলিতেছে = চলিতে আছে « cālitēchē < cālitē+āchē » *he is walking* < *he is while in the act of walking*. The « -it-ē » is apparently the locative: or is it merely the nominative—MIA. « calanta-ka- », nom. Māgadhī « calantakē > calantaē > calantaï > calantē > cālitē »? (see *supra*, p. 741). The non-locative form, presumably the nominative, occurs in dialects as « cālt-āchē = cālit-āchē » etc. But « -itē » is more likely the locative. In Early Assamese, there was a similar construction with the locative, but the periphrasis here did not develop into a compound tense by combining the participle of the verb substantive, as it has in Eastern Bengali and in Standard Bengali: thus Śaṅkara-deva (15th century) and other Early Assamese writers frequently employ constructions like « sūryā-sāmā sābē jwālāntē āchāhā » *you are all shining like the sun*, « āchē prākāśāntē » *are manifesting*, « upāsantē āchē » *are worshipping*, etc. As in Assamese, so in W. Bengali this participle progressive did not catch on in the spoken dialect, although the « sadhu-bhāṣā » took it up. It does not seem to occur in Kṛttivāsa (VSPd. edition), nor even in Kavikaṅkaṇa, both West Bengal writers (of the 15th and 16th centuries). But

in East Bengal writers, *e.g.*, Mādhavâcārya, author of 'Caṇḍī-kāvya' (16th century : cf. VSP., p. 335, হোতেছে « hōtēchē » *is happening*), Chuṭī Khān (Noakhali : 'Māhābhārata,' VSPd. ed., p. 59 : তবে সেই রক্ষিগণ দেখিতে আছেন্ত « tâbē sēi rakṣi-gâṇa dēkhitē āchēntâ » *then the guards remain watching*), Vaṅśī-dāsa ('Padmā-purāṇa,' p. 380, দেখিতেছি « dēkitēchi » *I am seeing*, p. 580, করিতেছে « kâritēchē » ) etc., the « -itē » is well-established from the 16th century. And from the early 17th, it is found in the West Bengal writers also, like Kāśī-rāma Dāsa (*e.g.*, VSP., p. 676, হইতেছে « hâitēchē », p. 685, দিতেছে « ditēchē » ). The prose documents, whether in East or in West Bengal, had to employ a definite form for the progressive, and it seems « -itē » became accepted in epistolary and documentary Bengali in the 17th century, and from that it was adopted into the « sādhu-bhāṣā » of the 18th and 19th centuries ; but West Bengal spoken dialects did not use it. The progressive « -i » form of the spoken dialects of West Bengal has now been adopted for the progressive, as a matter course, in the new literary dialect of Bengali based on the Calcutta Colloquial.

The construction, present participle ( < « -ant- » of OIA. ) *plus* verb substantive, occurs in other NIA (excepting Oṛiyā and Assamese) : in the Magadhan speeches (*e.g.* Maithilī « dĕkhait-chī, dĕkhait-chalahũ », Magahī « dekhait-, dekhit-, dekhat+hī, halu » ; Bhōjpuriyā « dēkhāt bānī > dekhatānī », etc.); in E. Hindī (*e.g.*, Awadhī « dēkhat ahũ, dēkhat raheũ »); in W. Hindī (*e.g.*, « dēkhtā hai, dēkhtā thā »); in Panjābī (*e.g.*, « jāndā hai, jāndā sī »), in Rājasthānī and in Gujarātī (*e.g.*, Gujarātī « māratō hatō », Mārwāṛī « māratō hō » *was beating*) ; in Marāṭhī (*e.g.*, « uṭhat āhē, uṭhat hōtā » *is, was rising*); in Pahāṛī (*e.g.*, Khas-kurā « garda-cha, garda thiyo » *is doing, was doing*), etc., etc.

**755.** (2) The « -i » form is rather rare in eMB., but it becomes noticeable from the 15th and 16th centuries : *e.g.*, KKC. (Vaṅga-vāsī edition), p. 112, পীত তড়িত বর্ণে, হেম মুকুলিকা কর্ণে, কেশ মেঘে পড়িছে বিজলি « pīta tâṛitâ bârṇē hēmâ-mukulikā kârṇē kēśâ-mēghē pâṛichē bijuli » *yellow, like lightning in colour, a little flower of gold has fallen* (= *is disposed*) *like lightning in the clouds of her hair* ; p. 122, কেমতে ধরিছ হিয়া « kēmâtē dhârichâ hiyā » *how are you holding your heart* (=*how can you remain*

*unconcerned*) ? ; Vaṅśī-dāsa, p. 3, শোভিছে « śōbhichē » *is appearing beautiful* ; p. 34, ভাবিছেন « bhābichēṇ̐ » *is thinking*, etc. Cf. also Chuṭī Khān's 'Mahābhārata' (VSPd. ed.), p. 10, এহেন বুলিছে পূর্ব্বে ধর্ম্ম মহীপাল « ēhēnā bulichē pūrbbē dharmmā-māhīpāl̐ » *so has said formerly the righteous king* (*Yudhiṣṭhira*) ; p. 21, যত পুণ্য করি আছম কায় বাক্য মনে « jatā puṇyā kāri āchāmṣ̐ kāyṣ̐-bākyā-mānē » *all the merits I have earned in body, word and mind* ; p. 22, রাজার সাক্ষাৎ বসিছন্ত মুনিগণ। পাত্র মিত্র চারি পাশে করিছে শোভন ॥ « rājārṣ̐ sākṣāt bāsichāntā muni-gāṇ̐, pātrā-mitrā cāri pāśē kārichē śōbhāṇ̐ » *in front of the king are sitting* (*were seated*) *the sages, and courtiers and friends are adorning in the four sides* ; etc. It is of comparatively frequent occurrence in Late MB., but the meaning is not often fixed for either of the two tenses. In Early Assamese of the 15th century, this « -i » form is already well established.

The source of this form in this construction is not clear. It would appear at first sight to be merely the conjunctive in « -i ». The perfect in « -iyā, -iyă » would similarly appear also to have the conjunctive in it. But the conjunctive would not accord well with the progressive sense, which we see is connected with this construction, side by side with the perfect one, in both MB. and NB. and in Early and New Assamese. The « -i » form, to indicate the perfect, might be, in the case of the intransitive verb, the non-l passive participle in « -ita > -ia > -I, -i » : « calia > calī > cali + āchē » *gone* + *is* = *is gone, has gone* (= calitō' sti). The Maithilī Progressive tense in « -ai » + « √ch », *e.g.*, « calai-chī » *I am walking*, « karaï-ch » *he is doing*, seems to indicate a possible source for the « -i » form of Bengali. Grierson explains this « -ai » progressive of Maithilī as being a contracted form of the « -ait » present participle ('Maithilī Grammar,' p. 173 : « dēkhai chī < dēkhait chī »). But, as suggested in the present work, p. 1022 *supra*, the « -ai » may well be a verbal noun locative : for it would be strange indeed for the full « -ait » and a contracted « -ai » to be in living use side by side in the same dialect and at the same time. So also compare the Magahī forms like « dēkha, dēkhē + hī » *I see*, beside progressive « dēkhait (dēkhat, dēkhit) + hī » *I am seeing*. The Rājasthānī dialects and Gujarātī, as well as some forms of Western Hindī, have a periphrastic

present in which the present forms of the verb properly conjugated are used with the verb substantive in the corresponding person and number: *e.g.*, Marwārī « caḷū-hū » *I go*, « caḷā-hā » *we go*, « caḷai-hai » *he goes*, « caḷaī-haī » *they go*; Jaipurī = « caḷū-chū, caḷā-chā ; caḷai-chai, caḷaī-chaī »; Gujarātī « cālū-chū, cāliē-chiē; cālē-chē » ; Brajbhākhā « calaŭ-haŭ, calaī-haī; calai-hai, calaī-haī », etc. The Bihārī compound tenses are not of the type found in the Western languages: here the form of the principal verb is unchanged—it is « -ai, -a, -ē » in all cases. Can the « -i » in Bengali-Assamese be a locative form of an OB. verbal noun in « -ia » =the OIA. passive participle in « -(i)ta »? OIA. « calita » > « calia », in Late MIA. (Māgadhī Apabhraṅśa); locative OIA. « calitē » > « caliē > * calii »; this would become « * calī, cali » in OB., and then used with the root « āch »: « cali-āchē, cali-chē » therefore would mean *in-the-act-of-walking is* = *is walking*; so « dēkhi-chē » *in-the-act-of-seeing is* = *is seeing*. The « -i » form in Bengali can thus include both the locative (to develop into the progressive) and the nominative (in the case of the intransitive verb, to indicate the perfect—later this sense occurring with the transitive verb also by extension) of the « -ita > -ia » passive participle—in the former case it being the veral noun, in the latter the participle. The Oṛiyā « -i » form, indicating as it does the perfect tense only, naturally is to be taken as the Oṛiyā variant of (4), for which see below (p. 1027).

With the idea that the composite « sādhu-bhaṣā » is the source of the dialects, the W. Bengali চ'ল্‌ছে, চ'ল্‌ছিল, ক'র্‌ছে ( ক'চ্ছে ), ক'র্‌ছিল ( ক'চ্ছিল ) etc., are commonly regarded as contracted forms of the « sādhu-bhāṣā » চলিতেছে, চলিতেছিল, করিতেছে, করিতেছিল, etc. But that such is not the case is seen from the occurrence in MB. and in the NB. language of poetry of forms like চলিছে, করিছে in the progressive. The « sādhu-bhāṣā » চলিতেছে করিতেছে, etc. can only give চ'ল্‌তেছে, ক'র্‌তেছে [cʃolteʃhe, korteʃhe], etc. in the Standard Colloquial, but such forms are not proper to the dialect, and when they occur at all, they are artificial, being due to an attempt to find colloquial equivalents of a literary form which is only too familiar: the froms চলিতে, করিতে « cālitē, kāritē » (as participles and verbal nouns in « -itē ») occur as চ'ল্‌তে, ক'র্‌তে [cʃolte, korte (kotte)]. The doubling of the

affricate in the case of roots which end in a vowel, like খাচ্ছে, যাচ্ছে, পাচ্ছে, দিচ্ছে, শুচ্ছে « khācchē, jācchē, pācchē, dicchē, śucchē » [khacc͡ʃ(h)e, ʒ͡ʃacc͡ʃ(h)e, pacc͡ʃ(h)e, dicc͡ʃ(h)e, ʃucc͡ʃ(h)e] *is eating, is going, is receiving, is giving, is lying,* with past tense in চ্ছিল « -cchilā », would at first sight suggest that it is a case of assimilation of the « -t- » of « -itē », and would thus connect these with the « -itē » form (« ditēchē > * dit-chē > dicchē »). But other West B. and North B. dialects do not show the doubling, even when in West B. these forms indicate the progressive. MB. দিছে « di(i)chē », যাইছে « jāïchē » should occur in West Bengali as দিছে « dichē », যেছে « jēchē » (see *supra*, pp. 386-387), and so they do, for example, in Murshidabad and Birbhum (as present progressive : the corresponding past progressive forms are দিয়েঁছে « diyē̃chē < diyā̃-chē, গেল্‌ছে « gēl-chē »). But in the Standard Colloquial, MB. « jāïchē » became « * jāy-chē », and it is this « -y- » which assimilated with the following « -ch- » : « jācchē » ; so in « * di(i)chē » it assimilated (it is possible by first becoming a glottal stop) to the « -ch- », as « * diy-chē [diʔc͡ʃhe] > dicchē » ; so śui-chē > * śuy-chē > śucchē », etc.

The Oṛiyā speech forms its progressive tenses with the help of a verbal form in « -u », + the substantive verb : *e.g.*, « kȧru-chi, kȧru-chū ; kȧru-chu, kȧru-chȧ ; kȧru-chi, kȧru-chȧnti ». (For this « -u » affix, see *supra*, p. 678.) It is not unlikely that a similar form in « -u » was used in Rāḍha dialects contiguous to Oṛiyā, and that in Late MB. this form with the « -u » (not understood, and becoming quiescent in the middle of the word) merged into the « -i » form, or restricted the « -i » form to the progressive in West Bengali. But from extant documents, we cannot postulate with any amount of certainty a Rāḍha form « * cȧlu-chē, * kȧru-chē » beside « cȧli-chē, kȧri-chē ».

**756.** (3) The perfect with the participle in « -la » is very much restricted in Bengali, and is only local for West Bengal, and probably also for North Bengal. In eMB. it may have been more prominent.

The construction, restricted as it seems to be to a few intransitive verbs, and to denominatives and causatives, is perfectly plain : W. Bengali আল্‌ছে « āl-chē » *has come,* হ'ল্‌ছে « hōl-che » *has happened,* ম'ল্‌ছে « mōl-chē »

*has died* (< MB. « mâilâ-chē » = « mṛtō'sti »). From the intransitive, the « -l- » affix first spread to the denominative and then to the causative. It agrees with the Bihārī perfect of the intransitive verb; but is different from that of the transitive (and by analogy, often of the intransitive) verbs (in the present and past perfect tenses) in Bihārī, where we have either the juxtaposition of two tenses (the past in « -l- » and the substantive verb present or past) each properly conjugated, or the instrumenal of the « -al- » participle used with the substantive verb (cf. LSI., V, II, pp. 28-29, 38-39, 52-53).

**757.** (4) The perfect in « -iyā, -iñā » is by far the most common of the compound tenses in eMB. It is found in a number of instances in the ŚKK.; and in Kṛttivāsa (VSPd. ed., Ayōdhyā, Uttara) it is well-established, and may be said to be fairly common in subsequent MB. literature. In Early Assamese, the « -iyā » form occurs with the substantive verb, but only as a separate word, and the « -iyā » and the substantive do not express the perfect idea. This « -iyā » form fell into disuse in later Assamese. Oṛiyā never developed the « -iyā » form, but had only the ones in « -i » and « -iṇā ».

Examples from eMB.: ŚKK.: p. 143, পাতিআছে « pātiāchē » *has established*; p. 175, শুণিআছ « śuṇiāchâ » *you have heard*; p. 317, সুতিআঁ আছিলোঁ « sutiā āchilō » *I was asleep, I was sleeping*: p. 325, নিআঁছিস « niāchisâ » *thou hast taken*; p. 376, বসিআঁ আছেন্ত « bàsiā āchēntâ » *has sat down, is sitting*; Kṛttivāsa, 'Uttarā-kāṇḍa,' p. 16, হআছেক « hâñā-chēkâ » *has become*; p. 24, দিআছি « diñāchi » *I have given*; p. 177, সুআ আছে « suā āchē » *is lying*; p. 201, জুড়িআ আছে « juṛiñā āchē » *is spread*, পড়িআ আছে « pāṛiñā āchē » *lies*; etc., etc. The form is found copiously in other MB. works.

It would be seen that progressive or continuous action may be indicated in the case of intransitive verb; and such action is emphasised upon by keeping the « -iyā, -iyā » separate from the verb, in both MB. and NB.

The « -iyā, -iñā » form is doubtless the conjunctive: « niāchisâ » being « niā + āchisâ » = *having taken thou art = thou hast taken*. The nasalised form, current in West Bengal, is sufficiently indicative of its

proper nature. But that is not all. In the case of intransitive verbs, the « -iyā » form can equally represent the passive participle (see *supra*, p. 955) : শুয়া আছে « suā āchē » *is lying* (*has lain*) < *lain* (* svapita- > suvia- > suia- > su-ā) + *is*, চলিআছে « cāliāchē » *has gone* < *gone* (calita- > caliā) + *is*. Cf. NB. এখানে যে বেশ গান চ'লেছে ! « ēkhānē jē bēś gān cā'lēchē » *so, fine singing is going on here* ; মাদ্রাজে খুব উদ্যোগ চলিয়াছে or চলিতেছে « Mādrājē khub udyōg cāliyāchē (cālitēchē) » *great preparations are going on in Madras* ; রাস্তায় কাদা হ'য়েছে « rāstāy kādā hōyēchē » *there is mud in the street* ; র'য়েছি « rōyēchi » *I am staying*, etc. Cf. also the perfect with the participle in « -la » ; and the perfect of the intransitive verb in the Bihārī dialects, and in other NIA. languages, like W. Hindī, etc. (*e.g.*, Hindōstānī « wuh gayā hai » = « asāu gataḥ asti » ; Gujarātī « hū cālyō chū » = « ahaṃ calitaḥ asmi »). The static and continuous use with the substantive verb separated or united can in this way be explained. So that the « -iyā, -iñā » form would seem to combine in Bengali both the conjunctive and the passive participle (the latter in the case of intransitives) ; but from Early MB., from the similarity of forms (« -iyā » for both of them) and from the nature of the constructions, any such original distinction was lost sight of.

The participle in « -iyā, -iñā » and the auxiliary have coalesced but loosely in Bengali. To emphasise an « -iyā-chē, -iyā-chilā > -ē-chē, -ē-chilā » form, the emphatic particles ই « i » and তো « tō » *indeed, surely* generally come in between, and not at the end. This is especially noticeable in the Standard Colloquial. Thus, প'ড়ে-ই-ছে « pōṛē-i-chē » *it has fallen, to be sure* : দিয়েই-তো-ছিলুম « diē-i-tō-chilum » *I had indeed given, I had very nearly given* ; দিয়ে-তো-ছি « diyē-tō-chi » *I have given in truth* ; etc. The emphatic, however, can also come at the end : *e.g.*, প'ড়েছেই প'ড়েছে « pōṛēchē-i pōṛēchē » *it has certainly fallen* ; etc.

The use of root « thāk » for the future progressive and perfect is rather rare in MB. : « √thāk », when not put in the future, expresses a continuous state in compound verbs with the « -iyā, -iñā » form : *e.g.*, ŚKK., p. 176, বসিআঁ থাক « bāsiā thākā » *remain sitting, remain seated*.

**758.** Two dialectal forms for the progressive tense may be noted.

(5) The 'South-West Bengali' progressive, made by combining the present tense of principal verb with « √ṭha » *to remain* regularly conjugated : *e.g.*, করিঠি « kâri-ṭhi » *I do* + *I remain* = *I am doing* ; যাউঠু « jāu-ṭhu » *thou goest* + *thou remainest* = *thou art going* ; হয়ঠে « hâẏa-ṭhē » *he is* + *he remains* = *he is* (= Standard Colloquial হ'চ্ছে « hōcchē »). In some cases, the principal verb is not conjugated, but put in the conjunctive : খাবায়ঠ « khābāẏa-ṭhâ » *you are feeding*. (See LSI., V, I, pp. 108, 109 ff.) The Common Bengali « -i » + « āch > -ch- » form is also known in this dialect. The root « √ṭha » (< sthā) is not found elsewhere in Bengal. This use of two finite forms side by side is exactly of the type found in Brajbhākhā and in Rājasthānī-Gujarātī noted at pp. 1024-1025.

(6) In the district of Bogra, and in some other North Central Bengal tracts, there is a progressive form in « -(i)t, -it- » + root « āch » : thus করতিতেছি « kârtitēchi » *I am doing*, করতুতুছু « kârtutuchu » *thou art doing*, করতিতিছে « kârtitichē » *he is doing*, খাটতিতেছি « khāṭṭitēchi » *I am labouring* (LSI., V, I, pp. 152-153). This form appears to be merely the « -itē, -it- » participle further strengthened by the locative affix « -tē »—it is really a double locative form : « kâritē + -tē ». The personal termination of the auxiliary substantive verb seems to have influenced the « -itē-tē » of the principal verb form, and to have altered it accordingly, at least in the 2nd person : « kâritētē, * kâriṭatē + āchu > *kârt(ē)tē-chu > * kârtutu-chu ».

The use of the « -r- » affix for the progressive in E. Vaṇga and S.-E. Vaṇga has been discussed before (pp. 994 ff.).

### [M] Causatives.

**759.** The Causative in Bengali is made by adding the affix আ « -ā- » to the root, with euphonic « ẇ » or « ẏ » between vowels : *e.g.*, কর « √kâr » *to do* > করা « √kârā » *to cause to do* ; খা « √khā » > খাআ, খাওয়া « √khāā, khāẇā » *to cause to eat* ; দে « √dē » > দেআ, দেওয়া, দেয়া « √dēā, dēẇā, dēẏā » *to cause to give* ; জী « √jī » > জীয়া « jiyā » *to cause to live*. There are of course old causatives of OIA. which do not add this « -ā » affix, but show original root-modification (Ablaut) and behave like independent roots, which have been noted before (*supra*, pp. 876-877).

The source of this « -ā- » is the MIA. « -āva- », from OIA. « -āpa-ya- », which has been indicated above (*supra*, p. 880). The normal OIA. form « -aya- », with modification of the root vowel, became considerably curtailed from First MIA., and « -āpaya- » largely took its place. Thus we have in the Aśōka Inscriptions forms like « kārāpita-, pārāpita-, vivāsāpaya-, sāvāpaya- » (= Skt. kārita, hārita, vivasaya-, śrāvaya-), and in Pali « vasāpēti, sarāpēti (√smṛ), pucchāpēti (√pṛcch), siñcāpēti, palāpēti », etc., etc. This « -āpaya- » even invaded the domain of the denominative. In Second MIA., it became « -āva-, -āv-ē », and when there grew a confusion between the « -aya- > -ē- » causative and the simple verb (see *supra*, pp. 933-934), the « -āv-, -v- » form with the unmistakable « -ā-, -v- » in it easily became established as the causative affix in Late MIA. and NIA.

In the Caryās, the causative affix occurs as « -āva- », as in « bandhāvaĕ » *causes to bind* (Caryā 22); and this « -āva- » was contracted to « -ā- » in MB. (*supra*, p. 350, *Phonology*). The « -ā- » causative has been extremely common in Bengali from its very origin.

**760.** The Verbal Noun from causative roots takes the affix আন, আনো, « -ānâ, -ānō », which represents « -āpa- » base + « -na »: cf. Skt. « dā--pa-na » *causing to give*, « jñā-pa-na » *causing to know*, *announcement*, etc. On the model of these, First MIA. built up forms like « * kārāpana, * cālāpana » etc.; and a generalised « -āpana » gave Second MIA. « -āvaṇa », extended to « -āvaṇa-a » by the « -(k)a » affix, which became the Bengali causal noun affix « -ānâ, -ānâ, -ānō » ('Formative Affixes Nos. 13, 13a,' *supra*, pp. 664, 665).

**761.** Participles of the Causative.

The Active Present Participle has the usual affix ইত, ইতে « -it-, -itē », contracted to « -t, -tē » in the Standard Colloquial (see *supra*, 'Formative Affix No. 10,' p. 663). The archaic form « -anta » is not found with causative verbs. Assamese has « -āōtā »: « kârāōtā » *one who causes to do* (beside « kârāōwā » = « kârā-ū-ā » with « -ū-ā » affix, for which see pp. 678, 679), « khuwāōtā » *one who causes to eat* (beside « khuōwā »). Bengali has to indicate the active causative participle idea by a clumsy phrase—যে করায় সে, যে খাওয়ায় সে « jē kârāy sē, jē khāwāy sē », etc.

The Causative Passive Participle affix is আন, আনো « -āna, ānō » (see *supra*, p. 666). Instances of « -ānā » are not very common in MB., but they do occur: thus, ŚKK., pp. 109, 116, 318 শুখান « śukhānā » *dried*; KKC. (Vaṅga-vāsī edition), p. 147 হারান « hārānā » *lost*; VSP., p. 263 (17th century text), সিজান « sijānā » *boiled*; etc. The more favourite way seems to have been the « -il- » affix (see *infra*, p. 1032). On the analogy of the verbal noun in « -ā », presenting an identical form with the passive participle in « -ā » (« cālā » = *a going*, also *gone*; « kārā » = *a doing*, also *done*), the « -ānā » affix, found also in the causative verbal noun, seems to have been strengthened for the passive participle in Modern Bengali.

The « -ānā- » affix does not seem to occur in Assamese, in Oṛiyā, and in the Bihārī dialects, but it is found in E. Hindī, and in W. Hindī, and it also occurs as a passive form in Rājasthānī-Gujarātī; thus, Tulasī-dāsa has forms like « phirānō, juṛānī, harakhānē, lapaṭānī, akulānī », etc.; in Early W. Hindī, the « -āna » was found, but now it seems to have fallen into disuse: thus, Kabīr has (ed. Kshiti-mōhan Sēn, III, p. 62) « māyā dēkha-kē jagata lubhānō, kāhē rē nara garabānō?.....prēma-kē hātha kāhē na bikānō? » *the world has been charmed seeing Māyā; why, O man, has been this boasting? why hast not been sold in the hand of love?* (it would be seen that in « bikānō » we have the causative passive participle; in the other two cases, and also in E. Hindī « harakhānē, akulānī, lapaṭānī » given above, the forms are denominative passive participles); in Rājasthānī, forms like « suṇāṇō, batāṇō » *was heard, was displayed*, etc., are past passive forms (from passive participles: cf. LSI., IX, II, p. 58); and in Northern Gujarātī, « -āṇō » is the passive participle affix for roots in « -ā », *e.g.*, « mārāṇō » *was killed*, « diṭhāṇō » *was seen*, « bharāṇō » *was filled*, etc. (LSI., IX, II, p. 343).

The source of this « -ānā » seems to be « -māna », the OIA. affix for the present participle for *ātmanē-pada* and passive verbs. The past sense can easily evolve in the passive verb: *being done, being caused to be done, caused to be done*, and also simply in the passive participle, *done*. There might be in this matter some influence from the « -na » passive participles of OIA., which in some cases came down to Late MIA., *e.g.*

« diṇṇa, kiṇṇa, ruṇṇa, * liṇṇa » etc.; and already in one instance at least we have a passive participle use of « -māna » in Pali, in combination with « -ta », in « vibhāta-māna » *become bright* (Geiger, 'Pali Litteratur und Sprache,' § 191, note: Geiger, however, regards the reading as doubtful). The form « -māna » in Epic and Classical Sanskrit becomes « -āna », and « -āna » is the more common form (Whitney, 'Skt. Grammar,' § 1045 f.). The form « -āna » also occurs in Pali, and in later MIA. it is also found as « -āṇa », though there it cannot be said to be common. The passive participle use of « -āṇa » came in during Second MIA.: a form like « palāṇa » (= Skt. « palāyita » = Bengali † পলান, পালানো « † pālānā, pālānō ») already occurs in Jaina-Mahārāṣṭrī (Tessitori, 'Grammar of OWR.,' § 126 [2]).

**762.** In MB. and dialectal NB., the passive participle of causatives occurs with the usual « -il- » affix: *e.g.*, ŚKK., p. 58, লোটাইল « lōṭāilā » *caused to be rolled, rolled*; p. 318, আখাইল « ākhāilā » *scoured, washed*; East Bengali করাইল « kārāilā » *done, caused to be done*, জুড়াইল « juṛāilā » *cooled* = Standard Literary and Colloquial « kārānā, juṛānā ». In West Bengali, as in W. Murshidabad for instance, the « -il- » participle (contracted to « -l- ») occurs in the compound tense (perfect), but not independently: *e.g.*, লাগাল্‌চো [lagal͡ʧuo] *have you fixed?*, কি খাওয়াল্‌ছিলা [ki khoal͡ʧhila] *what were you feeding with?*, দেওয়াল্‌চে [dɛ̆oal͡ʧe] *is causing to give*, etc. The « -l- » form occurs in the Oṛiyā and in the Bihārī dialects. Assamese however prefers the « -ā » form (« kārōwā » *caused to be done* = « * karāpita- » + « -ā »).

**763.** Double Causatives—such as are found in Bihārī (*e.g.*, Maithilī « dĕkhab » *see*, causal « dĕkhāĕb » *show*, double causal « dĕkhăbāĕb » *cause to show*; « girab » *fall* > « girāĕb » *fell* < « girăbāĕb » *cause to fell*; Bhōjpuriyā « dĕkhal, dĕkhāwal, dĕkhăwāwal », etc.), in Eastern Hindī (*e.g.*, Lakhimpurī Awadhī « hāsab » *smile*, « hāsāwab, hāsăwāwab »), in Western Hindī (*e.g.*, Hindōstānī « karnā, karānā, karwānā; dēnā, dilānā, dilwānā »), in Panjābī (*e.g.*, E. Panjābī « sikkhṇā » *learn*, « sikkhāuṇā [sikkhlāuṇā, sikkhālṇā], sikkhwāuṇā »), in Rājasthānī-Gujarātī (*e.g.*, Gujarātī « karvū, karāvavū, karavāvavū »)—have not been found in Bengali and in Oṛiyā.

But they occur in a restricted way in Assamese (*e.g.*, « kàr, kàrā, kàrōwā »). The « -l- » causatives of Western Hindī and Panjābī, and of Rājasthānī-Gujarātī, and the « -ḍ-, -r- » causatives as in Rājasthānī-Gujarātī (cf. Tessitori, 'Grammar of OWR.,' § 141 [3]), are also unknown in Bengali and its sister speeches. A few Hindōstānī « -l- » forms occur as loans: *e.g.*, বাতলান « bātḷānā » *to inform, to describe*, in slang or familiar colloquial; দেলানা « dēlānā » *to cause to give* in Late MB.; and the nouns ধোলাই « dhōlāī » *a causing to wash* > *cost of washing*, সেলাই « sēlāī » *sewing* and চোলাই « cōlāī » *distilling*.

**764.** There is in Bengali a periphrastic way of forming the causative with the verbal noun in « -ā » and the verb করান « kārānā » *to cause to do*. This method is exceedingly common in Rāḍha Bengali, outside the Standard Colloquial: thus রাখ « √rākh » *to keep*, রাখা করান « rākhā-kārānā » *to cause to keep*; so আনা করান « ānā-kārānā » *to cause to bring*, ডাকা করান « ḍākā-kārānā » *to cause to call*, খাওয়া করান « khāwā-kārānā » *to cause to eat*, দেওয়া করান « dēwā-kārānā » *to cause to give*, etc. The use of the causative form করান « kārānā » with *ts.* or *sts.* nouns is also common in Standard Bengali: *e.g.*, স্নান করান « snāṇḍ-kārānā » *to cause to take a bath*, গান করান « gāṇḍ-kārānā » *to make sing*, নাচ করান « nācḍ-kārānā » *to make dance*, দাঁড় করান « dāṛḍ-kārānā » *to cause to stand*, etc.; such instances are extensions of nominal compound verbs with কর « √kàr », and we have cases in the ŚKK. also—*e.g.*, চেতন করান « cētānā kārānā » *to bring to senses*, পান করান « pānā kārānā » *to cause to drink*, etc.

### [N] Denominatives.

**765.** Denominatives have occurred in all the periods of the language: *e.g.*, « mātēla » (Caryā 50: māta < matta); ŚKK., p. 159, খঙ্গাইবে « khaṇgāībē » *will be angry* (khaṇgā *anger*); p. 158, খেআইলোঁ « khēāīlō » *I ferried* (khēā = *ferry*); p. 191, ভাণ্ডসি « bhāṇḍāsi » *jestest*, ভাণ্ডাইলি « bhāṇḍāīli » *didst jest* (bhaṇḍa *fool, buffoon, knave*), আউলাইল « āulāīlā » *dishevelled* (ākula); p. 372, বিষাইল « biṣāīlā » *poisoned* (viṣa), etc.

Commonly in Bengali, the noun, if it is a short form (disyllabic > monosyllabic), is used as a root: চিন « cinṇ » (cihna)—চিনিবে, চিন্‌বে

« cinibē, cinbē » *will recognise*; তাত « tātṣ » *heat* (tapta)—তাতিল, তাত্‌ল « tātilā, tātlā » *became hot*; পাক « pākṣ » (pakva)—পাকিতেছে, পাক্‌ছে « pākitēchē, pākchē » *is becoming ripe*; কম « kām » *small, less* (Persian kam)—কমিল, ক'মল « kāmilā, kā'mlā » *became less*. জম « jām » *gathering* (Perso-Arabic jam°)—জমিবে, জ'মবে « jāmibē, jā'mbē » *will gather, will flourish*; etc. But the distinctive affix for the denominative in Bengali is আ « -ā- »: শাণ « śāṇṣ » *hone, whet-stone*, শাণাইল শাণা'ল « śāṇāilā, śāṇā'lā » *whetted*; দাঢ় « dāṛṣ » *stick, rod*, দাঁড়ায় « dāṛāy » *stands upright, stands*; তল « tālṣ » *bottom*, তলায় « tālāy » *goes to the bottom*; ঘন « ghānā » *thick*, ঘনাইতেছে « ghānāitēchē » *is thickening*; MB. দঢ় « dāṛhā » *firm*, দঢ়ান « dāṛhānā » *to make firm*; etc., etc. No definite rule can be laid down where the formative affix is employed and where it can be dispensed with. Herein the NIA. Bengali is as arbitrary as OIA. and MIA.: cf. Sanskrit « bhiṣakti, kṛṣṇati » beside « kṛṣṇāyatē, kavayati ». It may be noted that in Dravidian, Kōl and Tibeto-Chinese, the root could be used both as a noun and a verb.

The OIA. affixes to form the denominative (apart from cases where no such affix was used) were « -a-, -ya-, -ā-ya-, -a-ya, -i-y-a-, -i-y-a, -ū-ya, -u-ya-, -s-ya (-ṣ-ya) ». The form « -ā-ya- », resembling the causative affix « -āpaya (-āvaya) », seems to have become more common than the rest in Early MIA.; and the colourless or « -a- » form also was largely used (cf. Geiger, 'Pali Litteratur und Sprache,' § 186, § 188). The causative largely influenced, and then encroached upon the domain of the denominative. In Pali, *e.g.*, we find denominatives with the generalised MIA. causative affix « -āpaya- », like « ōpuñjāpēti » = Skt. « ava-puñjayati », « ussukāpēti » = « utsukāyatē », and also causative-denominatives like « sukhāpēti, dukhāpēti » (Geiger, § 187). In Second MIA., there is a greater mix-up with the causative; the old forms are retained, but « -āya- » is more prominent, and « -āya- > -āa- » and « -āpaya- > -āvē- -āv- » approach each other (Pischel, §§ 557 ff.). As it has been seen before (Bengali Denominative Passives in « -ā- », *supra*, p. 929), the distinction between the denominative and the causative is all but lost in NIA., being preserved only in the Bihārī dialects.

The verbal noun as well as the passive participle affix for the denominative is আন « -ānā », which seems to be extended from the causative (see *above*, pp. 1030-1032). The verbal noun in « -ila » is also found in dialectal Bengali : OIA. « daṇḍāyita » > MIA. « daṇḍāïa » + « -illa » > Bengali দাঁড়াইল, as in W. Bengali (Murshidabad) দাঁড়াল্‌ছে « dāṛāl-chē » *has stood* so ; জুতুল্‌ছিল = জুতাইল্‌ছিল « jutul-chilā < jutāil-chilā » *gave a beating with the shoe*, < jutā *shoe* ; etc.

### [O] Verb Substantive, and Defective Verbs.

**766.** Five roots express the substantive idea in NB. : আছ « āch », হ or হো « hā, hō », থাক্‌ « thāk », রহ « rāh » and বট « bāṭ ».

Of these, « āch » is the most important. Bengali « āchē » *is, are* comes regularly from Second MIA. « acchaï » (which is found in Mahārāṣṭrī, Jaina-Mahārāṣṭrī, Ardha-māgadhī, Āvantī, Paiśācī and Western Apabhraṅśa : cf. Pischel, 'Grammatik der Pkt.-Sprachen,' § 480), First MIA. « acchati » (as in Pali). Various derivations of this MIA. root « acch » have been proposed, connecting it with either « √ās » *to sit* or « √ as » *to be* (see Pischel, *loc. cit.*) The derivation favoured by Pischel is from OIA. « √ ṛ, ṛch » *to go*, which also meant « mūrtti-bhāva, indriya-pralaya, dravya-kāṭhinya » *to take a form, to have loss of the senses, to become hard*, according to the *Dhātu-pāṭha*. A verb meaning *to go* may develop the sense of *being*, and we find that in Kaśmīrī « gatsh » *to go* is very often used in the sense of *being, becoming* (cf. Grierson, 'Dictionary of the Kaśmīrī Language,' ASB., pp. 313, 315). But it is highly unlikely that this most widely used IA. substantive root (see following paragraph) should be merely a semantic development out of a verb meaning *going*, and that this development should have taken place as early as the First MIA. period, if not earlier. The most satisfactory derivation of « √acch, āch, ch » is from an OIA. « * √acch », which is not preserved in Vedic or Sanskrit. The Indo-European root « * es », = « as » of OIA., occurred in thematic forms as well : « * es-e-ti » (which would correspond with a possible OIA. « * as-a-ti » ) and « * es-ske-ti » (which would agree with an OIA. « * as-cha-ti, * acchati » ), beside the athematic « * es-ti » (= OIA. « as-ti » ). Sanskrit grammarians do not recognise « -cha-, -ccha- »

as a verbal theme (= « * -ske-, -sko- » of Indo-European), occurring as it does in less than a dozen roots of Skt., *e.g.*, « icch (< iṣ), ucch (< uṣ), ṛcch (< ṛ), gacch (< gam), pṛcch (< * pṛṣ, cf. pṛṣ-ṭa), mṛcch (< mṛ), mūrch (< mūr), yacch (< yam), yucch (< yu), vāñch (< van) »: but the source of this « -ccha » in Indo-European, namely, « * -ske, -sko- », was a distinctive verbal theme which is of greater frequency and importance in other branches of IE. (cf. Brugmann's Short Comparative Grammar, French trans., pp. 549, 550; A. Meillet, ' Introduction à l' E'tude comparative des Langues indo-européennes [3],' pp. 185, 186). The « * -ske/o- » theme is found with « * √es » in a number of ancient Indo-European speeches—Greek (*e.g.*, Homeric preterit « éskon, éske »), Latin (Old Latin future « escit »); Tokharian (« sketar » *is*, « skente » *are*), Armenian (subjunctive « içem »). This derivation of « acch, acchati » has been suggested by Sylvain Lévi and A. Meillet ('Remarques sur les Formes grammmaticales de quelques Textes en Tokharien B : I, Formes verbales,' p. 28, from the 'Mémoires de la Société de Linguistique,' 1912). Cf. पहुँच « √pāhūch », *supra*, pp. 344, 473.

The root « āch (ch) » is now found in all Magadhan speeches except Magahī and Bhōjpuriyā. It seems that these two dialects also at one time possessed them, for it is occasionally met with in old poetry in Bhōjpuriyā (see *supra*, p. 167). Eastern Hindī similarly seems to have had it also: in Early Eastern Hindī, as in Malik Muhammad Jāyasī for instance, it figures (*e.g.*, at pp. 31, 35, 45, 53 of the ASB. edition,— « āchahi, āchaï, āchahī », which have been explained as meaning *good*, « acchā », by Sudhākara Dvivēdī). The MIA. source dialect of Western Hindī, Śaurasēnī, possessed it, according to Vararuci (XII, 19: « astēr acchaḥ »); « achnā » is recognised in Hindī as a root, and it seems that instances of it occur in Old Western Hindī poetry, but it is no longer a living form in that speech. It is found in Gujarātī as much as in Bengali, and it is equally common in some of the Rājasthānī dialects. In Marāṭhī, it is common as « asṇē ». It figures also in most of the Pahāṛī speeches. The range of « acch » thus appears to have been fairly extensive (see *supra*, p. 167). The loss of it in some of the NIA. speeches is nothing exceptional: witness the disuse of the Old English substantive verb « weorðan » in New English,

while it is retained (as « werden ») in New High German. But it seems this root, despite its mention as a Śaurasēnī form by Vararuci, was not a popular one in the Midland: its being ignored by Sanskrit may be due to a restricted occurrence in the Midland; and Midland influence may have further curtailed it in Eastern Hindī and in Bhōjpuriyā and Magahī in recent times.

« āch » is a defective root in NB. as well as in MB. It occurs only in the present and the past in NB., but in MB. the imperative, present participle, conjunctive and verbal noun in « -iba » also are found. Thus,

Present: 1. আছি « āchi », 2. আছিস, আছ « āchis, āchâ », 3. আছে « āchē », MB. আছএ « āchâē »; 2 and 3 honorific আছেন « āchēṇ́ », MB. আছন্তি, আছেন্ত, আছন্ত « āchânti, āchēntâ, āchântâ »;

Past: 1. (আ)ছিলাম, ছিলুম, ছিলেম « (ā)chilām, chilum, chilēm », MB. (আ)ছিলোঁ « (ā)chilõ » etc.; 2. (আ)ছিলি, ছিলিস « (ā)chili, chilis », (আ)ছিলা « (ā)chilā », ছিলে « chilē », etc.; 3. (আ)ছিল « (ā)chilâ », ‡ আছলেক « āchaḷēkṇ́ », MB. also (আ)ছিলা « (ā)chilā »; 2 and 3 honorific ছিলেন « chilēṇ́ », MB. (আ)ছিলন্তি, (আ)ছিলান্তি, (আ)ছিলেন্ত, (আ)ছিলন্ত « (ā)chilânti, (ā)chilānti, (ā)chilēnta, (ā)chilântâ »;

Imperative, MB. 3. আছউক « āchâukṇ́ », (আ)চুক, « (ā)chukṇ́ »;

Present Participle, MB. (আ)ছিতে « (ā)chitē »;

Conjunctive, MB. (আ)ছিয়া « (ā)chiyā, ছিআঁ « chi(y)ā »;

Verbal Noun, MB. আছিবা « āchibā ».

The aphæresis of the initial « ā- » is as old as eMB.: *e.g.*, ŚKK. p. 124, ছিতে « chitē », p. 232, চুক « chukâ »; cf. also p. 124, আগুছিআঁ « āguchiā » *having been before.*

In Oṛiyā, the past and future tense of « āch » shows another root, « tha » (as in « thilā » *he was*, « thilū » *I was*, « thibē » *they will be*, etc.), of which the source seems to be OIA. « √sthā » ( « sthita > thia+-illa > thila »; but cf. Early Assamese « thāilâ » *remained* < « *thaẏa- » + « -illa »). 'S.-W. Bengali' uses a base « ṭha », also from « √sthā », but with cerebralisation, in the equivalents of Bengali ছিল « chilâ » etc., in

the compound tenses (see *supra*, p. 1029). Beside equivalents of « * acchita + -illa », MIA. forms based on « sthita + -illa » were thus current in the Prakrit dialects brought to Bengal.

**767.** Root হ, হো « hâ, hō ». This is apparently a single root in NB., but the form really represents two roots which have merged into one—one being « √ah » or « √ha » from OIA. « √as », the other « √hō » from OIA. « √bhū ». The distinction between the two is preserved in many NIA. speeches, at least in form: Thus, we have Magahī past forms « hal, halai » from « √ha », beside « hōl, bhēl » from root « √hō, bha = √ bhū »; W. Hindī has « hai » *is*, « hũ » *am* (in Early W. Hindī literature frequently occurring as « ahai, āhai; ahaũ, ahũ, āhũ » etc., from « √ah, as »), beside « hōwē, hōē; hōwũ, hǫ̃ũ » *may be* (from « √hō = bhū »). Cf. Grierson, 'Maithilī Grammar,' § 219, for « √ah » in Maithilī. And in West Bengali, in the Khāriā-ṭhār dialect of Manbhum District, the verb occurs as আহয় « āhây » *is* (LSI., V, I, p. 97).

The OIA. « √bhū » became « hō, hū » in the NIA. languages. In MB., we have হুএ, হোএ « huē, hōē », with its equivalents « huâĩ, hōi » in Oṛiya and « hōwē » in Early Assamese. MB. and Assamese show beside these the form হএ, হয় « hâē, hây », honorific MB. হয়ন্তি « hâyânti = hâânti » (p. 9, Chuṭī Khān's 'Mahābhārata'), হয়ন্ত « hâyântâ = hâântâ » (ibid., p. 56), হন্তি « hânti », etc. In the ŚKK., however, the « hō » form is extremely rare, occurring only once, and « hâ » is the common form. In the Caryās, we find « hōi » and « hōnti », and the « ha, ah » form does not occur. The past tense of « √hō », apart from হোইল « hōilâ » which has merged in হইল « hâĩlâ » (<*âh-il-â), shows in OB. and MB., as well as in Early Assamese, the forms ভইল, ভয়িল, ভৈল, ভৈলা « bhâĩlâ, bhâyilâ, bhâilâ, bhâilâ », etc. A conjunctive ভই « bhâĩ » is also known. The « bha » base occurs also side by side with « hō » in other NIA. *e.g.*, W. Hindī (Hindōstānī) « hūā » beside dialectal « bhayā »; and we can also note the Hindī verb « bhāwē » = « bhāvayati », (cf. the MB. ভায় « bhây ») *seems*. OIA. « √bhū » gave « hō » through the occurrence of the verb in the middle of the sentence (see *supra*, p. 553), and side by side with this intervocal « -h- » modification, the original initial « bh- » seems to have remained as a stereotyped form in the same area.

In MIA., all roots of OIA. tended to conform to the thematic « -a- » group. Root « as », athematic in Vedic and Sanskrit, would thus seem to have developed a thematic form « * as-a-ti » beside « as-ti », if this did not already exist in OIA. OIA subjunctive forms, like « ásati, ásat » might have exerted some influence here. The OIA. athematic « as-ti » survives through MIA. « atthi » in the Gujarātī negative form « nathī < nâsti », and is not found elsewhere in NIA. The form « * as-a-ti » seems to be the source of NIA. আহয় « âhây » (West Bengali), হএ হয় « « hâē, hây » (Standard or Common Bengali), « ahaï, hai » (W. Hindī), « āhē » (Marāṭhī), etc. This « * as-a-ti » however, has not been found in MIA., and the phonetic puzzle of the change of « -s- > -h- » remains unsolved (*supra*, pp. 549-550). Jules Bloch suggests connecting Marāṭhī « āhē » with OIA. « ā-bhavati », as a likely derivation of it ('Langue Marathe,' p. 294). But the loss of prefix « ā- » over a great part of the North Indian area would be strange. In any case, with the distinct occurrence in NIA. of « hō, ha » side by side, « ha » cannot with any certitude be derived from « bhū ». Bengali phonology shows that the source of « ha » in OB. was « * ah » and not « hō = bhū » : নয় « nây » *is not* < ন-হয় « nâ-hây » = « na + * ahaï » ; নইলে < নহিলে « nâïlē < nâhilē » *on not being* < « na + * ahilē » ; MB. নহিব « nâhibâ » *shall not be* = « na + * ahiba » : the change is of « ă + ă > å > â » (for which see *supra*, pp. 347, 555). In the Standard Colloquial, MB. করিব, চলিব « kâribâ, câlibâ » *I shall do, I shall go* by loss of the interior « -i- » and mutation of the preceding « -â- » give [korbo, ʧolbo], but there is no such mutation in the case of বহিব, সহিব « bâhibâ, sâhibâ » *I shall bear, I shall suffer* > [bɔbo, ʃɔbo], when the « -i- » is dropped ; but when the « -i- » is retained (the presence of « -h- » preventing the hiatus in OB. and eMB. has something to do with the preservation of the « -i- » in such cases), we have mutation : [boibo, ʃoibo]. Now হইব « hâïbâ » *shall be* gives in the Standard Colloquial [ɦobo] : this would seem to be based on *অহিব, * অহ্ব « * âhibâ, *âhbâ », which then by metathesis becomes হব « hâbâ » [ɦobo]. A form from « hō = bhū », হোইব « hōibâ » would give in the Standard Colloquial * [ɦobo], with « -ō- » in the root, but such a form is unknown. In the past tense (first person), we

have for the above roots, respectively, [korlum (kollum), ɔ̃ollum], but [boilum, ʃoilum] and [fiolum] : [bolum, ʃolum] would be exceedingly rare, and wrong for the Standard Colloquial dialect ; and [fioilum] never occurs. [fiolum] apparently is not based on « * âh-il-um < √ ah », but rather on « hō-il-um < √bhū » : in the former case it would have fallen in line with [boilum, ʃoilum], and with [koilum] < « √kâh » *to speak* etc., and preserved the « -i- » (in the Standard Colloquial). The future tense thus seems to preserve « √ âh », and the past « √ hō ».

**768.** The root রহ « râh » *to remain, to continue to be* (the causative of which occurs in the ŚKK., রহাএ « râhāē » *stops*), is a regular verb which can be said to form one of the substantives in Bengali. It occurs in other NIA.—Marāṭhī « rahāṇē, rāhṇē », Gujarati « rahēvū », Sindhī « rahaṇu », Panjābī « rahiṇā », W. Hindī « rahnā », E. Hindī « rahab » : it is found also in the Dardic Kaśmīrī.

This root is of obscure origin. A common derivation is to regard it as an intransitive formation from a passive verb : Skt. « rakṣyatē » *is preserved, is kept* > MIA. « rakkhiaï » > « rākhiaï, * rāhiaï, * răhiaï » > NIA. « rahaï » *remains* (cf. Platts, 'Hindustānī Dictionary,' under « rahnā »). Despite the presence of the Marāṭhī « rāhnē », this derivation is not convincing. Then the NIA. form « rah » cannot be affiliated to any of the Sanskrit roots, « rah » *to separate, to abandon*, « rañh » *to hasten, to speed*, and « laṅgh » *to leap over*, because of the insurmountable difference of meaning. This root however occurs in MIA., *e.g.*, Jaina Prakrit « rahaē » *remains, stays*, and MIA. *dēśī* « rāho = nirantaraḥ » (as referred to by Jules Bloch, ' Langue Marathe,' p. 393).

It would be strange indeed if such an important NIA. root, a root of elementary significance, and so widely spread too, should not be of OIA. origin. There is the Skt. root « arh=argh » *to deserve, to merit, to be worthy of, to have a claim to, to be entitled to, to be worth, to be able*, etc. This is connected with the Greek « alphē » *worth, value* ; and Skt. « √ arj » *to acquire* is also supposed to be related to this « √argh, arh » (Uhlenbeck, ' Etymologisches Wörterbuch der altindischer Sprache ' ; also J. Leumann, ibid., I Theil, Dissertation, Strassburg, 1893). In Pali

« √ rah » figures as « araha- » : but the old meaning is preserved. Skt. « √ arh » in the present tense second person is used with the infinitive as a polite request : « kartum arhasi, dātum arhasi » *please do, please give.* This « arh, araha- » does not agree with the NIA. « rah » in sense, although in form they are almost identical.

There is in Middle High German a verb « rëgen » meaning *to raise oneself up, to be rigid, to be fixed,* in Modern German « emporragen » *to tower,* « hervorragen » *to rise above, to project, to stand out.* There is also in Latin a verb « rigeo, rigēre » *to be be fixed, to stiffen.* It has been suggested that the Latin and the German forms are connected, and the hypothetical Indo-European root « * régh-o-, * ŗgh-é- » has been proposed as the source of both (August Fick, 'Vergleichendes Wörterbuch der idg. Sprachen,' Göttingen, 1890, p. 517 : Fick regarded this as belonging specially to the West European i.e. "centum" group of Indo-European, and he further connected the Greek « √arkh » *to be first* and Lithuanian « rāgas », Old Slav « rogŭ » *horn* : W. Prellwitz accepts all this in his 'Etymologisches Wörterbuch der griechischen Sprache,' Göttingen, 1905, under « árkhō » ; E. Boisacq, however, regards these etymologies as dubious, 'Dictionnaire étymologique de la Langue grecque,' Heidelberg, 1906, under « arkhós » ; and A. Walde also disputes them, 'Lateinisches etymologisches Wörterbuch,' Heidelberg, 1910, under « rigeo, recens, frīgeo »).

Was there a root « * ragh, rah » = *to stand, to be fixed, to be stiff* also in OIA. ? The possibility of an OIA. form like « * ragh, rah » is made a probability by the presence in most NIA. of « √ rah », and also of « √ raha » in MIA. (as in Jaina Mahārāṣṭrī « sō ẏa aīva jūẏa-pasaṇgī ; nivasaṇa-mĕttaṁ pi na rahaē » *he is excedingly addicted to gambling : not even his clothes remain* : Jacobi, 'Ausgewählte Erzählungen in Mahārāṣṭrī,' Leipzig, 1886, p. 58 : it features also in the Jaina *kāvya* « Siri-sirivāla-kahā » : cf. 'Pāïa-sadda-mahaṇṇavō' by Hargovinddas Trikamchand Seṭh, Calcutta, 1925 ; it occurs also in the late work 'Prākṛta-Pāiṇgala'). The use of this root in MIA. Jaina texts favours the assumption that it also occurred in the traditional Ardha-māgadhī from Early MIA. times. The eastern dialect of Aśōka undoubtedly

is Ardha-māgadhī of the Early MIA. period (cf. H. Lüders, 'Bruchstücke Buddhistischer Dramen,' p. 41). In that puzzling passage in Aśōka's Pillar Ediet IV, « lajūkā pi laghaṁti paṭicalitavē maṁ (,) pulisāni pi mē chaṁdaṁnāni paṭicalisaṁti », the word « laghaṁti=laghanti » has been interpreted to mean *are eager* (=« raṅghantē » : Bühler) and *they must* (= « arhanti » : *auch die Lajjukas müssen mir gehorchen*, H. Lüders, 'Sitzungsberichte der kön. preuss. Akad. der Wisschenschaften,' Vol. LIII, 1913, p. 993). But it seems very likely that it means *remain*, and is the Aśōkan equivalent of the NIA. « rah » : *the* Lajjūkas *also remain* (*are staying*) *to serve* (*obey*) *me, and they will also serve* (*obey*) *the officials who know my will* seems to be the proper translation (cf. A. C. Woolner, 'Asoka Text and Glossary,' 1925, II, p. 86). The sense of « √arh », with an implication of compulsion, is hardly suitable in this general statement in the above passage. In Bhabra Inscription, however, we have the OIA. « √arh » in the form « alah » with the « a- » retained : thus, « alahāmi hakaṁ taṁ vatavē » (= arhāmy ahaṁ tad vaktavē=vaktum). The assumption of an OIA. root « *ragh, rah, lagh », from the occurrence of it in NIA. and in (Late) MIA. (Jaina Prakrit) and from the presence in extra-Indian Indo-European of « rëgen, rigeo » etc., seems to be borne out by the Aśōkan « laghaṁti ». And it is not unlikely that there was a confusion between this « *ragh, rah, lagh » and « argh, arh, arah, alah » in MIA.

**769**. Root থাক « thāk » *to remain* < *to be fixed*. It is commonly derived from the OIA. « √sthā », but Hoernle connects it with « √stabh + kṛ » > MIA. « thakka » (see *supra*, p. 680). This is certainly the true derivation, although it is possible that OIA. « √sthā »> « thā, tha » has merged into it : cf. Oṛiyā « √thā » beside « √thāk », Assamese past form « thāïlā », Bengali causative থোয় « thōy » *places* (sthāpayati). Equivalents of this root occur in other NIA.—in Bihārī, in W. Hindī, in Gujarātī ; and it is found in Late MIA.,—in the 'Prākṛtā Pāiṇgala,' for instance.

**770**. Root বট « bāṭ » as a substantive verb in the Standard Colloquial is frequently used to express doubt or polite assent, and as such is ordinarily restricted to the 3rd person present only—বটে

« bâṭē »—which has practically been reduced to a particle of assent or query in Standard NB. The root is defective in not having past and future forms, and conjunctives, participles and verbal nouns. The forms for the 1st and 2nd persons, and the honorific, are sometimes used: বটি « bâṭi » *I am, I may be*; বটিস, বট « bâṭis, bâṭâ »; বটেন « bâṭēṅ », generally with the conjunction যদি, যদিও « yâdi, yâdi-ō » *if, although*. The 3rd personal form is sometimes used for emphasis—সেই বটে « sēi bâṭē » *it is he indeed*. In the West Rāṛha dialects, the use of « bâṭē » as the equivalent of « âchē » and « hây » is still preserved: *e.g.*, in Manbhum, তোমার হাতে ঘটিতে কি ? « tōmāṛ hātē ghâṭi-tē ki ? » *what have you got in the vessel in you hand ?* জল বটে « jâl bâṭē » *it is water*.

In Oṛiyā, the counterpart of « bâṭ » is « âṭ », also a defective verb. The loss of the initial « b (<v) » in Oṛiyā seems to have been brought about by the occurrence of the verb in the middle of the sentence, which helped to reduce the « v- », which became « b- » in Bengali, to a glide « ŵ » which came to be dropped. Maithilī and Magahī have not preserved the root, but in Bhōjpuriyā it is a very common and useful substantive verb, its forms there being « bāṭ-, bāṛ-, bā, bā-ni » etc.

The source of this root is the OIA. « vṛt » *to turn, to revolve, to roll, to take place, to occur, to exist, to remain* etc.: « vartatē », MIA. Māgadhī « vaṭṭati, vaṭṭaï » > বটে « bâṭē » (see *supra*, p. 319).

**771.** Some Bengali verbs present irregularities in their conjugations, especially in the past bases. But these irregularities are not so great as in Panjābī or Marāṭhī. The process of standardisation early levelled down the passive participle bases derived from MIA. to a regular « -il- » form in Bengali. A few survivals, however, remain. Thus কর « √kâr », past tense MB. করিল « kârilâ » (> NB. ক'র্‌ল ক'ল্‌ল, কর্‌লে ক'ল্‌লে [korlo, kollo, korle, kolle]) is a new and regular formation in eMB. from the root, but the earlier form derived from MIA. « *kaŷa-illa » is the OB. and MB. কৈল « kâilâ », now obsolete or dialectal: cf. Oṛiyā « kâlā », Bihārī « kail ». So মরিল « mârilâ » *died* > ম'র্‌ল ম'ল্‌ল [morlo, mollo], beside the older মৈল « mâilâ », which is found in both standard and dialectal Bengali as ম'ল [molo]; and on the analogy of « kâilâ, mâilâ », we have in MB.

a seemingly archaic মাইল « māïlā » (whence the dialectal West Bengali মেলে « mēlē », i.e., « māïl-ē ») for a regular মারিল « mār-il-ā » *he struck* (« mārita + -illa », a causative form, which occurs in the Standard Colloquial as মার্‌লে, মাল্‌লে [marle, malle < *marile]); and also পৈল « pāilā » *fell* in MB., for পড়িল « pāṛilā » > NB. প'ড়্‌ল [poṛlo]. Root যা, জা « jā » (OIA. « yā ») has the past base গেল « gēlā » = Early Assamese « gāilā », Oṛiyā « gālā », Bihārī « gail », from OIA. « gata » + « -ila »; this is the genuine and current form, and যাইল « jāïlā » is a regular « sādhu-bhāṣā » creation out of যা « √jā », which is not the spoken form. The conjunctive forms are গেলে « gēlē » and গিয়া, গিয়ে « giyā, giyē » *on going, having gone* (cf. Early Bengali, Early Assamese গই « gāï », also found in OB.); but যেলে « jēlē » and যেয়ে « jēyē » would appear to be extremely uncommon in colloquial Bengali, and would seem to be based on the literary forms যাইলে, যাইয়া « jāïlē, jāïyā ».

**772.** The roots meaning *give* and *take* have had a close inter-influence in their history. OIA. root « dā » *to give* did not use its reduplicated forms in MIA., and already in Transitional MIA. (Bharhut), it figures as « dēti » < « *dayati », apparently through analogy of « nayati > nēti » (from « √nī » *to lead, to take away*). The passive participle base was « datta » in OIA. (which seems to be preserved in the Panjābī « dittā »); and a form « *dita » also occurred in OIA., which gave W. Hindī « diyā », Bengali দিল « di-lā »; beside another in « -nn- », attested from MIA. « diṇṇa- » and NIA. « dīnau » (W. Hindī, Brajbhākhā), « dīnha » (Early Awadhī), « dīdhō = *dīndhaü, dīnhaü » (Gujārātī : cf. Tessitori, 'Grammar of OWR.,' § 126 [3]). We have besides the form « dēl- » in Bihārī, in which occurs the vocalism of the present. NB. Vowel Harmony has largely modified the original disposition of the « -i- » and « -ē- » vowels (see *supra*, p. 894). For *take*, we have as many as *three* roots in Bengali. The standard « sādhu-bhāṣā » knows only ল, লহ « √lā, lāh » (which, if it is not the Skt. « labh », is at least influenced by its *tōh.* form « √ lah ») : Present 1. লই « lāï », 2. লইস্‌, ল'স « lāïs, lā's », লহ, লও « lāhā, lāō », 3. লহে, লয় « lāhē, lāy », honorific ল'ন, লয়েন, লহেন « lāṇ, lāyēṇ, lāhēṇ »; Imperative 2. ল « lā < lāhā », লও, লহ « lāō, lāhā < lāhāhā »,

3. লউক « lâukṛ », honorific লউন « lâünṛ »; Past base লইল « lâïlâ- », Future base, লব, লইব « lâbâ-, lâïbâ- », Conjunctive লইয়া « lâïyâ- », Passive Participle লওয়া « lâwâ ». This « lâh, lâ » root occurs in MB. literature also. But it is never used in spoken Bengali. The vocalism parallels that of roots সহ, বহ « sâh, bâh » as given above (*e.g.*, Future [ʃoɦibo > ʃoibo, ʃobo], so [loɦibo > loibo, lobo]), and thus indicates the form « lah » (< « labh ») as a source of the NB. root. The dialects (other than Standard Colloquial) use a root লে « lē », *e.g.*, Present 1. লি(ই) « li(i) », 2. লিস্ « lis », লেও > লাও « lēo > lāo », 3. Present লেয় « lēy » [læĕ], Past লিলে « lilē », Future লিবে, লেবে « libē, lēbē », Conjunctive লিয়ে « liyē », etc.: this root is now regarded as vulgar; but it figures in MB., and in OB. (*e.g.*, Caryā 14, « kawaḍī na lēi, bōḍī na lēi » *takes not a cowrie shell, takes not a farthing*; Caryā 10, « lēmi » *I take*; 32, « lēhu » *you take*; 49, « lēlī » *taken*). It seems that this « √lē », and « lâ, lâh » were confused with each other: « lē » was made to approach « lâh » as an elegant, literary form. The OB. conjunctive forms « laï » (Caryās 29, 38, 47), « lâïā » (28, 45), « laïā » (26) seem already to be the result of this confusion in changing the root vowel of « lē » to « la » as in « lah » (cf. NB. dialectal « liyē » *having taken* < « √ lē »). This « lē » is found in Bihārī, in E. Hindī, in W. Hindī (lē-nā), etc. The source of it seems to be the OIA. root « lā » *to take*, as in Sanskrit. In Sanskrit, however, this root is not so common. The popular Skt. root is « grah », which is represented by forms in some of the NIA. speeches. The change of « lā » to « lē » is probably the result of the influence of « dēï, dēti = dāti, dadāti » (cf. Jules Bloch, 'Langue Marathe', p. 400, under *leṇem*). The Standard Colloquial root meaning *to take* (occurring also in MB.) is নি, নে « ni, nē », now conjugated exactly on the model of « dē » (see *supra*, p. 894). It may be that this form is due to the change of the initial « l- » of « lē » to « n- » (see *Phonology*, p. 545); but it is at least equally likely that here we have the OIA. root « nī » *to lead, to carry off for one's self* > *to take*. We have আন « ān » = « ā + √nī » as a common verb in Bengali; and it is exceedingly likely that OIA. « √nī » has also survived in Bengali.

OB. had the root « ghēn » *to take* (< OIA. gṛhṇāti) : cf. Caryā 6, « ghini ( = ghēni) mēli » = « gṛhītvā muktvā », according to the Commentary. It is lost to Bengali now, but Oṛiyā still retains this root as a common form (√ghēn).

It is curious that the root for *taking* also means *wearing* (*clothes*), in Oṛiyā (« √ghēn »), in Marāṭhī (lēṇē), and in MIA. (« laïaṁ parihitaṁ : laïaṁ aṇgē pinaddham ity anyē » —' Dēśināma-māla ' quoted by Jules Bloch, ' Langue Marathe,' p. 400 : cf. Skt. « vāsāṁsi jīrṇāni yathā vihāya navāni gṛhṇāti narō' parāṇi »).

**773.** Root আ « √ā » *to come* is a defective root, which is affiliated to root আইস, আস « √āïs, ās » *to come* (< OIA. ā + √viś), to supply an optional past form and the familiar imperative (= singular). Thus—

3 Present, MB., NB. (sādhu-bhāṣā) আইসে, আসে « āïsē, āsē », NB. Standard Coll. আসে « āsē » ; 3 Past, MB. আইসিল « āïsilā », NB. (sādhu-bhāṣā) আসিল « āsilā », also MB. আইল « āïlā », NB. Standard Coll. এল [elo], East Bengali ওস্‌ল [aʃlo] ; 3 Future, MB., NB. (sādhu-bhāṣā) আসিবে « āsibē », NB. আস্‌বে [aʃbē] ; Imperative, 2 familiar or inferior আয় « āy », 2 ordinary « sādhu-bhāṣā » আইস « āïsa », Standard Coll. এসো [eʃo], আইসুক, আসুক « āïsukā, āsukā », 2, 3 honorific আ(ই)সুন « ā(i)sunā », Future Imperative 2 inferior আ(ই)সিস্‌ « ā(i)sis », ordinary NB. আইসিও « ā(i)siō » > এসো [eʃo] ; Conjunctive আসিয়া « āsiyā », এসে « ēsē » ; Absolutive, আসিলে « āsilē » > আস্‌লে « āslē », beside আইলে « āïlē » > NB. এলে « ēlē » ; Present Participle আসিতে « āsitē » > আস্‌তে « āste ».

The form « ā » comes from OIA. « ā + √yā » : « āyāta + -ila- > * āāilla- > * āïlla- » > আইল « āïlā- > এল [elo]. The verbal noun connected with this root is আনা « ānā », which is not found by itself : but here, as the OB. form « avaṇā-gavaṇā » *coming and going* (found in the Caryās : = NB. আনাগোনা « ānā-gōnā ») shows, we have « √gam » — « āgamana- + gamana- ». It seems a MIA. form like « * āaṽaï » (= OIA. * ā-gamati) has merged into « ā + √yā ». The present tense of « √ā » is not found in NB., but OB. shows « āvaï » (Caryā 42 ; also spelt « āvayi » in Caryā 48). Corresponding to this OB. « āvaï, avaṇā- » we have W. Hindī 3 Present « āwē », Verbal Noun or Infinitive « āṇā » ; in Bihārī

(Maithilī), Verbal Noun « āb », Present Participle « ābait » beside « āŏt », 3 Future and Conditional Past (= original Present Participle) « auta- », Present 3 person original singular « āē » beside « ābai », plural > honorific « ābathī », Future 1st person « āŏb, āŏb », conjunctive « ābi, āï, āy ». (Grierson, 'Maithilī Grammar,' §§ 312, 313). The Maithilī « -b-, -o- » forms, both from original « -w- », clearly show that as in Bengali, we have also the OIA. « *āgamati » > MIA. « *āwaï » form: Māithilī « āē = āï < āyāti », and « ābai = āwaï < *āgamati, ābathi < āgamanti, āeb < āyātavya, āob < *āgamitavya ». The Maithilī past base always is « ail- », where it is < « āyāta + -illa », as in Bengali « āilā »: cf. W. Hindī « āyau, āyā » (< ā-yāta-ka).

Three OIA. roots preceded by the « ā » particle thus feature in the Bengali verb for *coming*: « ā-viś », « ā-yā » and « ā-gam ».

## [P] Duplicated Verbs.

**774.** Certain verb-forms are doubled in Bengali to indicate repeated, intense or continuous action. These are either conjunctives in « -iyā » (or « -i » in Early Bengali), or present participles in « -itē », used with an adverbial force with reference to the finite verb. Thus we have in OB. (Caryā 10) « chaï chōï = chōwï chōwi » *frequently touching*; (26) « dhuni dhuni » *by continually carding* (*cotton*); (31) « cāhantē cāhantē » *continually scrutinising*; M.B., Caṇḍī-dāsa, ঝুরিয়া ঝুরিয়া কান্দে « jhuriyā jhuriyā kāndē » *weeps* (*silently*) *shedding tears continually*; Gōvinda-dāsa, উড়িয়া পড়িয়া মাতল ভ্রমর ঘুরিয়া ঘুরিয়া বুলে « uṛiyā pāṛiyā mātalā bhrāmarā ghuriyā ghuriyā bulē » *the drunken bee flies and moves and circles round and round*, হাসিয়া হাসিয়া অঙ্গ দোলাইয়া নাচিয়া নাচিয়া যায় « hāsiyā hāsiyā aṅgā dōlāiyā nāciyā nāciyā jāy » *goes smiling always, swinging the body and dancing always*; NB. দেখে দেখে « dēkhē dēkhē » *seeing for a long time*, খেটে খেটে « khēṭē khēṭē » *working continuously*, etc. This usage goes back at least to MIA.: cf. Late Skt. « pītvā pītvā punaḥ pītvā, patitvā ca mahītalē », an idiom based on MIA.

**775.** There are a number of roots which are used in pairs—roots similar in meaning, or indicating connected ideas, and together they

convey an intensive idea, or the idea of the entire process involved (cf. under 'Onomatopoetic Roots,' p. 891). These do not make what are known as 'Compound Verbs,' as both the roots take inflexions; *e.g.*, NB. বুঝে-সুঝে « bujhē-sujhē » *understanding well*, ধুয়ে-মুছে « dhuyē-muchē » *washing and wiping=making clean completely*, মেরে-ধ'রে « mērē-dhōrē » *striking and restraining=forcibly*, কাঁদে-কাটে « kā̃dē-kāṭē » *weeps and fidgets*, past tense কাঁদ্‌ল-কাট্‌ল « kā̃dlā-kāṭlā », future কাঁদ্‌বে-কাট্‌বে « kā̃dbe-kāṭbē »; নাচে কোঁদে « nācē-kō̃dē » *dances and capers*, past নাচ্‌ল-কুঁদ্‌ল « nāclā-kūdlā », future নাচ্‌বে-কুঁদ্‌বে « nācbē-kūdbē »; লাফাল-ঝাঁপাল « lāphālā-jhā̃pālā » *leapt and jumped*; হুট্‌কানো-পাট্‌কানো « huṭkānō-pāṭkānō » *to turn topsy-turvey, to ransack*; etc. They occur in earlier Bengali as well: ŚKK., ছিণ্ডি-জুলি « chiṇḍi-juli » *tearing and scattering*; so ভাঁগি-জুলি « bhā̃gi-juli »; উথাআঁ-পাথাআঁ « uthāā̃-pāthāā̃ » *cheering and heartening*; 'Sayings of Ḍāka,' ধোইয়া-পৌচ্ছিয়া « dhōiyā-pā̆ucchiyā » *washing and wiping = thoroughly washing*; etc.

There is another kind of reduplication, behaving like the roots which are used in pairs, in which, following the habit of Bengali with regard to nouns, the verb is repeated by an artificial form in which the vowel or the consonant in the initial syllable of the verb is changed, and a jingle thus results, which continues the idea of the verb, or brings in notions of a similar nature: *e.g.*, খেয়ে-দেয়ে « khēyē-dēyē » *having finished one's meal*; জিরিয়ে-টিরিয়ে « jiriyē-ṭiriyē » *resting and reposing*; কাঁদে টাদে « kā̃dē-ṭādē » *weeps and sorrows*; ঝাড়্‌লে-ঝুড়্‌লে « jhāṛlē-jhuṛlē » *wiped and cleaned* (see *supra*, p. 176, on 'Echo Words'). This form is also found in MB.: *e.g.*, Ḍāka, খায়-দায়, না পালে হাণ্ডী « khāy-dāy, nā pālē hāṇḍī » *eats and enjoys, but does not attend to the cooking pot.*

**776.** There is in Bengali, as in other NIA., a common Verbal Noun of Reciprocity, which may be noted in this connexion. The verbal root or the noun is doubled, and they are connected by a link vowel « -ā- », and the second part of this reduplicated form takes the affix « -i < -ī »: *e.g.*, জানাজানি « jānā-jāni » *knowing in common*, বলাবলি « bālā-bāli » *informing each other*, হুড়াহুড়ি « huṛā-huṛi » *pushing and pulling each other*, মারামারি « mārā-māri » *striking each other > fighting*, দেখাদেখি

« dēkhā-dēkhi » *seeing each other, mutual seeing,* ঘুষাঘুষি « ghuṣā-ghuṣi » *fighting with fisticuffs,* কানাকানি « kānā-kāni » *talking with mouth by each other's ears, whispering,* হাতাহাতি « hātā-hāti » *hand-to-hand fight,* মুখামুখি « mukhā-mukhi » *face-to-face,* etc. These nouns can be used adverbially.

Similar formations are known to OIA. Pāṇini has already noted them, under *Bahu-vrīhi* compounds (cf. 'Aṣṭâdhyāyī,' II, ii, 27, and V, iv, 127 : « kēśā-kēśi, daṇḍā-daṇḍi, karṇā-karṇi, muṣṭā-muṣṭi, jalpā-jalpi » etc.) In OIA., these are nominal compounds only, the « -ā- » being the modification of the stem-vowel of the word. This formation occurred with concrete nouns as well as verbal nouns in OIA. (cf. « jalpā-jalpi ») ; and the final « -i » seems to have been strengthened by « -ka » in MIA., so that it could be retained in NIA. as « -ī, -i » (-ika > -ia > -ī, -i : * karṇā-karṇi-ka > * kaṇṇākaṇṇia > kānākānī, -ni).

Repeated roots of the type noted above in § 775 form by analogy compounds of a similar type, only the reciprocal sense is absent : *e.g.,* চেঁচামেচি « cēcā-mēci » *shouting and noise* (*singly or by many*), কাঁদাকাটি « kādā-kāṭi » *weeping and sorrowing,* etc.

## [Q] Compound Verbs.

**777.** Modern IA. languages agree in having a remarkable idiomatic use of verb roots in connexion with a noun or a verbal conjunctive or participle. The noun which is compounded is in the accusative, and occasionally in the locative; and the verbal form remains unaffected, the root following taking the temporal and personal affixes. The two parts combined form one idea. The inflected root in such a group, though outwardly in form the principal part modified by a noun or by a participle, is properly the auxiliary ; and sometimes it has no special force, although generally it strengthens or otherwise modifies the idea of the preceding verbal participle or noun. The use of this 'Compound Verb' or 'Group Verb' construction amply compensates for the loss of the root-modifying prefixes which form such a characteristic feature of Sanskrit and of Indo-European speeches outside India. In English, the modifying prefix now comes after (*e.g., to lie down, to sit down, to put off, to put out*), though

we have older forms (like *to with-stand, to for-give, to for-get, to up-set*, etc.). So for English *sit down*, and Skt. « ni + √sad », we have in Bengali বসিয়া পড়া « bâsiyā pāṛā », lit. *having sat, to fall*, = Hind. « baiṭh jānā » *having sat, to go*. The loss of the root-prefix both in form and significance (*e.g.*, « upa-viśati » becoming « bâïsē, bâsē », « pra + √āp » becoming « √pā ») as well as the absence of new root-modifying prefixes or particles when the old ones were lost by assimilation, has gradually brought about this make-shift of the Compound Verb. These compound verbs supply to some extent the want of modal and temporal affixes, and are as characteristic of the modern Indo-Aryan speeches as the 'aspects' of the verb in the Slav languages.

In this point there is a remarkable agreement with Dravidian (see *supra*, p. 174). In the Dravidian languages, compound verbs of exactly similar formation and function occur, *e.g.*, in Tamil, with « koḷḷu » *take*, « varu » *come*, « viḍu » *leave*, « pō » *go*, « uru » *come*, « adi » *strike*, « paḍu » *suffer*, etc.; in Telugu, with « konu » *buy, take*, « vesenu » *throw*, « iccu » *give*, etc. It is very likely that here we have another contribution of Dravidian in the formation of Modern Indo-Aryan speeches.

**778.** The Compound Verb occurs from the earliest period in NIA. We have, *e.g.*, in the Caryās, « diṭa(= diḍha)-karia » (1), « ? cauri-nila » (2), « ṭuṭi-gēli » (36), « ? saḍi-paḍiā » (44), « uṭhē (= uṭhi)-gēli » (47); in the ŚKK., আণি দিবো « āṇi dibō » *I shall bring*, কাঢ়ি নিলে « kāṛhi nilē » *snatched away*, লাগি গেল « lāgi gēlā » *become fixed*, কহিআঁ দেহ « kâhiā dēhā » *do describe*, মুছিআঁ পেলাইবো « muchiyā pēlâibō » *shall wipe off*, etc., etc. Examples are common in MB.

**779.** Types of the Compound Verb in Bengali.

(Cf. J. T. Platts, 'Hindustānī Grammar,' pp. 169-180; S. H. Kellogg, 'Hindī Grammar,' pp. 257-279; Grierson, 'Maithilī Grammar,' pp. 289-298.)

I. Nominals.

(a) Accusative: জমা করা « jâmā-kârā » *to gather*, দর্শন করা « dârśaṇa-kârā » *to see* (e.g., *the deity in a temple*), দর্শন দেওয়া « dârśaṇa-dēwā » *to*

*show oneself*, আহার করা « āhāṛ-kārā » *to eat*, আহার দেওয়া « āhāṛ-dēwā » *to feed*, পাস or ফেল করা or হওয়া « pāss-, phēl, kārā, bāwā » *to pass or fail* (*in examination*), স্বাদ নেওয়া « swādṛ-nēwā » *to taste*, জল দেওয়া « jalṛ-dēwā » *to water*, নাম নেওয়া « nāmṛ-nēwā- » *to repeat the name* (*of God*), লাফ দেওয়া « lāphṛ-dēwā » *to jump* (Sanskritised in the « sādhu-bhāṣā » as লম্ফ প্রদান করা « lāmphā-prādānṛ kārā »), etc., etc.

(b) Locative: আগ বাড়া or বাড়ান « āgṛ-bāṛā, -bāṛānā » *to advance*, গা করা « gā-kārā » *to receive properly, to attend* (*receive on body*, cf. গায়ে মাখা « gāē mākhā » = *to smear on the body* in the same sense ), etc.

(c) With the locative verbal noun (or infinitive) in ইতে « -itē »:

(i) Inceptives (with « √lāg » *to be attached*): করিতে > ক'র্‌তে লাগা « kāritē > kōrtē lāgā » *to set to do*, খাইতে > খেতে লাগা « khāītē > khētē lāgā » *to set to eat*, etc.

(ii) Desideratives: দিতে চাওয়া « ditē cāwā » *to wish to give* (with « √cā, cāh » *to want*);

(iii) Acquisitives: দেখিতে > দেখ্‌তে পাওয়া « dēkhitē > dēkhtē pāwā » *to be able to see* (with « √pā » *to get*),

(iv) Permissives: বসিতে > ব'স্‌তে দেওয়া « bāsitē > bōstē dēwā » *to allow to sit* (« √dē » *to give*);

(v) Potentials: চলিতে > চ'ল্‌তে পারা « cālitē > cōltē pārā » *to be able to walk* (« √ pār » *to be able*).

(d) With the verbal noun in « -i » and in « -ā »: Reflexives: মুড়ি দেওয়া « muṛi-dēwā » *to wrap oneself up*, গুড়ি মারা « guṛi-mārā » *to creep, to cower*, হামা দেওয়া « hāmā-dēwā » *to crawl on all fours*, etc., etc.

## II. Verbals.

(a) With the conjunctive (in « -iyā, -ē »):

(i) Intensives: কাড়িয়া > কেড়ে নেওয়া « kāṛiyā > kēṛē nēwā » *to snatch away*; ভাঙ্গিয়া > ভেঙ্গে দেওয়া « bhāṅgiyā > bhēṅgē dēwā » *to break fully* আসিয়া > এসে পড়া « āsiyā > ēsē pāṛā » *to come along, to reach*; উঠিয়া > উঠে পড়া « uṭhiyā > uṭhē pāṛā » *to get up*; দিয়া > দিয়ে দেওয়া « diyā > diyē dēwā » *to give away*; ভাগিয়া > ভেগে পড়া « bhāgiyā > bhēgē pāṛā » *to decamp*; সরিয়া > স'রে পড়া « sāriyā > sōrē pāṛā » *to retire* (*silently*);

উঠিয়া পড়িয়া > উঠে প'ড়ে লাগা « uṭhiyā-pāriyā > uṭhē-pōṛē lāgā » *to be up and doing, to be at something tenaciously*; etc., etc.

(ii) Intensives and Completives: খাইয়া > খেয়ে ফেলা « khāïyā > khēyē phēlā » *to eat completely, to finish entirely*; মুছিয়া > মুছে ফেলা « muchiyā > muchē phēla » *to rub off*; কাটিয়া > কেটে ফেলা « kāṭiyā < kēṭē phēlā » *to cut down*; বলিয়া > ব'লে ফেলা « bâliyā > bōlē phēlā » *to blurt out*; বসিয়া > ব'সে পড়া « bâsiyā > bōsē pāṛā » *to sit down*, etc., etc. Generally with « √phēl » *to throw, to cast* with transitives, and « √paṛ » with intransitives.

(iii) Inceptives, with যা « √jā » *to go*; লাগিয়া > লেগে যাওয়া « lāgiyā > lēgē jāwā » *to start*; বসিয়া > ব'সে যাওয়া « bâsiyā > bōsē jāwā » *to sit down for something*, etc.

(iv) Staticals: বসিয়া > ব'সে থাকা, রহা (রওয়া) « bâsiyā > bōsē thākā, râhā (râwā) » *to continue to sit, to remain sitting*; লাগিয়া > লেগে থাকা, রহা « lāgiyā > lēgē thākā, râhā » *to be fixed or working at something*; জাগিয়া > জেগে থাকা, রহা « jāgiyā > jēgē thākā, râhā » *to keep awake*, etc. (The « -iyā » forms here may be the passive participle rather than the conjunctive).

(v) Continuatives: বকিয়া > ব'কে যাওয়া « bâkiyā > bōkē jāwā » *to go on chattering*; খাইয়া > খেয়ে যাওয়া « khāïyā > khēyē jāwā » *to go on eating*, etc. (খাইয়া যাওয়া « khāïyā jāwā » is also passive, *to get eaten*, where the « -iyā » form is not the conjunctive: see *supra*, pp. 922 ff.).

(vi) Miscellaneous: *e.g.*, করিয়া > ক'রে দেখা « kâriyā > kōrē dēkhā » *to experiment (to do and see)*; বুঝাইয়া > বুঝিয়ে দেওয়া « bujhāïyā > bujhiyē dēwā » *to explain*; ছিট্‌কাইয়া > ছিট্‌কিয়ে পড়া « chiṭ̣kāïyā > chiṭkiyē pāṛā » *to be scattered*; etc., etc.

(b) With the Present Participle in ইতে « -itē »:

(i) Continuatives or Frequentatives: দিতে, করিতে > ক'র্‌তে, হাসিতে > হাস্‌তে থাকা « ditē, kâritē > kōrtē, hāsitē > hāstē thākā » *to remain giving, doing, smiling*; etc.

(ii) Staticals: করিতে করিতে যাওয়া « kâritē-kâritē jāwā » *to go while doing*, নচিতে নাচিতে গাওয়া « nācitē-nācitē gāwā » *to sing while dancing*. (Here the form is strictly not of the compound verb, as both roots retain their independent meaning: but the « -itē » forms have an adverbial sense.)

## APPENDIX.

**780.** The following are the main or typical stages in the development of Bengali as a Modern Indo-European language from the Primitive Indo-European speech:

(1) Indo-European, c. 2500 B.C.;

(2) Indo-Iranian or Aryan, c. 1800 B.C.;

(3) Old Indo-Aryan (Vedic Dialects), c. 1200 B.C.;

(4) Transition to Middle Indo-Aryan in the Prācya or Eastern speech, c. 700 B.C.;

(5) Early Middle Indo-Aryan of Magadha (Old Māgadhī), c. 300 B.C.;

(6) Transitional Middle Indo-Aryan of Magadha, about the time of Christ;

(7) Second Middle Indo-Aryan of Magadha, c. 300 A.C.;

(8) Late Middle Indo-Aryan of Magadha and Bengal, or Māgadhī Apabhraṅśa, c. 800 A.C.;

(9) Old Bengali, c. 1100 A.C.;

(10) Early Middle Bengali, c. 1400 A.C.;

(11) Late Middle Bengali, c. 1600 A.C.;

(12) New Bengali or Modern Bengali, after 1800 A.C.

In the preceding pages, this development from the third stage as above, from Old Indo-Aryan, has been sought to be indicated in its general lines, both in sounds and in inflexions. The development of Old Indo-Aryan from the parent Indo-European speech properly forms a distinct branch of the subject. To illustrate the transformation of Indo-European to Bengali, however, a few sentences in New Bengali are taken below, and their equivalents through the typical preceding stages are given, and in this way the hypothetical Indo-European source-forms are worked back. This will indicate within a short compass the processes underlying this transformation.

All the words in OIA., Indo-Iranian, and Indo-European sentences below have been accented.

(i) মা ঘরে আছে « mā ghárē āchē » *mother is in the house* < eMB. মাও ঘরে আছে (আছএ) « māo ghárē āchē (āchāē) » < OB. * « māẅa gharē (gharaï, gharahi, gharahī) āchaï » < Māgadhī Apabhraṅśa * « māa (māẅa) gharahī (gharahi, ghalahī, ghalahi *or* ghari) acchaï » < Māgadhī Prakrit * « māā (< māðā, mādā) ghalahī (< ghalaðhi, ghaladhi ; *or* ghalaśśi, *or* ghalē) acchaï (< acchaði, acchadi) » < Old Māgadhī (Prācya) (= First MIA.) * « mātā ghaladhi (ghalaśśi, ghalē) acchati » = Late OIA. (not Prācya) * « mātā gharadhi (< garhadhi) *or* gharassi (< garhasmin, gharē) acchati » < OIA. « mātā́ * gṛhá-dhi (gṛhḗ) * ácchati (* acchā́ti) » < Indo-Iranian * « mātā́ ghṛdhá-dhi (ghṛdhái) as-ç(h)á-ti (< as-ská-ti) » < Indo-European * « mātḗ(r) ghṛdhó-dhi (ghṛdhéi) es-ské-ti ».

(ii) সাধ হয় মোর মনে « sādha [ʃa:dfi] hāy mōrā mānē » *a longing is in my mind* (the form মোর « mōrā » *my* is archaic for the NB. Standard Colloquial) < eMB. সাধ হোএ মোর মণে « sādhā hōē mōrā māṇē » < OB. * « sādha hōi mōra maṇē (maṇaï, maṇahi, maṇahī) » < Māg. Ap. * « śaddha hōi mōarahī (= mō-alahī, maẅa-kalahī) maṇahī » < Māg. Prakrit * « śaddhā hōi (< hōði, hōdi) mama-kalahi maṇahi ( < maṇaðhi, maṇadhi, maṇaśśi) » < Old Māgadhī * « śaddhā hōti (*or* bhōti) mama manadhi (manaśśi) » < Transitional OIA. * « śarddhā bhavati mama manadhi (manasmin) » < OIA. « śráddhā bhávati máma mánasi » < Indo-Iranian * « çrád-dhā bháwati mána mánasi » < Indo-European * « kréd-dhē bhéweti méne ménesi ». (হয় « hāy » also represents an OIA. « * as-a-ti », IE. « es-e-ti » : see *supra*, pp. 1038-1040).

(iii) দাঁড়ে না বায় « dāṛḗ nā bāy » *rows a boat with an oar* (= *stick*) (the word না « nā » is rather archaic for the NB. Standard Colloquial) < eMB. দাঁড়ে (দাণ্ডে) নাও বাহে « dāṛḗ (dāṇḍḗ) nāo bāhē » < OB. * « dāṇḍḗ nāẅa bāhaï » < Māg. Ap. * « daṇḍēṁ (daṇḍḗ) nāaṁ (nāẅā, nāā) bāhēi » < Māg. Prakrit * « daṇḍēṇa(ṁ) nāaṁ vāhēi (< vāhēði, vāhēdi) » < Old Māgadhī * « daṇḍēna nāvaṁ vāhēti (< vāhaiti, vāhay'ti) » < OIA. « daṇḍéna, daṇḍā́ (* dandrā́) návam vāháyati » < Indo-Iranian * « dandrā́ náẅa (náẅm) wāźháyati » < Indo-European * « dendrṓ (? derdrṓ) náẅm wēghéyeti ».

(iv) গোয়ালা গাই দোয় « gōwālā gāī dōy » *the cowherd milks the cow* < eMB. গোআলা গাই দুহে (দুহএ) « gōālā gāī duhē (duhāē) » < OB. « gōāl-ā (gōwāl-ā) gāī (gāwī) duhaï » < Māg. Ap. * « gōāla (gōāli) gāïṁ (gāī) duhaï » < Māg. Prakrit * « gōvālē ( < gōbālē, gōbālē) gāviṁ duhaï ( < duhaði, duhadi) » < Old Māgadhī * « gōpālē gāviṁ duhati » < Transitional OIA. * « gōpālaḥ gāvīṁ duhati » < OIA. « gō-pāláḥ (gō-pā́ḥ) gávīm (gā́m) dógdhi » < Indo-Iranian * « gau-pā́s (gau-pālás) gā́(w)m dhā́ugdhi » < Indo-European * « gwou-pṓs (gwou-pōlós) gwṓ(w)m dhéugh-ti ».

(v) বর যে (বিয়ে) ক'রে বউ আনে « bāṛ bē (biyē) kōrē bāu ānē » *the bridegroom brings (leads) the bride after having married* < eMB. বর বিআ (বিহা) করিআ বহু আণে (আণএ) « bāṛa bi(h)ā kāriā bāhu āṇē (āṇāē) » < OB. * « bara biāha ( = biyāha, biwāba) kariā (karī) bahu āṇaï » < Māg. Ap. * « bara (bari) biāham (biwāhā) karia bahuṁ (bahū) āṇēi » < Māg. Prakrit * « valē vivāhaṁ kalia (kadua) (*or* ŭḍḍhā) vahuṁ āṇēi ( < āṇēði, āṇēdi) » < Transitional OIA. * « valaḥ (varaḥ) vivāhaṁ karya (kṛ-t-ya, kṛtvā) (*or* ūḍhvā) vadhūm āṇaiti (ānay'ti) » < OIA. « váraḥ (* válaḥ) vi-vā́ham kṛtvā́ (*or* ūḍhvā́) vadhúm á náyati » < Indo-Iranian * « wáras (wálas) wí wāźhám kṛtwā́ (*or* uźdhwā́, uźhtwā́) wadhúm á náyati » < Indo-European * « wélos wí wēghóm kṛtwṓ (*or* ughtwṓ) wedhúm ṓ néyeti ».

(vi) মানুষের আই শ বছর « mānuṣēr āï śa bāchāṛ » *a man's life-time is a hundred years* (the word আই « āï » *life-time, man's age*, is by itself rather archaic for New Bengali, but it occurs in পরমাই « pāramāï », আইবুড় « āï-buṛā », etc.; and বছর « bāchāṛ » seems to be a *sts.*) < eMB. মানুষের আউ শ (শঅ) বছর « mānuṣēr āu śa (śāa) bāchāra » < OB. * « mānuśēra āu (āwu) śaa (śawa) bacchara » < Māg. Ap. * « mānuśa-ēra āu (āwu) śaaṁ baccharā (bacchalā) » < Māg. Prakrit * « mānuśa-kēlē ( = mānuśaśśa) āu śaaṁ ( < śaðaṁ, śadaṁ) vacchalā » < Old Māgadhī * « mānuśaśśa āvu (āyu) śataṁ vacchalā (vacchalāśē) » < OIA. « mánuṣasya ( = mánuṣasya) āyúḥ śatám vatsarā́ḥ (vatsarā́saḥ ; * vatā́ḥ) » < Indo-Iranian * « mánuśasya āyúš çatám watsarā́s (watsarā́sas ; watā́s) » < Indo-European * « mónusosyo āyús kmtóm wetṓs ( ? wetserṓs) ».

(vii) সে দৌড়ে এল (গেল) « sē dāuṛē ēlō (gēlā [gɛlo] ) » *he came (went) running* (lit. *having run*) < eMB. সে দৌড়িআ আইল (গেল) « sē dāuṛiā

āīlā (gēlā) » < OB. * « śē daüḍīā (daüḍī) āīlaa, āẏilaẇa (gēlaa, gēlaẇa ) » < Māg. Ap. * « śē (śaï, śi) dava-ḍ-ia āyillaa (gaillaa, gaẏaillaa) » < Māg. Prakrit * « śē (śaē < śagē, śagē) dava-ḍ-ia (davia) āāē (āẏāē<aẏāðē, āyādē) (gaē <gaðē, gadē ; gaḍē) » < Old Māgadhī * « śē (śakē) davia (dava-ṭ-iya) āyātē (gatē; gaṭē) » < Transitional OIA. * « saḥ (sa-ka-ḥ, sa) dravya (dru-t-ya, drutvā) āyātaḥ (gataḥ) » < OIA. « sa drutvá (= drávan) á yātáḥ (gatáḥ) » < Indo-Iranian * « sa drutwá ( = dráwan[ts]) á yātás (gatás ) » < Indo-European * « so drutwó (= drówonts) ó (e)yātós (gʷṃtós) ».

(viii) জ্যান্তে দেখে না, ম'লে পায় « jyāntē [ʤænte] dēkhē [dækhe] nā, mà'lē [mole] pāy » *does not see while living, obtains when dead* < eMB. জিয়ন্তে দেখে (দেখএ) না, মৈলে পাএ « jiyāntē dēkhē (dēkhāē) nā, màilē pāē » < OB. * « jīantē (=jīẏantē, jīẇantē) nā dēkhaï, maïlē pāaï (=pāẇaï) » < Māg. Ap. * « jīantahī na dĕkkhaï, maillahī ( < maẏaillahī) pāvēï » < Māg. Prakrit * « jīvantahi ( < jīvantadhi ; jīvantaśśi) na dekkhaï ( < dekkhaði, dekkhadi), maahi ( < madadhi, madaśśi ; maḍadhi, maḍaśśi) pāvēi ( < pābeði, pābēdi) » < Old Māgadhī * « jīvantaśśi (jīvantē; jīvantadhi) na dĕkkhati (dakkhati), maṭaśśi (maṭadhi ; maṭē) pāpēti (pappōti) » < Transitional OIA. * « jīvantē ( = jīvantasmin, jīvati ; jīvan) na drekṣati (derkṣati < dṛkṣati, drakṣati, *present form*), mṛtē (mṛtaḥ) prāpaiti ( < prāpay'ti, prāpayati = prāpnōti) » > OIA. « jīvan na *drakṣati ( = *dárśati), mṛtáḥ prá āpnóti » < Indo-Iranian * « g'íwan(ts) na dárçati, mṛtás prá apnáuti » < Indo-European * « gʷ íwonts ne (nē) dérketi, mṛtós pró apnéuti ».

# ADDITIONS AND CORRECTIONS

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PAGE

1, *l.* 8 : the number of Bengali speakers according to the Census of 1921 is 49,290,499.

4, *l.* 13 : *read* 1915 *for* 1914, *and* F. *for* W.

8, *ll.* 20-23 : these voiced stops accompanied by closure of the glottis are as a matter of fact found in certain East Bengali dialects, as regular substitutes for the voiced aspirates, [g', ʤ', ɖ', d', b'] for [gɦ, ʤɦ, ɖɦ, dɦ, bɦ], as I have found out subsequently. In East Bengali there is accompanying high tone.

12, *ll.* 12-17 : Amīr Khusrau was born at Patiyālī in 1253, and died at Delhi in 1325 (E. G. Browne, 'Literary History of Persia,' II, p. 540). The first authentic poet of Urdū seems to have been Muḥammad Qulī Quṭb Šāh, king of Golconda in the Deccan, who died in 1611 A.C. He used a vernacular Western Hindī speech with Panjābī affinities, not exactly identical with the Hindōstānī of later times. (Cf. Braj-ratn Dās, 'Urdū-kā Pratham Kavi' in the 'Nāgarī Pracāriṇī Patrikā,' Benares, New Series, Vol. 4, No. 2.)

27, *footnote l.* 17 : *after* 1916, p. 364, *add* : R. G. Bhandarkar, in the JBBRAS., Vol. 25, 1917, pp. 76-81.

28, *footnote l.* 10 : *in the list of references on the Harappa seals, add at the beginning* : A. Cunningham, (Archæological) Reports, Vol. 5 (1875), pp. 105 ff. ; J. F. Fleet, JRAS., 1912, pp. 699 ff.

About the recent discoveries in Sindh and at Harappa, see Sir John Marshall's article in the 'Illustrated London News' for September 20, 1924, and further articles by Prof. A. H. Sayce and Messrs. C. J.

Gadd and Sidney Smith in the same journal for September 27 and October 4, 1924, respectively. Cf. also S. K. Chatterji, 'Dravidian Origins and the Beginnings of Indian Civilisation' in the 'Modern Review' for December 1924; also the 'Modern Review' for February, 1925, and the 'Journal Asiatique' for 1925, p. 371. See also 'Sumerian Connexions with Ancient India,' by Ernest Mackay, JRAS. for 1925, pp. 697-701. Further articles on these 'Indo-Sumerian' antiquities by Sir John Marshall have appeared in the 'Illustrated London News' for February 17 and March 6, 1926 and in the 'Times of India Illustrated Weekly' for March 7, 1926.

31, *l.* 7 : *read* dialects *for* languages.

44, *l.* 16 : *read* Kauṣītaki.

46, *l.* 8 : the Vrātyas. Mm. Haraprasād Śāstrī derives « vrātya » from « vrāta » *horde*, in a suggestive paper containing some interesting information about the Vrātyas or 'the Original Inhabitants of Magadha,' one of six lectures on 'Magadhan Literature,' delivered in the University of Patna, 1923.

47, *l.* 12-21 ; « hēlayaḥ (hēlavaḥ) ». This form has been sought to be explained as a Semitic word, the same as the Hebrew « ĕlōăh » = Arabic « ʔilāh- » (K. P. Jayaswal, in the ZDMG., Vol. 68, p. 719 : cf. R. G. Bhandarkar in the JBBRAS., Vol. 25, pp. 76 ff.). But this is extremely unlikely. Hebrew (as well as Arabic) was rather removed from the tracts where the Aryans moved much or were settled in, in North Mesopotamia and North-Western Iran, at this early period (B.C. 2000-B.C. 1300); and Hebrew conquest of Palestine took place during the closing centuries of the 2nd millennium B.C. The Semitic word for *god* which the Aryans would be likely to pick up, if they did pick it up at all, would be the Babylonian and Assyrian « ilu », which makes the connexion with the Indian form remote. Jayaswal also derives the Indian « mlēccha (Pkt. mlākkhu) » *foreigner* from a Semitic word « mlk », in Hebrew « mĕlĕx ». But there is no reason not to regard this word as Indo-European (see Uhlenbeck, 'Altindisches Etymologisches Wörterbuch').

54, *l.* 33 : *after* « -āni », *add* : the dative plural affix was « -ēhi » (= -ēbhyaḥ, *-ēbhiḥ ) rather than the genitive-dative affix « -ānaṁ » (= -ānām) which characterised the Midland, North-Western and Southern speeches as in the Aśōka Inscriptions and in Pali (cf. Surendranāth Majumdar Śāstrī, 'The Dative in Pali,' in 'Sir Asutosh Mookerjee Silver Jubilee Volumes, III,' Calcutta University, 1925).

56, *l.* 3 : *read* presents *for* present ; *and in l.* 19, *read* dramas *for* drama.

59, *l.* 17 : *read* nama *for* nāma.

59, *footnote* : Cf. K. P. Jayaswal in the JBORS. for 1924, pp. 189 ff., for further Brāhmī seals from Magadha with « -śa (= -śśa) » for the genitive affix « -sya » (*e.g.*, Mamaśa, Citaśa, Bhadaṁta Lōpagōraśa, Abhaya-vamaśa).

65, *l.* 19 : *read* Mōlāḍandī *for* Mōḍālandī.

66, *l.* 6 *from bottom* : *read* ᳵ ᳶᳵ *for* ᳶᳵᳵ.

67, *l.* 27 : *read* Bāgădīs *for* Bāgŭdīs. (The « Vāthurīs » are different from the « Bāurīs ».)

68, *l.* 24 : *read* Mangalore *for* Bangalore.

71, *l.* 4 : *read* Gaina *for* Gaina.

72, *footnote, l.* 2 : *read* Lāḷa- *for* Laḷa-. *Also in l.* 11, *correct* Dipa *to* Dīpa.

75-76. King Candra-varman of Puṣkaraṇā. Mr. K. N. Dikshit, of the Archæological Survey of India, definitely suggested the identification of Puṣkaraṇā of the Susunia Rock Inscription with a place in Bengal—in the district of Bankura, and not with Pokharaṇ in Rajputana. Also Mr. Nikhil-Nāth Rāy B.L., in the 'Bhārata-varṣa' for Jyaiṣṭha, 1330, p. 832. There is actually in that district a village 'Pokharna' (*vulgo* 'Pâkhânnā, Pōkhânnā') on the Dāmōdar river, some 25 miles east of Susunia Hill (23 N 87 E, Bengal Survey, scale one inch = one mile, Sheet No. 238, Survey Season 1854-64). This is conclusive, and it would show that Rāḍha at least was entirely Aryanised, and had a Hindu Vaiṣṇava king in the 4th century A.C. ; and it may be concluded that Aryanisation was already some centuries old.

90, *l.* 19 : *add at the end, after* Jan. 1923, *the following* : C. D. Dalal and P.D. Gune, 'Bhavisayattakaha by Dhanapala,' Baroda, 1923, Introduction.

94, *ll.* 18-20 : the future in « -t- », from the old Present Participle, occurs in East Vaŋga Dialects : see under *Morphology*, pp. 961-963.

100, *l.* 6 : *for* rahaulaũ, *read* rahalaũ.

104, *l.* 2 : *after* in Brajabuli., *add* : The Braja-bulī dialect also spread into Assam, or rather, an Assamese Braja-bulī was developed, as early as the 15th century, Śaŋkara-dēva and others having composed poems and dramas in it. From the biographies of Caitanya, we learn that it had also spread into Orissa during that century, Braja-bulī songs being sung by Vaiṣṇavas in Orissa as much as in Bengal.

104, *footnote* : the 'Kīrtti-latā' has been published in the Bengali character, with Introductions and Translation in Bengali, by Mahāmahōpādhyāya Haraprasād Śāstrī, in 1924 (Hṛṣīkēśa Series).

106, *ll.* 21-24 : the earliest specimen of connected Oṛiyā seems to be in the newly discovered bilingual inscription (Oṛiyā and Tamil) of Nṛsiṅha-dēva II (13th Century) from Bhubaneswar, very carelessly edited in the JASB. for 1924, pp. 41 ff. Among some of the noteworthy things in this inscription, we may mention the following : (i) the vowel [ṛ] was pronounced as [ri] and not as [ru] as in Modern Oṛiyā : cf. the spelling « Krīṣṇa » in *l.* 3 ; and (ii) the word « ācāya < ācārya », which occurs here, also occurred in Old Bengali (see pp. 121-122, *Introduction*). The writing differentiates between the dental and cerebral « l » sounds, and the former, marked with a diacritical sign below as in Modern Oṛiyā (see under *Phonology*, p. 538), has been wrongly transcribed as double « ll », in the verb past tense.

109, *ll.* 13-21 : the 'Ṭīkā-sarvasva' was written Śaka 1082 : Paṇḍit T. Gaṇapati Śāstrī published the first part in 1911, and completed the entire work in 1917.

110, *footnote, l.* 2 : *read* Caryā *for* Carjā.

123, *footnote* : the OB. line quoted was evidently a proverb, and it occurs in another MB. work, the 'Caṇḍī-kāvya' of Kavi-kaŋkaṇa Mukunda-rāma Cakravarttī, in the form হরিণ জগতবৈরী আপনার মাসে « hariṇa jāgātā-bāirī āpanārā māsē » (as pointed out to me by my friend Mr. Charu Chandra Banerji of Dacca University).

127, *after* line 2, *add* :

**65a.** The Sanskrit encyclopædia 'Mānasôllāsa' or 'Abhilāṣârtha-cintāmaṇi' (of which the first volume has been published in the Gaekwad's Oriental Series, 1925), composed in Śaka 1051 or 1129 A. C. under the auspices of king Sōmêśvara III Bhūlōka-malla of the later Cālukya dynasty of Mahārāṣṭra, who ruled from 1127 to 1138 A.C., seems to contain a few Old Bengali lines. (Sakhārām Gaṇêś Dēuskar in the Bengali journal 'Āryāvartta' for Māgha 1317, pp. 678-679; R. G. Bhāṇḍārkar, 'Early History of the Deccan²,' Bombay, 1895, pp. 89-90; Dēuskar mentions a Marāṭhī article by V. K. Rājawāḍē on this work read before the 1st Mahārāṣṭra Sāhitya Sammēlan which I have not seen. I am indebted to my friend and colleague Mr. Kshitish Chandra Chatterji, M.A., for bringing Dēuskar's article to my notice.)

In the section on Poetry and Music ('Gīta-Vinōda') in this work, short poems and verses in Sanskrit, Prakrit, Apabhraṁśa, Lāṭī, and in the Dravidian Kaṇṇaḍa speech have been given; and besides a few verses occur, which are undoubtedly in the various NIA. speeches—Old Marāṭhī, Old Braj-bhākhā, and Old Bengali, to judge from at least some of the forms. The work is preserved in various MSS. at Poona, Tanjore, Bikaner, and elsewhere. I could consult one of the Poona MSS. (copied Saṁvat 1930 = 1874) which happened to be in the Indian Museum at Calcutta in 1923, and through the kind offices of my friend Mr. Sris Chandra Chatterji, Engineer and Architect, lately in the service of the Bikaner State, I also obtained (December 1923) transcripts of the relevant parts from an old MS. of the work (dated Śaka 1593 = 1671 A.C.) in the Fort Library of Bikaner. Both the MSS. are very corrupt, and although there is a close agreement between them (both seemingly being based on the same original), the bad readings make it almost impossible to restore the text of the non-Sanskrit portions from these only. Instead of attempting to give a critical edition of these portions in question, I give below tentative readings of some of the vernacular passages based on a comparison

of the two MSS., wherever they can be made out with any degree of certainty. We have thus—

« ..... chāṁḍu chāṁḍu maī jāïvō (= jāïbō ? jāïba ?) Gōvinda-saha khēlaṇa ..... Nārāyaṇu jagaha-kēru ( -kārā) gōsāṁvi » (Bikaner, fol. 141a ; Poona, fol. 168b)= *Leave (me), leave (me), I shall go to sport with Gōvinda.....Nārāyaṇa the lord of the world.*

Bikaner folia 141b and 142a and Poona fol. 169(a, b) give a song praising the ten Avatāras of Viṣṇu, which seems to represent more than one form of NIA. The first verse is in Old Marāṭhī, and runs thus : « jēṇē rasātala-uṇu matsya-rūpēṁ vēda āṇiyalē(ṁ).....tō saṁsāra-sāyara-tāraṇu, maha-tē(ṁ) rākhō Nārāyaṇu » *by Whom the Vedas were brought from Rasātala in the form of a fish.....the Saviour in the ocean of transmigration .. He, Nārāyaṇa, (may) keep me.* The next verse (on the Tortoise Incarnation) is very corrupt. The third verse is as follows : « jō suvara-rūvēṁ pāyalu païśi dāṇaü Hariṇa-kaebapu mācaviṁ (?), dāḍha Gōvinda dharaṇi uddhariaṁ sō dēu..... » *Who in the form of a boar entered Pātāla and killed the demon Hiraṇya-kaśipu, Gōvinda who rescued Earth with his tusk, that God.....*This verse has Śaurasēnī affinities, as also the next two verses on Nṛsiṅha and Vāmana Avatāras, but both are hopelessly corrupt.

The sixth shows some distinctive Bengali features : « jē brāhmaṇēra kulē(ṁ) upajiyā(ṁ), Kātavī(r)yā jēṇē bāhu-pharasē khāṇḍiyā : Paraśarāmu dē(v)u śē māhara (mōhara ?) maṇgala karaü » *Who was born in the family of a Brāhman, by Whom with the touch of his arm Kārttavīrya was cut down, He, the God Paraśurāma, may work my welfare.* The above reading is substantially that of the Bikaner MS., and the Bengali character of this passage is shown by the pronoun « jē », and « -ē(ṁ), -ēra » affixes for the locative and genitive ; and « -iyā » would be the non-l passive participle adjective ( > verb past) which featured in Old Bengali (see pp. 946 ff.)

The verse describing Rāma is missing in both the MSS. That on Kṛṣṇa is apparently in Old Braj-bhākhā : « Nanda-gōula jāyau Kanhu jō gōvī-janē(ṁ) vaḷihē..... » : but it is corrupt. The

verse on Buddha runs thus: « Buddha-rūpeṁ jō dāṇava-surā vañcaüṇi vēda-dūsaṇa bŏllaüṇi māyā mōhiyā, tō dēu mājhi pasāü karu » *Who in the form of Buddha, after having Cheated Gods and Demons and having said words of scorn for the Vedas, led (them) astray by his Māyā —that God may grant grace to me:* it is distinctly Old Marāṭhī. The last verse on Kalki is in Sanskrit.

131, *ll.* 27 *ff.* Ḍāk the Gōwālā (cowherd) is also well-known in Bihār as a sage and author of proverbial sayings, as Sir George Grierson tells me. See also Mm. Haraprasād Śāstrī on Ḍāk and Khānā in the Bengali journal 'Prācī' (Dacca) for Śrāvaṇa, 1330.

137, *l.* 13: *read* form *for* from.

148, *l.* 30: *read* « bhāṣā » *for* « bhasā ».

156, *l.* 13: *read* vēlā *for* vēla; *l.* 15, *correct to* between.

157, *l.* 13: *read* « nīb » *for* « nīb »; *l.* 14, *read* tāmra *for* tamra.

159, *ll.* 14, 15: Pischel gives ('Grammatik der Prakrit-sprachen,' § 304) « uṭṭa, iṭṭa » as MIA. forms. The deaspiration in these words thus goes back to MIA. times, and the W. Hindī « ūṭ, īṭ » are obviously based on MIA. « * uṇṭa, * iṇṭa » showing Spontaneous Nasalisation (discussed at pp. 368 ff.).

166, *l.* 6: *after* mī *read*:, myā.

171, *l.* 5 *from bottom of page*: *after* Dravidian sounds, and *add*: these (barring the last, which is found in Dravidian—in Tamil only, to be precise).

176, *l.* 7: *read* « ghōṛā-ṭōṛā » *for* « ghōrā-ṭōṛā ».

176, *l.* 11: *read* « kudure-gidure » for « kudire-gidire ».

177, *ll.* 21 *ff*: This idiomatic use of a verbal conjunctive meaning *having said* is a common idiom in Tibeto-Burman as well—in Kuki-Chin, for instance—and it is also found in Burmese (see LSI., III, Part III, p. 5); and it is common in Boḍo also, which was the original language of a large section of present-day Bengali-speakers in North and East Bengal (J. D. Anderson in the JRAS., 1913, pp. 867 ff).

180, *after l.* 14, *add:*

In connexion with the above is to be taken (iv) the Ghugrahati Copper-plate of Samācāra-dēva (cf. Ep. Ind., 1925, Vol. XVIII, pp.

74 ff., ed. by Nalinī-Kānta Bhaṭṭaśālī, M.A.), which mentions « Navyāvakāśikā », as well as « Vāraka-maṇḍala », and « Vyāghra-cōraka » and « Gōpêndra-cōraka » village, and « Vidyādhara-jōṭikā »; and among personal names it gives « Pavittruka, Dāmuka, Vatsa-kuṇḍa, Śuci-pālita. Vihita-ghōṣa, Śūra-datta, Priya-datta, Janârddana-kuṇḍa ».

*Para* **87** : This Copper-plate Inscription has been edited and published by Dr. L. D. Barnett in the Ep. Ind. (' Vappaghoshavāṭa Grant of Jayanāga,' Vol. XVIII, pp. 60 ff.).

182, *l.* 24 : « koppam ». Compare also Tamil « kuppam » *village*.

187, *l.* 10 : The Gōvindapur Grant has since been edited by Prof. A. C. Vidyābhūṣaṇa in the ' Bhārata-varṣa ' for Phālguna, 1332.

188, *after line* 5, *add* :

[27a] A new Copper-plate Grant of Viśva-rūpa-sēna has been recently discovered in Maimansing, and has been edited by Mm. Haraprasād Śāstrī in the ' Indian Historical Quarterly,' Calcutta, Vol. II, No. 1, March 1926, pp. 77-86. This gives quite a number of place-names in Vaṇga, besides some personal names.

195, *after l.* 6, *add* : (আ)সওয়ার « (ā)sâwārṛ » *horseman, trooper*, সওয়ারী « sâwārī » *rider* (*on horse, in carriage*) : occurs in the Bharhut and Sanchi inscriptions as « asavāri » : from Old Persian « asa-bāri- » *horseman* (=New Persian « suwār »).

195, *after l.* 18, *add* : কোণ « kōṇṛ » *corner*, from MIA., and Skt., = Greek « gōnos ».

196, *last line but one* : *read* « śuruṭṭu » for « śuḷuṭṭu ».

197, *l.* 1 : *after* Tibetan « blama », *add* : টাঙ্গন « ṭāṇgâṇṛ » *a hill pony, Bhotia pony* = Tibetan « rta-ṇāṇ ».

198, 199 : The word « dhītā » (as the source of « jhī ») has also been derived from the Indo-European « √ * dhē » *suck* (=OIA. « dhā »), which we find in the Latin « fī-lius ».

203, *l.* 22 : *read* « fatḥ *for* faṭḥ.

213, *last line in footnote* 1, *read* ' khājāñcī ' *for* ' khajañcī '

215, *ll.* 9 ff. ; the word মেটে « mēṭē », a slang term to denote dark-skinned

Eurasians, is at least influenced by the French « métis », if not actually derived from it. The word may be from « māṭiā » *earthen*, by Umlaut.

215, *l.* 22 : *read* ইস্‌ক্রুপ *for* ইস্‌ক্রপ.

232, *l.* 7 : *read* rasūla *and* mŏhāmŏti ; *l.* 20, *read* pūsĕ *for* pusĕ.

233 : *immediately before* § 126, *add* : Bengali MSS. in the Persian character are but rarely found in other parts of the country. One such MS., however, has come to light recently—a Bengali version of the 'Qissah-i-Amīr Hamzah'—from Jessore district. It was exhibited by Maulavī 'Abdu-l-Walī in the ASB. (November 1925). In its transcription, unlike the Chittagong MSS., it employs regularly ह and ह for চ and জ.

235, *heading, read* : SILĒṬ ; *footnote, l.* 4, *read* in *for* is.

245, *l.* 22 : *read* tzándanon *for* tsándanon.

254, 255 : *loss of* « -tr- » > « -tt- » : W. Geiger cites also (Festschrift E. Kuhn, p. 186) Sinhalese « hū » (sūtra), « mū » (mūtra) « rā̈ » (rātri).

256, *l.* 21 : « ratta (< ratna) » actually occurs in MIA. (in the Pali 'Sutta-nipāta,'—'Sabhiya-sutta' : « ratta-ñña » = « ratna-jña », explained in the Commentary of Buddha-ghōṣa as « ratana-ññū »).

260, *l.* 25 : *read* « -vā » *for* « -ā ».

263, *l.* 18 : *read* 'ʃ̇i(ĕ)ɑ:lɑ *for* ʃ̣i(ĕ)ɑ·lɑ.

264, *l.* 14 : *read* kɒɦi *for* kɒhi ; *l.* 17 : *read* c͡ʃupɒṛi *for* c͡ʃupɑṛi.

265, *l.* 5 *from bottom* : *read* mɒnɒ *for* mɒṇɒ.

269, *l.* 3 *from bottom, add* : The glottal stop occurs with the voiced stops and palatal or dental affricates [g', ʃ̆ʒ' (dz̆'), ḍ', d', b'] in some East Bengali dialects as the regular substitutes for the corresponding aspirates [gɦ, ʃ̆ʒɦ, ḍɦ, dɦ, bɦ] of Standard Bengali.

272, *l.* 17 : *correct the figure for* : [h] *from* 2·02 *to* 0·02.

282, *l.* 12 : *read* pānīya- *for* pāṇīya.

287, *ll.* 11, 12. It should be noted that the « Payār » has also 16 *morae*, including the pauses, although the number of syllables is 14.

293, *l.* 6 : *read* bāc͡ʃia *for* bāc̆ʃia.

294, *l.* 12 : *read* 'c͡ʃɑ(ĕ)e *for* 'cɑ(ĕ)e.

298, *l.* 6: *read* 'ʃaʃʃo *for* ʃaʃʃo.

301, *last line*: *read* pāṭṣ *for* pāṭā.

302, *l.* 20: *read* kâṛā *for* kârā.

305, *l.* 20: *after* (grīvā), *add*: MB. ঘড় « ghâṛa » *array* (ghaṭā);

307, *last line but one*: *read* « ãc » *for* « āc ».

309, *l.* 8: *read* MB. *for* MA.

313, *l.* 11: *after* (alābu), *add*: হেঁট « hẽṭṣ » *below* > *in a crouching position* (* ahẽṇṭa, * ahẽṭṭha < * adhiṣṭāt, Buddhist Sanskrit hēṣṭā, = OIA. adhastāt); MB. পাসরে « pāsârē » *forgets* (apasmarati);

315, *l.* 19: *read* mâśānṣ *for* mâsānṣ.

315, *l.* 12: *read* « ãtṣ » *for* « ātṣ »; *after* (antra), *add*: আশথ beside অশথ « āśâthṣ, âśâthṣ » (aśvattha); *and in l.* 15, *delete*: খাজা « khājā » *a sweetmeat* (khādya), *and take this deleted portion to p.* 321, *l.* 23, *before the word* খাড়, *adding* khâjja *before* khādya.

319, *l.* 20: the word « sabhā » forming the plural. Mr. Sukumār Sen has drawn my attention to the word « yuvati-sabhā » *young women* in Song 18 of the 'Gīta-gōvinda' (Canto IX). Cf. also pp. 732-733.

324, *l.* 6: *read* « niṣuti » *for* « niṣuṭi »; *l.* 10, *read* * piuśī *for* pɪuśī; *l.* 25, *read* টাঠ *for* টাঠ.

325, *l.* 20: *read* * ūru- *for* * uru; *l.* 21, *read* -aṣṭhī- *for* -asthi-.

329, *l.* 8 *from bottom*: *correct* bōḍṛa *to* bōḍra.

331, *l.* 20: *read* 'যদ্দিন' *for* যদ্দিন; *l.* 25, *read* caritavya *for* cartavya.

333, *l.* 8: *after* [ʃiḍne], *add*: ঘটাটা « ghâṭī-ṭā » *that water-vessel*, বাটাটা « bāṭī-ṭā » *that cup* > Standard Coll. ঘ'ট্টে, বাট্টে [gʃioṭṭe, baṭṭe].

334, *l.* 7 *from bottom*, *add*: করমচা < করমোচা « kârâmcā < kârâ-mōcā » *a fruit, Cassia carondas* (Skt. kara-marda, Hind. karaunḍā: cf. 'Devatā,' Pāṇini Office, Allahabad, 1917, p. 155).

335, *l.* 7 *from bottom*: *correct* persons *to* person.

337, *l.* 10: *correct* -ū- *to* -ŭ-.

341, *l.* 6 *from bottom*: *read* ʃaĕr *for* ʃaĕr.

342, *l.* 10: *read* chāẏạrā *for* chāẏạṛā; *l.* 19, *delete* MB.

349, *l.* 1: *after* NIA., *add*: (where no special force of the « -ā » is present or evident).

350, *l.* 4: *before etc., add*: যাই, তাই « jāï, tāï » (yadā-hi, tadā-hi).

351, *l.* 13: *add at the end*: But পৌনে [poune] *less by a quarter* has « -âu- » for MIA. « -āō- » (pāōṇa, pādōna).

352, *l.* 15: *read* *duūlia *for* duulia; *l.* 8 *from bottom, after* (dēva, dēba), *add*: ‡ রে [rɛ:, ræ:] *line for plough to follow* (* rēă, rēhă, rēhā, rēkhā);

353, *l.* 7 *from bottom*: *read* * ghrata.

355, *l.* 8, *after* (nacca, nṛtya), *add*: ‡ বাসোয়া « bāswā » *ox*, Maiṭhilī « basahā » (vasaha-, vṛṣabha-); *in l.* 21, *read* * tādṛśana.

356, *l.* 2: *before etc., add*: বুক « bukṣ » *chest* (cf. Skt. vṛkka, Avestan vərəδka *kidney*, MIA. bukka);

357, *l.* 5 *from bottom: correct* egreja *to* igreja.

358, *l.* 3, *l.* 6: *read respectively* [ɑbritɔ] and [ɑbbritɔ]; *last line, correct to* ghanakam.

359, *l.* 12: *for* « ঁ » *read* « ং ».

364, *l.* 7, *add:* But we have the *sts.* বেন্নন « bēnnɑ̂ṇṣ » [bænnon] *curry* from « vyañjana ».

365, *l.* 12: *read* ṣaṇḍa *for* saṇḍa.

366, *l.* 7 *from bottom*: *read* śimulṣ *for* śimula.

367, *l.* 12, *add*: and ŚKK. চাম্বলী « cāmbhâlī » *a flower* for « cāmēlī ».

369, *l.* 7 *from bottom: read* * iṇṭa *for* * inṭa.

370, *l.* 6: *read* sēcayati *for* śēcayati; *l.* 19, bāṭulṣ *for* bāṭulâ.

373, *ll.* 11-12: *read* ʃ *for* ʃ.

378, *l.* 13: *after e.g., add*: Pali « issēra, acchēra < * ĕssaira, * acchaira < * essairĭa, * acchairĭa < āiśvarya, āścarya ».

386, *l.* 18: *after* « gāṭṣ », *add*: beside গেঁট « gēṭṣ ».

392, *l.* 19: *read* [ʃoĭttɔ] for [ʃoittɔ].

396, *l.* 3 *from the end*: *read* [borp(h)i] *for* [borp(h)ɪ].

398, *l.* 10 *from bottom: read* * কুড়লি *for the first* কুড়ালি, *and* kuṛāli *for* kurāli.

402, *l.* 14, *before* origin, *add* to their; *l.* 5 *from bottom*, *read* [ʃore ɔ:].

424, *l.* 6 *from bottom*: *add*: MB. « -âhâ-, -aẏa- » also occur as [ɔĕ]: গয়না <গহনা [gɔĕna] < « gâhânā » *ornaments, jewels* (grahaṇa-); ময়না [mɔĕna] < « mâẏânā » *a talking bird, 'mynah'* (madana-). *In l.* 16, *read* bɦɔĕʃa *for* bhɔĕʃa.

430, *ll.* 4 *and* 2 *from the end*: [ʃts] (as in [kɔʃtsit] and [dzoĭk:hɔʃtsɔk:re:]) is pronounced also as [rʃ] and [eʃ].

438, *l.* 9: *read* §84 *for* §86.

440, *l.* 21, *read* gȧṛ *for* gȧr; *last line, correct* † *to* ‡.

441, *l.* 3: *The Aspirates.* It should be noted that the aspirate nasals and liquids (« nh, mh, rh, lh »: cf. 'Prākṛta-Pāiṉgala,' Bib. Ind. ed., p. 6) occurred in OB. and Early MB., and these became deaspirated in the Late MB. stage.

443, *l.* 5 *from bottom*: *read* « ādḍlā » *for* « ādla ».

449, *l.* 5, *add* recent *before* foreign, *and put a comma after* words. *After l.* 8, *add*: Other instances of assimilation: « n > m »: মোহনভোগ « mōhaṇḍ-bhōgḍ » *pudding made of flour, sugar and ghee* > [mo(ñ)on-bñog > mombñog > mumbñog] in the Calcutta Colloquial; « ṇḍ > n > ṉ »: ডাণ্ডাগুলি « ḍāṇḍā-guli » *tip-cat* (*game*) > ডান্‌গুলি, ডাংগুলি [ḍanguli, ḍaṉguli].

451, *l.* 22: *correct* pañca *to* pañca; *l.* 24, *at the beginning, add*: [r] is similarly assimilated to a following [ʃ], as in মাকড়সা « mākaṛḍsā » *spider* > Calcutta Coll. মাকসা « mākáśā » [makɔrʃa > makoʃa], হাঁড়ীশাল « hāṛisālḍ » *room for pots, kitchen* > [hāĭṛʃal] by Epenthesis > হেঁশেল [hẽʃel].

452, *l.* 5, *and l.* 4 *from bottom*: *correct* < *to* >.

453, *l.* 17: *correct* gh *to* gñ.

456, *l.* 14: *correct* kāk *to* hāk.

460, *after l.* 8, *add, in a new paragraph*: OIA. « -kṣy- »: ভেখ, ভেক « bhēk(h)ḍ » *mendicancy, the life of a monk, monk's garb* (bhāĭkṣya).

468, *l.* 13: *add* so *before* long.

470, *l.* 2 *from bottom*: *correct the semicolon before* পেঁচা *to* >.

471, *l.* 8 *supply, after* jēācḍ: *woman with first child living. L.* 9, *before etc., add*: MB. আচাভুআ « ācābhuā » (accabbhua-, atyadbhuta-). *After l.* 11, *add as a new paragraph*: OIA. « -rc- » > MIA. « -cc- > -ñc- »: আঁচ « ãcḍ » *heat of flame* (arciḥ); কুঁচি « kũci » *brush* (kūrcikā).

472, *l.* 2 *from bottom*: *read* * es-ské-ti *for* * es-sko-ti.

473, *l.* 2 : *read* *pró+bhu-ské-ti ; *l.* 3, *read* *pṛk-ské-ti ; *l.* 17, *add at the end* : MB. নেউছা, নিছা « nēuchā, nichā » *adorn* (« nēvaccha-, nēpathya- » : there is another form in MB., নিছা « nichā », for which see *infra*, p. 551).

475, *l.* 13 : *read* '*fry*' *for* '*try*' ; *l.* 3 *from bottom, correct* † *to* ‡.

480, *l.* 15 : *delete* * *before* dhītā, *and add after* duhitā) : (the MIA. « dhītā » is derived by some scholars from the IE. « * √ dhē » *suck* = OIA., « √dhā », which is found in the Latin « fīlius, fīlia ».)

*L.* 7 *from bottom, read* ঝুঁঝা *for* ঝঁঝা ; *l.* 5 *from bottom, read* ঝুটা *for* ঝটা.

484, *l.* 18 : *read* « mardā-mi » *for* « mardāmi » ; *l.* 5 *from bottom, delete one* and.

488, *l.* 26 : *read* ḍāśṭ *for* ḍāsṭ.

490, *l.* 16 : *read* টাট্টু *for* টাট্ট.

495, *l.* 5 : *read* ḍimba *for* dimba.

498, *l.* 15 : *read* ডেগ *for* দেগ.

502, *l.* 9 *from bottom* : *correct* > *to* <.

509, *l.* 21, *read* পুঁটী মাছ *for* পুটী মাছ.

510, *l.* 10 *from end* : *add, after* « rūpā » : *silver ; and after* rūpya- : *stamped coin.*

513, *l.* 2 *from bottom* : *correct to* বেওরা.

514, *add after l.* 17, *as a separate para.* : OIA. « -vy- » : the future base ইব « -ibā- » (OIA. « -itavya- », MIA. « -iavva-, -iabba- »).

515, *l.* 5, *read* bhukhṭ *for* bhukha ; *after l.* 23, *add as a separate para.* ; OIA. « -dbh- » : MB. আচাভুআ « ācābhuā » (atyadbhuta-) ; *and then after that add the portion from* উভিয়া যাওয়া *to* (ud+√bhṛ, bhar) *in ll.* 31-33 (*by mistake entered under* OIA. « -rbh- »).

520, *l.* 9 : *before* MB. গোঙাএ, *add* : গুঁই « gūi » *a surname* (« -gōmin » : cf. Candra-gōmin, the Bengal grammarian of c. 600 A.C.);

521, *l.* 11 : *before* ছাতিম, *add* : Standard Coll. গোম্‌নে [gomne] *late, a sts.*, for গৌণে « gāuṇē [goune, gōwne] » (< gāuṇa) ;

523, *l.* 10 : *read* ē for ẽ.

525, *l.* 9 *from bottom* : *read* most *for* all ; *l.* 3 *from bottom, correct to* intervocal.

527, *l.* 9: *correct to* বিষ্টুপুরের.

534, *l.* 11 *from bottom*: *correct to* পক.

535, *l.* 2: *read* [ð] *for* [ō].

536, *l.* 13 *from bottom*: *read as follows*: at a later time, Early Braj-bhākhā in the West as well), to change....

548, *l.* 11 *from bottom*: *read* apasmarati *for* prasmarati.

549, *l.* 1: *read* śiṁśapā for śimsapā.

550, *l.* 9: *read* si *for* sī; *l.* 2 *from bottom, read* śatâyuh.

556, *l.* 9 *from bottom*: *read* bāĩcī *for* bāĩcī.

557, *l.* 10: *read* sāhā *for* sāha; 11, *read* nēhâ *for* nēha.

560, *l.* 9: *read* regarded *for* regard; *l.* 12, *read* Saifī *for* Saifi.

563, *l.* 3 *from bottom*: *correct to* syllable.

570: *l.* 8, *read* 'Moghals' *for* Moghals; *and in the Table of Consonants, take* h *from the Semi-vowel to the Fricative line.*

576, *l.* 7: *read* [tābu] *for* [tâbu]; *l.* 11, *correct* Hindōstanī *to* Hindōstānī; *l.* 23, *read* fiab(e)li *for* fiab(e)i; *l.* 25, *read* হালুয়া *for* হালুয়া; *and l.* 26, fiabj̇ī *for* fiabj̇ī.

577, *l.* 4 *from end*: *read* ব্রিশবৎ *for* বিশবৎ.

580, *l.* 9: *read* হিন্দু *for* হিঁদু; *and l.* 5 *from bottom, before* and, *add*: and আমারী « āmārī » *canopied seat on elephant* (ºimārī).

581, *l.* 14: *read* corpses *for* corpes.

593, *last line*: *add* In *as the last word.*

608, *l.* 12 *from bottom*: *correct* phāj̇ad *to* phāj̇ad.

613, *l.* 5 *from bottom*: *before* হাজির, *add*: নজর [nɔǰǰor] *present* (naðr);

621, *l.* 10: *correct* Collected *to* Collected.

623, *l.* 11: *read* তোলো *for* তোলা.

625, *l.* 5: *read* '*coffee*' *for* '*caffee.*'

643, *l.* 6: *before* '*theatre,*' *add*: (also থিয়েটার [ṭhieṭar] commonly in Calcutta cockney, through assimilation with the following cerebral).

656, *l.* 13: *read* ghūrṇ- *for* ghūrn-.

658, *l.* 4: *read* রাঁধনী *for* বাঁধনী.

670; *read* rūpālī *for* rupālī *in l.* 7, *and* rūpuli *for* rupuli *in l.* 8.

672, *l.* 17: *read* রাঁধনী *for the first* রাঁধুনি.

673, *l.* 2 : *read* বষ্টমী *for* বষ্টমী.

677, *last line* : *read* pleonastically *for* peonastically.

682, *l.* 13 : *read* dholla *for* dholla ; *l.* 20, *before* পুঁটকে, *add* : মেচ্‌কো in মেচ্‌কো ফের « mēcṣkō » in « mēcṣkō phēra » *a strong knot, a complication* < *a knot in a jute rope* ( < মেচা « mēcā » *jute* in the Standard Dialect in tracts to the south of Calcutta) ;

688, *l.* 5 : *read* sāpāṛiyā *for* sāpāriyā ; *l.* 6, *read* লুঠিয়াড়া.

697, *l.* 6 *from bottom* : *add* : « ugra-rūpa » *exceedingly fierce*, Pali « kalya-rūpa » *exceedingly pleased*, etc., etc.

699, *l.* 5 *from bottom* : *read* ঝুপসা *for the second* ঝাপসা.

702, *l.* 4 *from bottom* : *read* thānī *for* thanī.

703, *l.* 1 : *correct to* Perso-Arabic.

706, *under* (9) মর, *add* : It is likely that in the locative sense, as in দেশময়, the affix is partly based on the NIA. locative suffix from « madhya » noted *infra*, p. 751.

706, *before last line add* :

(12) স্থ « -sthā ».

**467a.** Following Skt. forms like দেশস্থ « dēśa-sthā » *remaining in the land*, সভাস্থ « sābhā-sthā » *present in the assembly*, মধ্যস্থ « mādhyā-sthā » *remaining in the middle, arbitrator*, etc., etc., the compounded « -sthā » has come to be used as an affix with *tbh.* and foreign words, in the sense of *occurring at, present in*, etc. : *e.g.*, কলিকাতাস্থ « Kālikātā-sthā » *of Calcutta, from Calcutta, staying at Calcutta* ; লড়াইস্থ সংবাদদাতা « lāṛāi-sthā sambādā-dātā » *war correspondent* ; কর্ণওয়ালিস-ষ্ট্রীটস্থ দোকান « Kārṇāwālisṣ-Ṣṭrīṭā-sthā dōkāṇā » *shop in Cornwallis Street* ; etc.

712 : *Add at the beginning* :

(5a) পাতি, পাত « pāti-, pāt- ».

**473a.** This word, in the sense of *small*, occurs with a number of terms, like পাতি-কুয়া or পাত্‌কো « pāti-kūā, pāt-kō » *a small well* (as opposed to an ইঁদারা « Idārā » *a large masonry well* < « indrāgāra »), পাতি-শিয়াল « pāti-śiyālā » *small jackal*, পাতি-লেবু « pāti-lēbu » *a kind of tiny lemon* (as opposed to other kinds), পাতি-হাঁস « pāti-hāsā » *duck*

(as opposed to রাজ-হাঁস « rāja-hāsa » *goose*), পাতি-ভাঁড় « pāti-bhāṛa » *small earthen cup*, পাতি- or পাত-মৌড় « pāti-, pāt-mauṛa » *an ornament for the head* ( < mukuṭa), পাতি-কাক « pāti-kāka » *crow* (as opposed to দাঁড়-কাক « dāṛa-kāka » *jack-daw*), পাতি-নেড়ে « pāti-nēṛē » *shaveling, small shaven-headed one* = *Mohammedan of the lower castes* (a term of abuse), etc. The form occurs in East Bengal as পেতি « pēti », as in পেতি-কৌয়া « pēti-kauā » *crow*, পেতি-মেকুর « pēti-mēkura » *kitten*. The source seems to be OIA. « patra » *leaf* > « patrika », MIA. « pattia » > NIA. « pāti » *thin as a leaf* > *small, insignificant*: cf. পাতলা « pātalā » *thin, not deep* (patra-la). The French « petit » [pəti, pti] *small* has been suggested by some as the source of this form, but it is exceedingly unlikely, despite the fact of the presence of the French in Bengal (at Chandernagore), and of the East Bengali form « pēti » presenting an unexpected vowel in the « -ē- » (the East Bengali form, however, seems to be a borrowing from Standard Bengali with irregular alteration of the vowel).

712, *l.* 13 : *correct* « nābālāka » *to* « nābālāka ».

720, *ll.* 8, 9 : *delete* : বৎসহারা গাভী « bātsā-hārā gābhī » *a cow which has lost her calf*. *In l.* 11, *read* form *for* from.

731, *ll.* 11, 13 : *read* '*professors*' *for* '*scholars*' ; *and in last line but two, put an* * *before* মাহুষোদ.

733, *l.* 5 : *read* rāja-nāitika.

740, *l.* 7 *from bottom* : *read* : a form of Māgadhī.

741, *l.* 9 : *read* * ṭhāwi *for* thāwi ; *l.* 12, *add after* NB. : so Assamese « gādhāï » (< * gaddahi, gaddahē, gardabhaḥ), « lātāï » (*ts.* latā + -i). *In l.* 24, *read* p. 1 *for* p. 2.

744, *l.* 6 : *read* « gōru-ē » *for* « gōṛu-ē »

745, *l.* 2 : *read* « -ānām » *for* « -anām ».

751 : *add as a new paragraph, after l.* 16 :

In dialectal Bengali, as in Sylhet, there is a locative affix in « -ō, -ā » ; *e.g.*, ঘরো, ঘর « gharō, gharā » *in the house* (LSI., V, I, p. 225). This would seem to be based on a MIA. « * gharaha »,

where « -ha » is the OIA. affix « * -dha », of a locative character, which is found in Sanskrit in « i-ha (cf. Prakrit i-dha), ku-ha, sa-ha (cf. Vedic sadha) », and which seems to have been extended to the noun also. (This « -dha » seems to be connected with the other locative affix « -dhi » discussed before at p. 745, and has cognate forms in the Latin « in-de », Slav « kŭ-de »: cf. Thumb, 'Handbuch des Sanskrit,' Heidelberg, 1905, § 407).

751, *l.* 8 *from bottom* : *read* an unsolved problem.

756, *l.* 8 : « udyāna-kṛtam āsanam » (cf. Grierson, 'On Certain Suffixes in the Modern Indo-Aryan Vernaculars,' Kuhn's Zeitschrift, Vol. 38, pp. 473 ff. : also « karaṇḍē mālā-kṛtē », in the 'Mahā-vastu,' etc.). *Last line but two* : *read* puruṣāṇām.

759, *l.* 12 : the affix in Assamese seems to be শা « sā » : cf. also the genitive form « tōmāsā-rā » and the locative « tōmāsā-tā » in Early Assamese.

762, *ll.* 2, 3 *from end* : a solitary example of an ablative form in OB. There is another instance of an ablative in « -hu » in the Caryās, *viz.*, « raaṇahu ṣahajē kahēi » (Caryā 27), which the Sanskrit Commentary translates and explains as « sadguru-vacana-tattva-ratna-prabhāvāt sa mayi sahajānandaṁ kathayati ».

772, *under Post-position No.* (26), বই « bāï ». My friend Mr. Sailêndranāth Mitra, M.A., of the Department of Pali in Calcutta University draws my attention to the use of « bahiddhā » in Pali, with the ablative, to mean *apart from, outside of* : *e.g.*, « itō bahiddhā samaṇō'pi n'atthi » *outside of this, there is no monk* (Mahāparinibbāṇa-sutta, V, 27). The use of « bahiḥ, bahirdhā (= bahiḥ + dhā) », with the ablative as well as genitive, to denote *outside*, occurred in OIA. (cf. Speijer, 'Vedische und Sanskrit-syntax,' §§ 88, 89, 90). The source of the Bengali post-position বই, বহি, বহী « bâï, bâhi, bâhī » would thus be the OIA. « bahiḥ », and not « vyatīta » as suggested in the text.

790, *l.* 14 : *correct to* Wackernagel.

800, *l.* 15 : *read* ŝō *for* sō.

801, *l.* 21 : A MIA. form for « sahasra » seems to have been « sahaṁsa » (beside « sahassa »), and this nasalised form occurs as « sahāsa » in Early Western Hindī. An old spelling of the place name 'Sasseram' or 'Sahasram' in Bihar is 'Sahansram.'

802, *l.* 11, *add at the end*: There is also the word সিকি « siki », সিকা « sikā » *a quarter, a silver coin equal to the fourth of a rupee.* The word occurs dialectally as « suki, sukā », and is apparently the same word as the Hind. « sūkā ». Platts derives « sūkā » from « sapādaka » *with a quarter* ('Hindustani Dictionary'). It may be that here we have the influence of the MIA. « sikka » (see *supra*, pp. 194-195) or the Perso-Arabic « sikkah » *coin*, in connexion with the « -k- » consonant as well (as the « -i- » vowel in the Bengali form).

811, *l.* 17 : *read* মুঁহি, *for* মঁহ,

821. *In the Table, under Old Plural, Oblique,* read তাঁ for তা ; *under New Plural, Nominative, read* তা(হা)রা, *and oblique,* তা(হা)দের ; *and in connexion with what has been said in l.* 8 *in* § 555, *note*: the form « sa-kaḥ » actually occurs in OIA. (Rig-Veda, Śatapatha Brāhmaṇa, etc.): see below, note on p. 993.

823, *l.* 13 *from bottom* : *read* তাঁ *for* তা.

825, *l.* 17 : *read* possesses *for* possess.

828, *l.* 10 : *read* tāmṛ-rā-rṛ *for* tāmṛ-ra-rṛ.

829, *l.* 2 *in* § 566 : *delete comma after* « ē-ta- » ; *l.* 5, *read* : base « *to- ».

832, *l.* 3 *from bottom* : *read* in the Shahbazgarhi Aśōkan.

835, *l.* 7, *read* উহা for উহা ; *in the Table, under Oblique of Old Plural, read* ওহাঁ *for* ওহা.

839, *read* [F] *for* [D] *before the heading* THE RELATIVE PRONOUN ; *and in the Table, under Oblique of Double Plural, read* যা(হা)দের *for* যা(হা)দের.

840, *l.* 6 : « ya-kaḥ » as the source of « jē » occurs in OIA., like « sa-kaḥ » the source of « sē » : see *supra*, note on p. 821, and *infra*, on p. 993.

861, *l.* 14 : *read* *-n- *for* -n-.

862, *l.* 4, *read* dIv-ya-ti *for* div-ya-ti.

867, *l.* 3 *from bottom* : *read* cár-i-tav-āĭ *for* car-i-tav-āĭ.

869, *l.* 12 *from bottom* : *read* Noun *for* Voun.

871, *l.* 15 : *read* seem *for* seen.

873, *l.* 12, *read* es-ské-ti *for* es-sko-ti ; *l.* 15, *read* খুঁজ *for* খুঁজ ; *l.* 24, *read* ঋস *for* ঋর.

874, *l.* 5 : *read* lāj *for* āj ; *last line, read* Bengali.

875, *l.* 12 : *read* es-ské-ti ; *l.* 14, *read* pró+bhu-ské-ti.

882, *l.* 22 : *read* vyākhyāna *for* vyyākhāna.

884, *l.* 16 : *read* দাগা *for the second* দাগ.

885, *heading line* : *read* COMPOUNDED AND SUFFIXED ROOTS.

898, *ll.* 18-19 : The dative-accusative with the post-position occurs in OB. : *e.g.*, Caryā 12, « matiẽ ṭhākura-ka parinivittā » = « matyā prajñāpāramitânubuddhyā ṭhakuram iti saṅklēśârōpita-cittaṁ parinirvvāṇârōpitaṁ kṛtaṁ », according to the Commentary.

*L.* 3 *from bottom* : *read* like *for* ike.

900, *l.* 12 : *read* labh-ē-ta *for* labh-ī-ta.

901, *l.* 3 : *read* NB. *for* MB.

904, *l.* 5 : *read* « -aü » : « kar-aü ».

907, *l.* 16, *add* : The affix in the form of « -ūt », however, is actually found in S.-W. Bengali : চলূৎ « calūtṁ », etc.

908, *l.* 15 : *read* later *for* latter.

909, *l.* 15 : *add* : The form « gả » (earlier form « gai, gaĕ ») is also optionally added in Maithilī to emphasise the future (cf. Grierson, Maithilī Grammar[2], pp. 136-137).

*L.* 4 *from bottom* (=*heading line*) : *read as* (1) Passive Indicative.

924, *l.* 18 : *read* lâlāṭâ- *for* lâlāta-.

932, *l.* 7: *read* খোয়োঁ *for* খোয়ো ; *l.* 11, *read* পারোঁ *for* পারো.

941, *l.* 11: *correct to* Grammatik.

956, *l.* 4 : *read* « cảlī, jảṛī ».

961, *headline* : *correct to* FUTURE.

968, *l.* 13 : *read* is *for* in.

975, *l.* 9, *from end* : *read* « pảṛilāhõ » *for* « pāṛilāhõ ».

984, *l.* 19 : *correct the first* বুয়িল to বুইল.

993, *last line, after 'e.g.,' add* : MIA. « aha-ka-ṁ, tva-ka-ṁ », OIA. (Rig-Veda) « asa-ka-, sa-ka- », (Kauṣītaki Brāhmaṇa) « yāma-k-i », (Śatapatha Brāhmaṇa, etc.) « sa-kā, sa-ka-, ya-ka-, ya-kā, asa-ka- », etc ; and note also.....( I am indebted to Mr. Sukumār Sen for drawing my attention to the OIA. forms occurring in the Vedic texts).

1019, *l.* 9 *from the end : read* « āch » for the present and the past.

1029, *l.* 13 : *read* « -(i)t- + -it- » + root « āch ».

1032, *l.* 10 : *read* pâlānâ *for* pālānâ.

1035, *l.* 3 : *read* adjective passive participle *for* verbal noun ; *and in l.* 6, *take the semicolon before* so.

1040, *last line but one* : *read* altindischen.

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ঈ—(sound) 271, 402, 405, 584, 636; (prefix) 834; (suffix) 406, 655, 661, 662, 663, 671, 672, 673, 1012
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